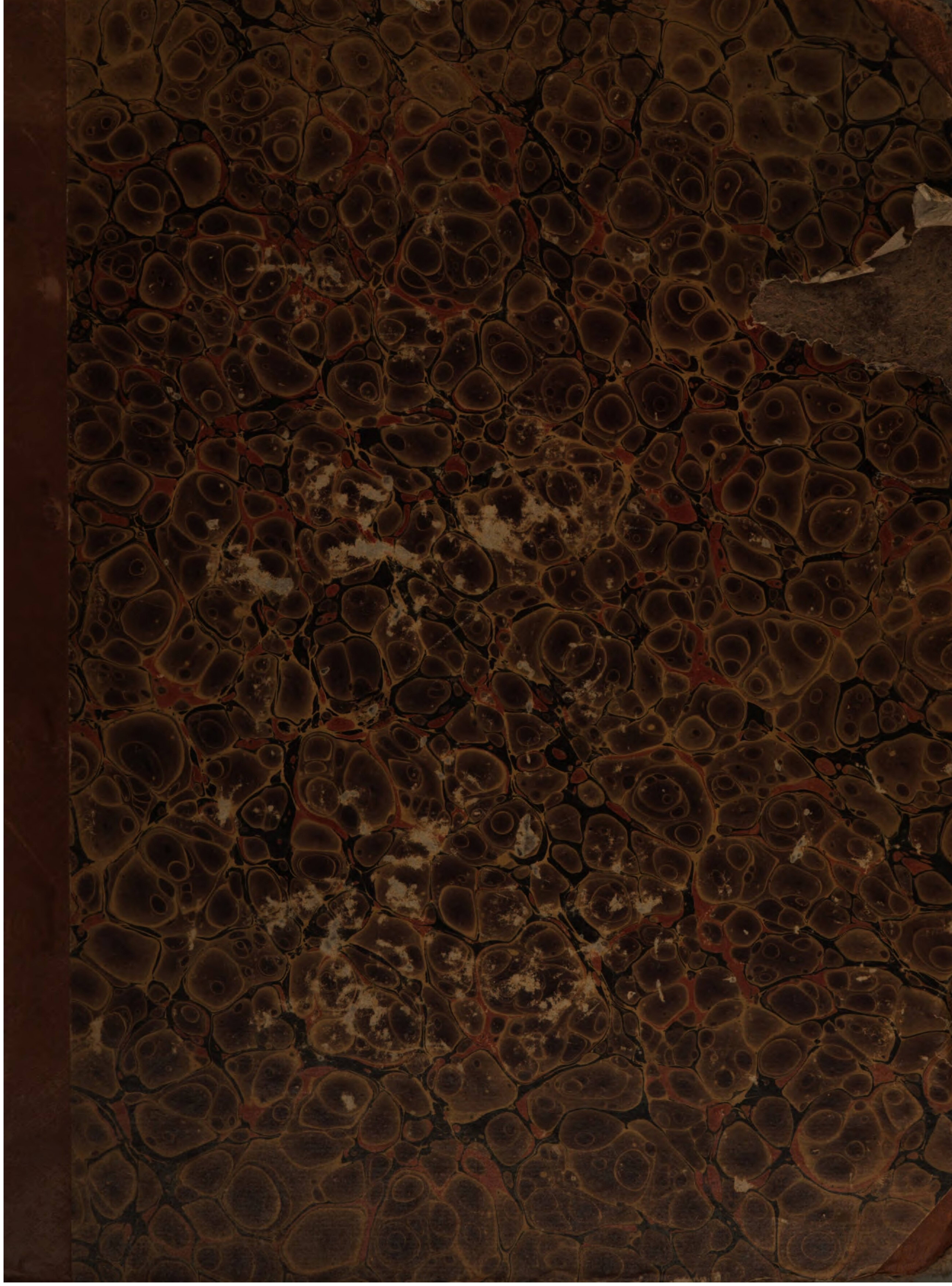
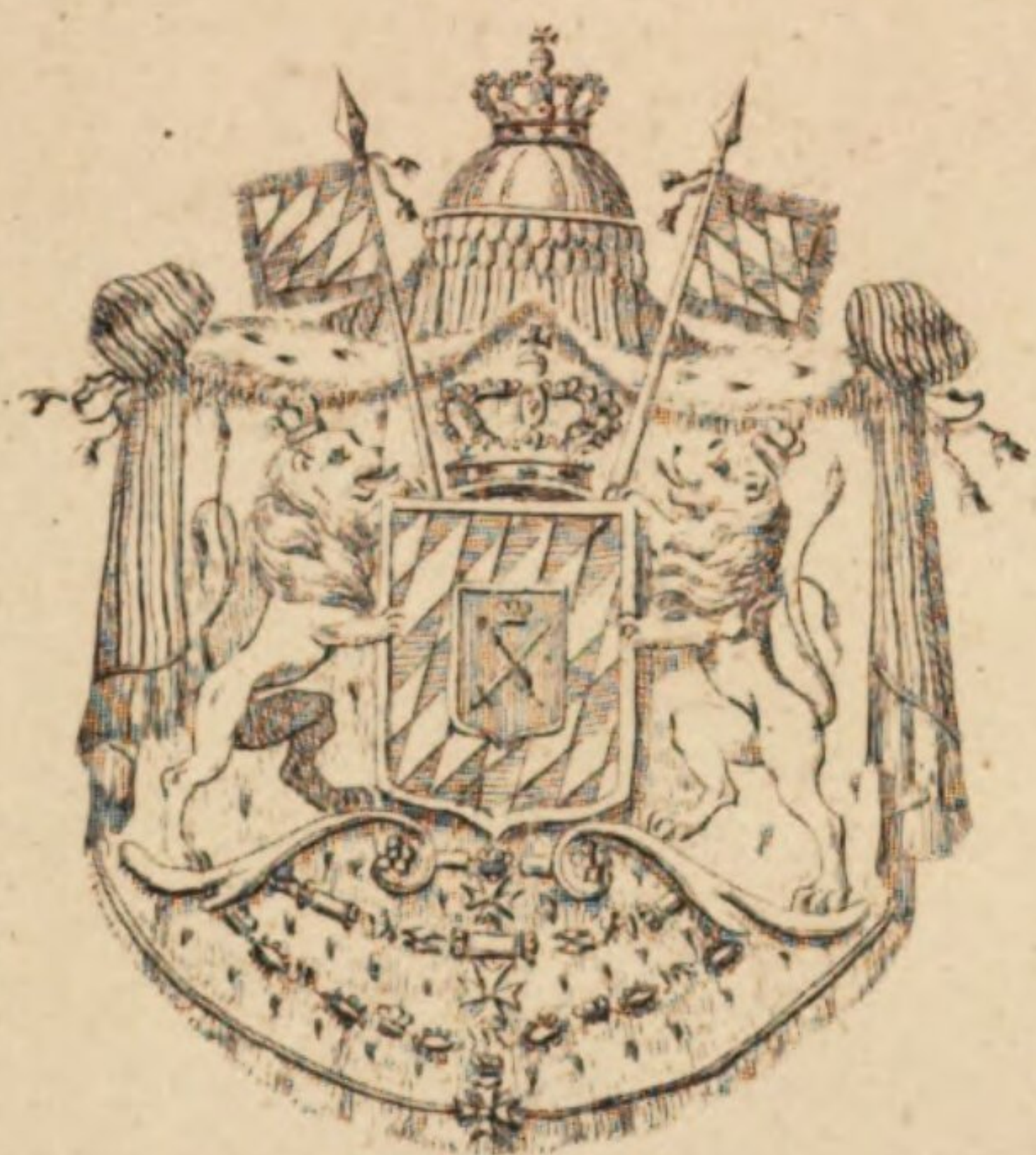




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THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY:

A
COLLECTION

OF
SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT.

VOL. X.

BEING THE SECOND
SUPPLEMENTAL VOLUME

OF
MISCELLANEOUS PIECES,

NOT INCLUDED IN
THE
FORMER EDITION.

SELECTED AND PREPARED
BY
THOMAS PARK, F.S.A.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WHITE AND COCHRANE, FLEET-STREET; JOHN MURRAY,
ALBEMARLE-STREET; AND JOHN HARDING, ST. JAMES'S-STREET.

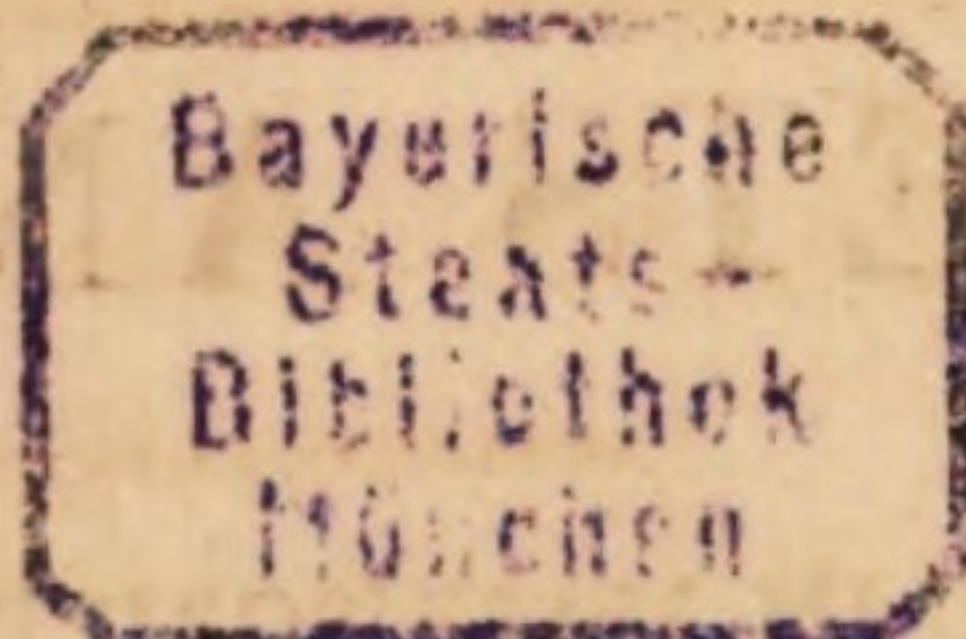
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RARE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

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1812

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SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

Vertue's Encomium: or, the Image of Honour.
Honor Virtutis Præmium.

London, printed by William Stansby, 1614.

[Small Octavo, eleven leaves.]

The author of this very rare morceau was Richard Niccols, respecting whom we are informed by Wood,¹ that 'he was born of genteel parents in London about 1584, was entered a student of Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1602; but making little stay there, retired to Magdalen hall, where he took the degree of B. A. in 1606; being then numbered among the ingenious persons of that university. After he had remained there for some time, he retired to the great city, and obtained an employment suitable to his faculty.' What this employment was, the historiographer has not informed us: and as the faculty of Niccols seems to have been poetry, it now is difficult even to conjecture. Mr. Warton, from two passages which occur in a sonnet to Lord Charles Howard, and in "England's Eliza," (p. 861, st. iv.) conceives that he was on board the Ark (admiral Howard's ship) when Cadiz was taken in 1596. At that time he could only be twelve years of age: an age when we might have expected to trace him at school rather than at sea, preparing for an academic and not a maritime introduction to life. That he was enforced to quit his Alma Mater, and return to London, sooner than he wished, we gather from the following passage in a metrical dedication to Sir Timothy Thornhill, Knt: before his "Furies," or Epigrams satirical and encomiastic.

My muse, infor't by fortune's first extreame,
To leave the Eden of my soul's desire,
Which Isis waters with her silver streame,
Unto my native Thames did back retire.

From one of his epigrams 'on poetry and poverty,' as well as from the following, 'on his Name,' it may be presumed he was one of those meek paupers of Parnassus, so unfeelingly stigmatized by certain proser, as living nobody knows how, and dying nobody knows where.

¹ [Athen. Oxon. i. 402.]

' In nomen suum.

- ' Rich heart, of Richard (as the Saxons say)
- ' Is th'etymology:—another way
- ' Is hard and rich. But some from this, I fear,
- ' Hard to be rich,—the name of Richard bear.'

More of this poet's personal biography we know not: but it appears that R. Niccols, *Æd. Ch. Alum. Oxon.* contributed a Latin quatrain to Horti Carolini, in 1640; and that Wm. Niccols, a labouring man, said to be the poet's descendant, died at Lench, in Worcestershire, in 1793, at the age of 101. See *Gent. Mag.* lxxiii. 282.

Mr. Headley considers him 'a poet of great elegance and imagination, and one of the ornaments of the reign of Elizabeth.' I have observed in another place, that he will be found a melodious versifier, if not a first-rate poet. 'Virtue's Encomium' has too much quaintness and word-crimping to be very poetical; but the Monodia which follows, deserves to be commended for more than the exterior garniture of verse; since many passages possess the force and tenderness of true poësy. A list of his known productions is here drawn together.

"The Cuckow. *At etiam cubat Cuculus: surge amator, i domum. Richardus Niccols in Artibus Bac. Oxon. Aulæ Mag.*" 1607. 4to. His dedication to Master Thomas Wroth, speaks of this as a juvenile performance.

- ' When as my wit with riper fruit shall grow,
- ' My muse may speak to thee in sweeter ryme,
- ' And for thy worth some graver poem show.'

"A Winter Night's Vision. Being an addition of such Princes especially famous, who were exempted in the former Historie. By Richard Niccols, Oxon. Mag. Hall." 1610.² 4to. The 'former Historie' here mentioned, was that popular collection of metrical legends entitled 'The Mirror for Magistrates,' which Niccols licentiously altered and modernized to his own time and taste. He added ten new histories in verse, and appended to them (as Mr. Warton thought 'with little propriety,' and as Mr. Stephen Jones seems to think 'improperly')

"England's Eliza: or the victorious and triumphant reigne of that virgin Empresse of sacred memorie, Elizabeth queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c." 1610. 4to. Mr. Warton terms the historical exordium to this 'a very poetical induction.'

"The Twynnes Tragedye." This play was entered on the stationers' books in 1611; and is attributed to Richard Niccols in the *Biographia Dramatica*. (See vol. i. part 2, new edit.)

"Three Sistres Teares, shed at the funeral of Henry, Prince of Wales." 1613. 4to.

"A Day-starre for darke wandring Soules," &c. 1613. 8vo. This is made two publications of by Wood; whereas it proves to be but one, and by R. Niccols, the elder, probably the poet's father: as Mr. P. Bliss has suggested, from inspecting a copy in the Bodleian.

"The Furies: with Vertue's Encomium, or the Image of Honour. In two bookes of Epigrammes, satyricall and encomiasticke. By R. N. *Virtus est, vitium fugere.*" 1614. 8vo.

"Monodia: or Waltham's Complaint, upon the death of the Lady Honor Hay, &c." 1615.

"London's Artillerie: briefly containing the noble practice of that worthy societie, &c." 1616. 4to.

"Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision: with the ghoasts of Weston, Mistriss Turner, the late Lieftenant of the Tower, and Franklin. By R. N. Oxon. In pœnam insectatur et umbra." 1616. 4to. (See this Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 178.)

² [In 1619 and 1621 this work was entitled: "The falles of unfortunate princes: being a true chronicle historie of the untimely death of such unfortunate princes and men of note as have happened since the first entrance of Brute into this island, untill this our latter age. Whereunto is added the famous life and death of Queene Elizabeth, with a declaration of all the warres, battels, and sea-fights, during her raigne: wherein at large is described the battel of 88, with the particular service of all such ships, and men of note in that action. *Contre fortune nul ne peut.*"]

To the most noble Lady, the Lady Honoria Hay, Wife to the right honourable the Lord Hay, sole Daughter and Heir to the right honourable Lord Dennie.

Though (noble lady) in your honour's praise,
 Beneath the shadow of your favour's wing,
 A sweet Sylvester's nightingale doth sing;
 The graceful music of whose heavenly lays
 From time's best wits now bears away the bays:
 Yet (beauty's best) since meanest birds, each spring,
 To choicest ears some pleasing sounds do bring;
 Vouchsafe to hear my Muse in her essays,
 Where urg'd by hope, though yet not free from doubt,
 That once her 'Sisters Tears' did favour find,
 Your honour's image here doth portrait out,
 As th' humble pledge of my true thankful mind,
 If that did err—I hope in this alone,—
 Since, Honour's chief! this Image is your own.

Your Honour's most

humbly devoted,

R. N.

To the Reader.

GENTLEWOMEN, this last and least part of my little labour, I consecrate to you: the Image of whose Honour, though so excellent, that (like that part of the picture of Venus left to posterity by Apelles,) it takes away all hope of imitating the same; yet, to acquit myself of that madness which the woman-hater⁴ doth endeavour to make mine, (perhaps though, more hastily than happily,) I have here cast off this same Image of Honour from the model of a woman, in honour of your sex. To answer those that say, my pen drops gall against you in the first part; I desire you to know that my 'Furies'⁵ touch none but those apes of yours: such, I mean, who (making no difference between swans and geese, because they have both white feathers) imitate only your fashion, not your virtues. If, in what follows, you find my style too harsh for so sweet a subject, my form too impolish for so fair an image; be pleased to know that I am limited to epigrams, in which no pen can limn so fair a picture as your fair⁶ deserves. Such as it is, if you respect it, I care not who reject it; for I put myself under your protection.

To the same right honourable the Lady Honoria Hay, &c.

Epig. I.

VIRTUE'S, wit's, beauty's, riches' perfect Honour!
 Though my meek Muse, too weak to take upon her
 'Virtue's Encomium,' t' epigrams confin'd;
 Yet being bound to honour women-kind,

³ [Joshua Sylvester, the translator of Du Bartas; and the laborious fabricator of a folio in verse.]

⁴ [Qu. whether an allusion to Fletcher's comedy so entitled, and first published in 1607.]

⁵ [A set of Epigrams in three parts, entitled Alecto, Tisiphone, Megara. These the author says 'alternately succeed in the scourge of vanity:' but as they are not always decorous in their epigrammatic castigation, he wishes they may either 'be passed over, or mildly censured.' The former, being the easier alternative, has been adopted by the present editor.]

⁶ [Fair is beauty; and was so used substantively by Shakspeare on several occasions.]

Niccols' Vertue's Encomium :

And quit herself of late imputed blame,
Doth here presume to use your Honour's name ;
That women-hating madmen, that of late
Have lost their wits, yet still retain their hate ;
By looking on your Image, may restore
Their little wits, and so be mad no more.

Epig. II.

Honour is masculine, grammarians say,
Nor by a woman pourtrait here I may
Honour's true image : yet the Virtues all
Are feminine, and Honour needs must fall
If Virtue fails—'tis Virtue's chief reward.
Then women in this Feminine regard ;
Since all the Virtues do attend upon her,
I here present for th'Image of true Honour.

Epig. III. *In templum Honoris.*

Upon a hill, whose height doth reach the stars,
Honour hath rais'd her fane : true Virtue bars
The passage to the same, whose temple stands
In the mid way. Without industrious hands,
Things great and glorious no man may attain.
He that will climb this hill to Honour's fane,
First, like the mystery-supporting ass,
Through Virtue's temple must with patience pass.

Epig. IV. *In habitum Honoris.*

Time's swan-white wings illustrate Honour wears,
With which from earth she mounts unto the spheres.
Truth's azure robes are her immortal weeds,
Painted with Fame's bright star-made glorious deeds.
They then that Honour seek by deeds of fame,
Through Time and Truth must first attempt the same.

Epig. V. *ÆTERNITAS. In caput.*

A crown of roses, pluck'd by her own hand
From Fame's fair tree, upon her head doth stand,
Whose amber tresses flowing down thereby,
Seem golden ensigns of Eternity.
He then that gets a trammel of that hair,
Or rose, for pledge of Honour's grace to wear,
The gallant is whom Fame shall eternize :
For Honour's gifts are glorious in all eyes.

Epig. VI. *FIDES. In frontem.*

Upon that crystal table of delight
The ivory front, Faith seems in open sight
To sit in triumph with each heavenly grace,
Ne'er mask'd or hid beneath another face :
And as the lovely front's rare formed feature
Most beautifies that angel-like fair creature,
So constant Faith more graces fame-grac'd Honour,
Than all the graces Heaven bestows upon her.

Epig. VII. SPES. *In oculos.*

The two star-twinkling twins, those lamps of light,
The body's sentinels, so quick of sight,
Beneath her crystal brow, Hope's windows are :
Out of the which, when Danger and Despair
Do threaten mischief, Hope looks up at heaven,
From whence for her dear sake all power is given.
When sad despair doth fill the heart with fears,
In Honour's eye Hope most of all appears.

Epig. VIII. CHARITAS. *In buccas.*

Upon the cheeks, on which as on a bed
Of snow-white lilies roses have been shed,
Sits Charity ;—and with the sweet delight
Of cheerful looks, that feed the gazer's sight,
Where milk commix'd with wine doth seem to flow,
Her bounteous gifts doth cheerfully bestow :
Not dead but living Charity, that gives
With cheerful count'nance, honour'd ever lives.

Epig. IX. PRUDENTIA. *In labra.*

The red soft silken lips, those leaves of rose,
Are the two doors of coral, that enclose
The closet up, where prudence day and night
Doth work upon the honey of delight,
The which the Muses thither bring with pain,
And after pours it through those lips again :
For Prudence' self herself doth honour'd prove,
When as those lips be still, or else do move.

Epig. X. JUSTITIA. *In dentes.*

The teeth, those two even ranks of pearl, do seem
To be the place which Justice doth esteem,
Who quern-like, grinding not for their own food
So much as for the body's common good,
Do daily work—and though they daily wear,
Yet in the public cause do not forbear.
True Justice here on earth most Honour gains,
When most for common good it suffers pains.

Epig. XI. FORTITUDO. *In collum.*

The neck, more white than snow on mountain-tops,
As Fortitude's fair column, underprops
Her globe-like head,—which, though but small in sight,
With majesty still stately stands upright.
If it do bow, 'tis but to grace the frame
Which it supports, it never fails the same.
Honour true Fortitude then most esteems,
When Fortitude is more that what it seems.

Epig. XII. TEMPERANTIA. *In mamillas.*

Those twin-like pretty buds of crimson rose
The dainty paps, you may compare to those
Two springs of Temperance ; which, a little swell'd,
The milk of goodness moderately do yield,

To nurse the Virtues ; pouring out no more
 Than will suffice, yet ever yielding store.
 This part of Honour, Temperance doth choose
 Amidst her store the golden mean to use.

Epig. XIII. CASTITAS. *In pectus.*

The snow-white breast, whose virtue keeps the treasure
 Of golden thoughts, the garden is of pleasure,
 In which the flower of Chastity doth sprout ;
 Whose spreading leaves Honour laps up from doubt
 Of bitter blasts, and keeps them curiously
 From scorching of the Sun's love-burning eye.
 Pure Chastity's fair flower, which doth grow
 In Honour's bosom, makes the goodliest show.

Epig. XIV. PUDICITIA. *In gremium.*

The red-cheek'd daughter of the blushing morn,
 Sweet Modesty ! of all the world forlorn,
 On Honour's lap nurs'd up, in safety lies,
 With unknown graces, hid from sight of spies.
 I think, except in Honour's self alone,
 Modesty's more imagined than known.

Epig. XV. CONCORDIA. *In manus.*

Those lily hands, when they with curious cunning
 Do touch the lute or viol with swift running,
 Concord so sweetly ; that to hear such sounds
 Winds would be still, and seas would keep their bounds :
 And those five champion-brethren, that do stand
 As arm'd with ivory helms on either hand,
 To guard the body safe do all agree,
 When any harms by foes intended be.
 Concord in peace a music is therefore ;
 In war, a safety honour'd evermore.

Epig. XVI. PATIENTIA. *In crura.*

Patience of all the Virtues and the Arts
 Is the main prop : and as those dainty parts,
 The neat proportion'd pillars, that do bear
 The body with quick motions here and there,
 For comely shape are the most graceful limbs ;
 So gentle Patience all the virtues dims.
 Chief glory by true Patience Honour gains,
 Patience alone the Virtues all sustains.

Epig. XVII. HUMILITAS. *In pedes.*

Low at the feet Humility doth rest,
 Yet is a virtue equal to the best.
 As the feet's feature, those two pretty bases,
 That glorious creature, woman, no less graces
 Than any part of all that goodly frame,
 Nor less doth please the eye that sees the same :
 So her Humility, which here I place
 Lowest of all, with Heaven's in highest grace.

Epig. XVIII.

He that shall ask—what reason I can show
Why Virtue should be feminine?—may know
The fair Pandora, unto whom was given
Each several virtue by the gods of heaven,
A woman was. Who asks—what Honour is?
An angel upon earth, and not amiss
Let him suppose:—else Honour let him take
For that Pandora, which the gods did make.

To the virtuous and noble Lady, the Lady Charity Howard, Wife to the
nobly-descended Sir Charles Howard, Knight, second Son to the right ho-
nourable the Earl of Nottingham, &c.

Epig. XIX.

Good, gracious, virtuous,—all I can pick forth
Are needless attributes t'explain your worth:
For, noble lady! your own proper name
Univocally doth express the same.
Deign then, that I your Charity may place
Amongst these few of Virtue's honour'd race:
And though I here unfitly, in rude rhymes,
Present to you the labour of lost times:
Yet, at the least, these children look upon,
The naked Graces, sure they be your own.
This, Lady, please to know—that they be three,
And of true Charity the children be.

Epig. XX. *In Aglaia.*

As fair Aglaia is the first in birth,
So is she first in bounty; and from mirth
Or true delight derives her name: which shows
That what she gives she cheerfully bestows.
Naked she is, that we by her may see
True benefits without imposture be.
Bathing i' th' Acidalian spring she says—
Who gives, must give for no reward or praise.
Who these three properties conceives, must yield
Aglaia to be Charity's own child.

Epig. XXI. *In Thalia.*

Thalia is the next:—a noble Grace,
Belov'd of God and man; and takes her place
At bounty's shrine—there offering thanks and praise.
For, hating gross ingratitude, she says—
From ever-flourishing I take my name,
That gifts in mind receiv'd, may as the same
Be ever green: for unto Charity
Ingratitude is chiefest enemy.
Therefore, this name Thalia she did give
The second Grace, that grace might ever live.

Epig. XXII. *In Euphrosynem.*

Euphrosyne is, though the last of three,
 A Grace not least belov'd of Charity.
 She's her delight. Euphrosyne therefore
 She calls her name : and as the first before
 Gives cheerfully, the second thankful takes,
 This third a double restitution makes.
 Since then these three true Charity explain—
 To give, to take, and to restore again ;
 The Graces to all, from Charity, say this—
 Give, take, restore, and never do amiss.

To the Pattern of Virtue and Paragon of Beauty, the Lady Margaret Smith,
 Wife to the right worshipful Sir Richard Smith.

Epig. XXIII.

Since Beauty's fair strikes blind the eyes of those
 That unto Beauty are but seeming foes :
 Since Virtue doth convince them, being blind,
 That are but seeming foes to womenkind :
 Mirror of beauty, and of virtue both !
 My humble Muse unknown, and therefore loth
 T'attempt your name, yet knowing well your worth,
 Meekly craves leave that she may pourtrait forth
 Your beauty and your virtue: not to flatter,
 But to oppose against our woman-hater.
 For not so much your own worth, as in you
 The worth of women I present to view :
 In whose defence your name shall stand in sight
 Like Beauty's pearl, or Virtue's margarite :⁷
 Which to behold, please to reflect your eye
 Upon these three—*unus, unam, uni.*

Epig. XXIV. *Unus.*

One more than excellent, we know, did make
 One woman excellent—whom we may take
 To be the Margarite ; and gave that woman
 The same, which with the Margarite is common.
 Beauty he gave to her: the Margarite
 Excels all other things, for crystal bright.
 He gave the woman virtue to sustain
 That beauty given : such virtue doth remain

* [Margarita being the Latin name for a pearl, and for the female name Margaret, it was frequently played upon in a complimentary way by our elder poets. Hence Drummond of Hawthornden, in an epitaph of one named Margaret, thus begins :

In shells and gold, pearls are not kept alone,
 A Margaret here lies beneath a stone ;
 A Margaret that did excel in worth
 All those rich gems the Indies both send forth.

Hence Gamage also, in his *Linsi. Woolsie, or two Centuries of Epigrams*, 1621, puts this interrogation :
 What odds 'twixt Margarit, a precious pearl ;
 And Margaret, a sweet and peerless girl ?

In this fair pearl or Margarite, that none
'Mongst gems most precious of more worth is known.
For which 'gainst envy in all women's right
We may present the precious Margarite.

Epig. XXV. *Unam.*

One woman made, was given to one man ;
Which in the Margarite, wise Nature can
And doth express. The woman men do honour,
For those chaste thoughts which do attend upon her,
Affecting only one. The Margarite
Doth never prosper, being indiscrete,
Or separated by itself alone ;
Which caus'd the Romans call it union :^s
For which, 'gainst envy, in all women's right
We may present the precious Margarite.

Epig. XXVI. *Uni.*

To one alone one woman thus was given,
That man might take it as a gift from Heaven ;
And keep it ever with such care and love,
That from it nothing should his heart remove.
The precious Margarite all men do covet,
And having gain'd it, do so dearly love it,
No coffer, cabinet, can be so strong,
As they do think, to keep it safe from wrong.
With men therefore let women have this right—
That every one may be a Margarite.

To the Mirror of true Constancy, the Lady Elizabeth Clere, Wife to the
noble Gentleman deceased, Sir Francis Clere, Knight.

Epig. XXVII.

True perfect image of that ancient worth
Deriv'd from parents at your happy birth,
Yet grac'd in mind with Heaven's more fair perfection ;
Grant that my Muse, who under your protection
'England's Eliza'⁹ once did safely sing,
May in the rank of honour'd women bring
Your worthy self,—that of your virtues *clear*
To woman-hating want-wits may appear.
So, noble Lady, shall my Muse go free
From envy's touch :—for men in you shall see
What some men say is wanting in your kind,
In your fair *Clere* such worth shall all men find.

^s [This term was given to the double pearl.]

⁹ [See the list of Niccols' productions prefixed to the present article, p. 2. 'England's Eliza' was inscribed to Lady Eliz. Clere.]

*In obitum benignissimi omnique gratiarum genere cumulatissimi viri Francisci
Clere, militis, &c.*

Epig. XXVIII.

If't be a virtue, speaking Virtue's praise,
The sleeping virtues of the dead to raise;
Virtue's dead living mirror ! leave I crave
To ope the entrance to thy honour'd grave.
Cleros his name was given at his birth ;
For living, he was Virtue's heir on earth.
Cleros his name to him, still dead, is given ;
For here though dead, he lives an heir in Heaven.
On earth his virtue's clear from envy's blame,
In Heaven he shines a star, *clear* as his name.

To the virtuous and my ever honoured Lady, the Lady Margaret Wroth,
Wife to the right worshipful Sir Thomas Wroth, Knight.

Epig. XXIX.

Wit's second unto none ! worth's excellence !
My pen, oblig'd by that due reverence
I owe to you, craves leave by you to show
What honour to your sex all men do owe :
The sparkling gem, whose worth all men esteem ;
The precious pearl, which all men rich do deem ;
The daisy, which men call the day's delight ;
All three the Romans title *Margarite*.
Much worth is in the gem that bears that name,
More worth in you that doubly bear the same.
Rich is that pearl, but rich is more your due ;
Fair is that flow'r, but far more fair are you :
This may suffice—who seeks in you, shall find
All fair, rich, worth, in body, name, and mind.

*In obitum nobilissimi benignissimique viri nuper defuncti Roberti Wroth, militis,
&c.*

Epig. XXX.

Worth's chief is dead, since worthy he is gone
Who of that name most worthy was alone.
Ye poor and hungry, all, his grave go find,
That holds the body of so fair a mind.
There sit ye down and sigh, for bounty dead,
Bounty, with that brave knight, to Heaven is fled :
Where, since he came, Heaven (as it doth appear)
Wanting a star to set by bounteous Clere,
In Wroth did place the *o* before the *r*,
And made it Worth, which since is made a star.

To all virtuous Ladies and Gentlewomen.

Epig. XXXI.

Earth's fairest figures of the saints in heaven !
T'whose angel-like rare beauties, pow'r is given
Their healths to dying men for to restore,
And strike them dead that had their healths before ;
Give life unto these lines, with gracious view,
Where, though your Honour's praises want their due,
Yet Honour's Image your ensample be,
And evermore be honoured of me.
My Muse for virtue Women shall adore :
A modest epigram can say no more.

Monodia: or, Waltham's Complaint, upon the Death of that most vertuous and noble Ladie, late deceased, the Lady Honor Hay: sole Daughter and heire to the right honorable Edward, Lord Dennie, Baron of Waltham, and wife to the right honorable James Lord Hay.

Virtus post funera vivit.

By R. N. Oxon.

London, printed by W. S. for Richard Meighen and Thomas Jones, and are to be sold at their Shop without Temple-barre, under S. Clements Church. 1615.

[Small Octavo, two sheets.]

Observations on the life of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, are given at some length by Lloyd, in his State Worthies, and he has had the honour of being characterised by Lord Clarendon with perspicuous skill and apparent impartiality. As a younger brother of a noble family in Scotland, and a well-bred courtier, he came to England with King James on his accession to that throne. He then took his degrees in favouritism, as a gentleman of his bedchamber, a groom of the stole, Lord Hay of Bewlie in 1609, Viscount Doncaster in Yorkshire in 1617, Earl of Carlisle in 1622, and a Knight of the Garter. Through the royal mediation, he obtained in marriage Honoria, the daughter and sole heiress of Lord Denny of Waltham Abbey, and with her (says the noble historian) 'a fair fortune in land.' On the celebration of their nuptials, Jan. 6, 1606-7, a curious sermon was preached before the king at Whitehall, by Robert Wilkinson, entitled 'The Merchant Royal;' and a masque, by Campian, was performed at court, in honour of the same solemnity. At the demise of Lady Hay, 1615, the present elegiac tribute was offered by

Niccols, who in the preceding year had inscribed to the same patroness¹ his 'Vertue's Encomium.'

Lord Hay in 1616 went on an embassy to France, accompanied by the distinguished Dr. Hall bishop of Exeter and Norwich. He afterwards married the beautiful Lucy Percy, daughter to the Earl of Northumberland, who held the next place to Sacharissa in the poems of Waller, and who was left a widow, and 'a busy stateswoman,' (according to Sir Philip Warwick) in 1636: her lord, having spent, in a very jovial life, above 400,000 pounds. See Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol 1, part 1.

To the right honourable and religious Patterns of Virtue, and Patrons of Learning, Edward Lord Dennie, Baron of Waltham; and his most noble son, James Lord Hay.

RIGHT honourable Lords, though unworthy and unknown (as not worthy to be known to your Lordships,) I want that good opinion begot by foreknowledge, which like a pleasing glass, that makes any thing that is seen through it seem better than it is, might set a fair gloss upon the forefront of this rude poem. Yet not doubting but that your Honours will vouchsafe to look upon my imperfections herein, with more affection, out of passion for the dead's sake whom here I honour, than judgment, out of reason to discuss how unworthy I am to discourse of such honour: I presume to offer up in my 'Waltham's Complaint' this funeral Obsequy, or mournful 'Monodia,' at the shrine of your favours, as the sacrifice of my last duty to the most noble, and to you most dear, dead Lady; of whom, living by her 'Sisters' Tears,'² my Muse in her first infancy of being known, finding gracious acceptance, but deprived the fruition thereof through inevitable chance, and hoping with her weak breath to revive those sparks that my enforced absence had raked up in the ashes of oblivion, lately singing the image of her *Honor*, was (alas! that I should say she was) too suddenly thunder-stricken by that unlooked-for dart of Death, in top of all her hopes. Wherefore, both of that³ consecrated to her honor then living; and of this devoted to your Lordships, in honor of her now dead; most humbly craving your gracious protections, I live

Your Honours

Most humbly at command,

R. N.

To the same right honourable Lords, the Lord Dennie and the Lord Hay.

THE last, the least, and yet best deed alone
 Done to the dead, by those that do survive, —
 Is to record their virtues, they being gone;
 For only virtue keeps the dead alive.
 My last, my least, and yet my best I can
 Of duty to that honour'd Lady's name,
 Which from her virtues first in me began,
 I owe to you, that best can judge the same:
 My subject, noble Lords, doth fit your worth;
 And since my humble style is far too base,
 I for the subject's sake do pick you forth,
 That style and subject both may purchase grace:

¹ [Bolton, in his *Extinct Peerage*, blunders much about this lady, and makes her wife to her son, the second Earl of Carlisle, who married Margaret Russel. See Granger's *Biog. Hist.* ii. 382.]

² [A funeral poem on the death of Prince Henry in 1613.]

³ [See Dedication to 'Vertue's Encomium,' p. 3. *supra*.]

Which if, great Lords, my humble Muse obtain,
'Waltham's Complaint' cannot be told in vain.

Your Honours

Most humbly devoted,
RICH. NICCOLS.

WALTHAM'S COMPLAINT.

IN that sixth month whose name at first begun
From great Augustus, good Octavius' son,
When in each fertile field the flowery grain
Shot up on high, did bow their heads again,
As doing humble homage to the earth,
From whence they took their being, and their birth;
And every fruitful tree did seem to groan,
As burden'd with the fruit that hung thereon,
Inviting all that past by their abode
To strip their boughs, and ease them of their load;
Beside the banks of Lee's delightful brook,
Which Waltham's ancient town doth overlook,
I walk'd; expecting in the day's prime birth
The joy with which the Morning greets the earth;
But she, as not dispos'd to mirth, did lay
Her azure robes, with silver fring'd, away;
And in their stead, whose wear the world doth glad,
Was in dark russet mantle meanly clad:
A vale of mist her silver brow did hide,
The golden trammels of her hair were tied
In fillets of black clouds, and with sad look
She, mourner-like, to Heaven her journey took.
Earth, as it had a part in sorrow bore,
Upon her back a cloak of vapours wore;
And, as if wanting eyes her grief to show,
Her grass, instead of tears, dropt weeping dew
Into the river Lee, by which I stood:
Three other brooks,^{*} that to increase her flood
Did pour themselves, with her along did glide,
As if no grief their waters could divide;
Which their mix'd waves did mutually declare,
By breathing vapoury sighs into the air,
Whose waters bubbling o'er the pebble stone,
(As if they would unto the trees, upon
The banks on either side, express by voice
An inward sorrow,) made a murmuring noise.
All things that came beneath my sight, did show
As each with other would consort in woe;
Which through mine eyes did steal my heart's consent
To bear a part; for I to Waltham went,
Beside whose Abbey there, a work of praise
Which worthy hands, in antique time did raise,

^{*} Marram, Bean, and the Stower, with an arm called the Shire-lake, because it divideth Essex and Hertford shires.

That noble Baron's⁵ hospitable seat,
 Where rich and poor find bountiful intreat,
 Sad spectacle of sorrow I did see,
 The sight of which did much impassion me :
 On the bare ground, sitting in open field,
 A fair, but forlorn lady I beheld,
 Without remorse, now rending from her head
 Her yellow hair, like threads of gold dispread
 About her silver neck ; now beating sore
 Her breast, the lodge of grief, and evermore
 Fixing her eye so steadfast on the ground,
 As thence from her own tears, which did abound,
 As from a crystal glass help she would borrow,
 To see the face of her own face's sorrow ;
 Whose woeful gesture did my heart so wound,
 That I requested her to show the ground
 Of this her grief, and she as loth to speak,
 Yet in these words at last did silence break.
 " In vain, my voice, in vain thou dost impart
 Weak words, for signs of my woe-wounded heart,
 In vain, my heart, do thy sad sighs arise,
 From inward thoughts, with tears to fill mine eyes ;
 In vain, mine eyes, your moist tears overflow,
 No grief so great that can express my woe :
 Weak words, sad sighs, moist tears, in vain ye be,
 Mine Honour dead, I never more shall see."

To hear her mourning, and her sad complaint,
 I silent was awhile, with grief's constraint ;
 Till sorrow's self did urge me ask her name,
 To which thus she this sad reply did frame.
 " Waltham I was, and though some think I am
 What I have been, yet bear I but the name
 Of what I was ; and yet in my distress
 Such is my chance (hard chance you well may guess)
 That wretched I of late, through death's despite,
 Have lost my dear, my darling, my delight,
 The light of nature, ornament of earth,
 Model of heaven, the pearl of grace, whose birth
 Did with that Honour grace my fruitful womb,
 Which now, she dead, lies buried in her tomb.
 For know (alas ! that it should e'er be known,)
 My Honour late is dead, is dead and gone !
 Was't not enough that fortune, who takes pleasure
 In human woes, bereav'd me of that treasure,
 Which daily Lee's large stream, (though now a poor,
 And petty brook,) did bring unto my shore,
 Till Alfred⁶, scourge of Danes, that royal king,
 Her larger stream to lesser brooks did bring,
 When Denmark's navy did on her broad breast
 My sister Hertford with long siege molest,

⁵ The Lord Dennie.

⁶ Or Alured ; which upon this occasion is called the King's stream at Waltham. Ralph Holles, li. 2, Description. Britt. [See also Warner's *Albion's England*, p. 312, edit. 1596 ; Smollett's *Hist. of England*, vol. 1, p. 182 ; and Scott's *Descriptive Poem of Amwell*, p. 5, 1st edit.]

Where he that time his foes' proud hearts did tame,
And burnt their Danish fleet with English flame?
Was't not enough, I say, I so should be
Bereft of comfort in beloved Lee;
But that, by death, even she, whom all did know
To be (ay me! that now she is not so,)
My garland's fairest flower, should be defac'd,
The fairest flower that e'er my garland grac'd?
No hand will crop the stem up in despite,
That yearly yieldeth flowers for delight;
No churl will lay his axe unto the root
Of such a plant, that yearly yieldeth fruit:
Yet she, true plant of honour, (O stern Death!)
Ev'n bearing fruit, was blasted by thy breath.
If ever beauty might prevail with thee,
A rarer beauty eye did seldom see;
If ever honour—she most noble dame
Was Honor's self, in nature and in name;
If ever virtue—she was that fair shrine
Whence virtue's beams unto the world did shine.
How could'st thou, looking on her lovely face,
Lift up thy hand to strike, when in that place
Youth, grac'd with all the graces heaven could give,
Did with such beauty beg thy leave to live?
How could'st thou but let fall thy deadly dart,
When sadly she, (at thought of which my heart
Now bleeds afresh) distilling from her eyes
Drops pure as pearl, did show in woeful wise
Her childed womb, that thou should'st pity take,
If not for her's, yet for her infant's sake?
How could'st, I say, but mildly look upon her,
When, in her burden'd womb, that babe of honour
Did for the mother mercy seem to cry;
And she, again, for her dear babe would die?
Oh, unrelenting Death! thou could'st not then
Strike, though thy hand were lifted up; but when
Lucina brought the sweet babe from the throes
Of the chaste mother to this world of woes;
Then, then, thy hand did crop my honour's flower,
My beauty's bud, my bounty's paramour.

“ But why did Nature, to augment her fame,
With cunning build up such a glorious frame?
And Heav'n with her more glorious spirit grace it,
Finding no fairer mansion where to place it,
Yet leave it, like vain bubble made of breath,
To be a triumph to victorious Death?—
Poor Nature, well I see that all thy pow'r
But weakness is; Death daily doth devour
Thy noblest works; of beggars, and of kings,
The generation from corruption springs.
Flesh is but dust, made up in human shape,
To which weak Nature, like th' Eternal's ape,
T'induce us to believe that she can give
Eternity, to make it ever live,

A lively colour over it doth lay,
 Which makes flesh think it never shall decay,
 But flourish ever ; when unlook'd-for Death
 Doth in a moment blast it with his breath.
 Flesh is but flesh, the fairest things do fall,
 The strongest stoop, death is the end of all.
 Love-drawing load-stars, unto whom is given
 Shape, like the winged messengers of heaven,
 To whose sweet beauties all men's knees are bent,
 Help me, O help me, kindly to lament
 This honour'd Lady ! Lady of all honour !
 And in your gentle hearts so think upon her,
 That in the glass, when you with curious care
 Trimming the tresses of your golden hair,
 Shall wonder at yourselves, you then may say—
 This beauty is but borrow'd for a day,
 An hour, a minute, or a moment's space ;
 Death's here, is there, at hand in every place.
 The spring's most hopeful bud, in youthful May
 Is sometimes with the blossom blown away ;
 The fruit sometimes doth perish in the bud ;
 At most, it can attain but so much good,
 As to grow ripe, and drop into the shade ;
 Both blossom, bud, and fruit in time do fade,
 Nor do I simply challenge Death alone,
 Of that late wrong, (too soon, alas ! yet done
 To the dead mirror of all women kind ;)
 Th' inevitable end of things design'd,
 And written by the great Creator's hand,
 In the star-text of heaven, shall ever stand ;
 And in itself is good ; but every end,
 Upon a mediate cause doth still depend :
 And though by means at evil ends we aim,
 Yet divine Providence directs the same ;
 And makes (when wicked we, all good neglect)
 An evil cause produce a good effect.
 So that sad instrument of wicked ill,
 By which Death doubtless found the way to spill
 This glorious work of Nature, evil meant,
 Spoil was the end and scope of his intent ;
 But Heaven did frustrate what his purpose was,
 Yet in his action suffer'd him to pass,
 That so her soul, shut up in house of clay
 Unworthy such a guest, might find a way
 Upon Death's ladder from base earth to rise,
 For Death is Honour's scale to climb the skies.
 “ But woe to thee the while, whose wicked hands
 Were instruments of death, t' unknit the bands
 Which in that body held so fair a mind,
 In which foul Envy's self no fault could find.
 O wretched World ! whose crooked back doth bow
 And groan beneath four ages past ; yet thou
 As old in evil, as in age, dost nurse
 Thine own disease, and (which, alas ! is worse,)

Dost only yield thine aged paps to those
That are black mischief's friends, and virtue's foes.
Thine iron age, the worst of all the four,
In no part good, when good men did deplore
Astræa's flight from hence to heaven above,
Was not so bad, but that it may improve
This thy last age of clay, of dirt, of mud,
Of any thing more vile, or void of good,
When evil spirits in shapes of men do dwell,
And earth itself is made another hell.
Astræa then from earth to heaven did fly,
Because Truth trodden down, did helpless lie
Beneath oppression; and to her was given
That place, where now she holds the scale in heaven:
Yet Honour with us still did seem to stay,
As if, from earth heaven would not take away
Virtue's reward, till vice did so abound,
That now true virtue no where can be found;
Or if it can, yet doth it want reward;
The sons of Honor now have no regard.
To baser vice, greatness of state inclines,
Whose upstart grooms each where in purple shines:
Soul-saving Virtue shames to show her face,
To be true virtuous now, is to be base;
And honesty, whence Honor takes her name,
To those profess it, is accounted shame.
Then happy she, though hapless we lament
The absence of her noble soul, which sent
From heaven at first, as heavenly dew did fall
Upon this sinful earth; and finding all
Too gross and muddy, where she might remain,
Was through the pores of her life's fruit again
Exhal'd from earth, by those attractive rays,
Which Heaven's bright sun of mercy thence displays
Where unto her all glory now is given,
Astræa's self, and all those stars in heaven
Which antique times did stellify of yore,
Give honour unto Honor evermore.

"No part of those rare parts that did excel,
Whose worth no tongue, much less thy Muse could tell,
Though she, oblig'd by duty, gave th' assay;
While time doth last, on earth shall e'er decay;
For Heaven, whom living she did truly honour,
Now dead, bestows a living name upon her;
A name to live, while fame hath wings to fly;
For sure on earth the fame shall never die
Of her true noble sire, a patron known
Unto weak want, and second unto none
For great good deeds, which envy cannot blame
Nor to this Lord deny, but yield what fame
To him, and his dear Daughter dead, doth give;
That she by him, and he by her may live,

May live in those two noble⁷ plants which she,
 True honour'd Lord, hath living left to thee ;
 In whom, that so thine image, and her own,
 May unto all posterity be known,
 Heaven give them length of days, and bless them so,
 That from such plants fruit evermore may grow,
 Who in all future times may claim the crown
 Of that illustrate deed, which did renown
 Their father's name ; of which if these bad days,
 Which slight best things, would hearken to my lays,
 My Muse, great Lord, should strike so high a string,
 That boldest bards should cease to hear her sing ;
 And on thy falcon's wings aloft should soar,
 To tell of thy great ancestors of yore,
 And of their valour, whence derived came
 Those arms, that now nobilitate thy name.
 When like a tempest, that proud pagan host,
 From the north seas arriv'd on Scotland's⁸ coast,
 Where near Loncart⁹, the noble river Tay,
 From that sad sight, as griev'd, did glide away,
 When she beheld her country's lot sink down,
 And fame, in fight, her foes with conquest crown,
 Till with his plough-beam glory-thirsting Hay,
 Aided by his two sons, did cross the way :
 And forc'd his flying countrymen again,
 With courage to turn head upon the Dane ;
 Whose host destroy'd, with a plough-beam, that day
 He sav'd his king¹⁰ and country from decay :
 Of which upon that field, the Hay's own land,
 The Falcon's stone,¹¹ a trophy still doth stand.

“ But back, my Muse, their glory may not be
 Thy subject now ; yet we by this may see,
 That by him living, blest is she now dead,
 Who made him blessed by a fruitful bed :
 She dead, he living, both blest evermore,
 In that fair fruit which her chaste bosom bore,
 Her chastest bosom, which was once the bower
 Where virtue's queen did keep her court, whose flower,
 Which from a plant in paradise did spring,
 Set in her thoughts' fair garden, forth did bring
 The fruit of chaste desire, and spotless love ;
 For which her happy soul now sits above
 Those, that for other virtues praised been :
 In women, chastity is virtue's queen,
 Which through that grace, which unto her was given
 For her true zeal unto the King of Heaven,

⁷ [A son of this lady succeeded to the earldom of Carlisle in 1636, but dying without issue in 1660, the title became extinct. It was revived, however, in the following year in the family of Howard.]

⁸ As the red braves, or red head in Angus.

⁹ A village, famous for that battle. [In the vicinity of Perth. See Campbell's Tour in Scotland, vol. i. p. 326.]

¹⁰ King Kenneth.

¹¹ Hay had given him for his service, (besides other honours) as much land, as a falcon, being cast off, should fly, before she alighted. Hollingsh. in his History of Scotland.

(Without the which none can possess the same)
While life did last, she kept from touch of blame.
Ye nobler dames, that all vain thoughts despise,
Who would preserve from theft of hungry eyes
Your flower of beauty, and would quench the fires
Which false-term'd love hath tin'd¹² in base desires;
Ensue her steps in grace and piety,
Which are the guardians of true chastity :
O let not those shape-shifters, that do steal
By false pretence of sanctimonious zeal,
Into the closet of your thoughts, entice
Your ears from truth ; who, by a new device,
Teaching to be unchaste to be no crime,
Or venial at the least, abuse the time ;
Nor let those palace-parasites, those apes,
Who putting on the gestures and the shapes
Of graver men, with their profaner lips,
To make their ladies laugh, spit forth court-quipps
Against devotion, mocking holy things.
Improve your sanctity, whence all good springs:
Shame not to show in public (as she did)
Your zeal to Heaven ; true zeal will not be hid.
Join outward action to your inward will ;
Not to do good, she knew, was to do ill.
But from her faith, th' efficient cause of good,
And those diviner virtues, understood
Of heavenly souls, in which she did excel,
Let me proceed her other gifts to tell.

Lest courtly ease, of great ones counted state,
To wanton vice might open virtue's gate,
Her studious soul was exercised still ;
For where ease is, 'tis easy to do ill.
When she herself to solace did dispose
To pass the time, no vain delights she chose ;
If in her needle she did take delight,
What fairer pattern than her hand's fair white ?
If she by art the lilies' white would show,
Then, if not there, where did white lilies grow ?
If azure brooks, winding the lands about,
In their true figure she would portrait out,
Then those blue veins were such, which on her hand
Made little islands in a little land.
Would she work roses with a perfect red,
Her lips, as often as she did behead
The silk, grown short, with pearl-like teeth had power
To give a crimson colour to each flower ;
Which on her work, so like the life did show,
As if they by her eyes' fair beams did grow ;
And through her touch, for scent did so excel,
As if her breath had giv'n them fragrant smell ;
In which, for skill, with that rare Lydian dame
She seem'd with Pallas to contend for fame.

¹² Lost itself.

Sometimes her dainty voice, with breath as sweet
 As April zephyr's gentle gales, that greet
 Our scent with odour of the morning's rose,
 Sweet ditties did in such sweet tunes compose,
 That all that heard her so amazed were,
 As if their souls were only in the ear :
 While her soft hand would gently touch the lute,
 And sometimes bid the viol not be mute ;
 Who taught by her, as if they did rejoice
 To bear a part to so divine a voice,
 Such heavenly music to the ear would bring,
 That Jove's nine daughters could no better sing ;
 With whom she, honour'd lady, nights and days
 Would spend in hearing their harmonious lays,
 And unto learning, ever being a friend,
 To hopeful wits her help she would extend.
 But here, perhaps, if thou do hap to write
 Her noble worth, which now I do recite ;
 Virtue's companion, black-mouth'd Envy says,
 ' Thy pen doth drop a mercenary praise.'
 But to acquit thee here, the world may know
 She liv'd not, noble lady, to bestow
 Her purpos'd favours on thy forlorn Muse,
 In whom her worth (yet which I more abuse
 Than truly blazon) cannot silent sleep ;
 Of her great worth what Muse can silence keep ?
 Ye thrice three Sisters of that sacred spring,
 About whose banks ye sit, and sadly sing
 Your heavenly skill's contempt, and learning's scorn ;
 Double your grief, for greater cause to mourn
 How can ye have ? your art must now needs perish,
 Since all are dead, with her that arts did cherish.
 Look not in court or city any more,
 To find that grace was given you of yore :
 Now, gentle bloods, train'd up in fancy's school,
 Do give the due of learning to the fool ;
 Your art is base, your skill is counted shame,
 You must be poor, with those profess the same.
 And thou, unhappy swain, whose Muse did raise
 An ' Image of her Honour,' poor essays
 In haste compil'd, in hope her grace to gain ;
 Neglect of which forc'd absence did constrain,)
 This Lady's loss may most of all lament,
 Too hasty death did all thy haste prevent.
 What boots it here to bid thy Muse be sad ?
 Who now more grieves, that she may say she had
 Hope in good hap, till that unhappy day
 That death, with her, took hope and hap away.
 Then justly hast thou part in my complaint,
 To wail the loss of that now heavenly saint ;
 For who like her (ah ! none like her is left,)
 Will deign to hear thee sing ; thou art bereft
 Of future hopes ; who spake thee fair, forlorn,
 Now mock thy hopes and laugh thy cares to scorn.

Break then thy pipe, that was thy wonted bliss,
Whose tunes once pleas'd, if some think not amiss;
Ne let thy Clio's trump (whose sound did bring
The dead to life, when Envy's ears did ring,
To hear the praises of Eliza's ¹³ name,)
Be ever heard to sound the deeds of fame.
May none alive, that do the Muses wrong,
Once dead, be nam'd in any Muse's song.
Ne let the painted theatre be grac'd
With tragic scene from thee:—(wit so misplac'd
Hath weav'd the webs of folly;) neither let
Thy Muse, henceforth, more serious things forget,
To please the world:—who best deserves shall find
Best friends wax cold, and all the world unkind.
Then henceforth silent sit in thy sad cell,
And evermore bid such delights farewell;
Or in thy thoughts, if to thyself thou raise
A shrine to virtue, where to offer praise,—
To whom so chaste, yet fair as eye could find?
To whom so fair, and yet so meek in mind?
To whom so meek, yet born in Honor's throne,
Canst offer it, but unto her alone?
In them that live, what now is worthy found?
Who only vaunt to hear false flattery sound
Their painted beauties; chiefly they provide
Them parasites to praise their foolish pride;
Sly apes, that can but congé with a leg,
Do gain their grace, while learned wits may beg.
Go then, ah! go thou to yon sacred fane
In which her chaste dead body doth remain;
For left to me (poor Waltham) nothing is
Of my dear Honor now, excepting this,
That burial to her body dead I give,
Who gave it birth, at first when it did live.
There, as thou didst before her living shed
Thy 'Sisters' Tears,'¹⁴ for royal Henry dead;
Unto her tomb, let tears thy duty tell,
And from sad Waltham bid a sad farewell!"

This said, she sigh'd; and, as that sigh did rise,
She rose and vanish'd from before mine eyes:
Which not so 'maz'd to see, as griev'd to know
Her cause of grief, I to that place did go
To seek the grave, and bless that happy stone
Which keeps the shrine where Honor kept her throne;
Where when I came, the doors did say me nay;
From whence debar'd, with grief I went my way;
Else on her tomb, whose soul now lives in bliss,
I had impos'd this Honor's pyramis.

¹³ [Another allusion apparently to his historical poem entitled "England's Eliza."]

¹⁴ [Or elegiac poem on the death of Prince Henry. See prefix to 'Vertue's Encomium,' p. 2.]

Sky.³⁵

Azure
'Bove the
T' indure,
Most sure
Than this here:

And greater
Far better
In H O N O R

Ever to live.
God her doth give
That place of rest,
For Abram's breast,
To place her in:
Too mean hath been
An Angel's room
Where being come,

To this her bold assay.
And Charity made way
Hope made her heart soar high,
Faith gave her wings to fly,
To blast her youth's May-flower,
That age might have no power
'Tis thought this Lady past,
And thither, with more haste,
Above each heavenly star;
She is ascended far
Which Fame bestow'd upon her,
For leaving earthly honour,
Her sweet soul did aspire:
'Bove which, with brave desire,

Above the earth they do abide;
The baser earth can never hide,
Her virtues, and her nobler parts,
But her true love to learned Arts,
Her part of earth to earth doth give:
That was, while she on earth did live,
As fair a Fair as any one
Fair H O N O R here beneath this stone,

FINIS.

³⁵ [It may be needful to direct the reader to begin at the base of the pyramid and read upwards to its pinnacle, in order to comprehend the meaning of the writer. Puttenham in his 'Arte of English Poesie,' 1589, has given two examples of the metrical spire, or taper, called pyramis; and the first of them, designed to represent the noble and virtuous nature of her Majesty (Q. Elizabeth) terminates in a similar manner to the present. Many other fanciful devices for poetic puerilities appear in the same work. See Mr. Haslewood's accurate and elegant reprint, 1811.]

A Mirrour of Mercy and Judgement: or an exact true Narrative of the Life and Death of Freeman Sonds Esquier, Sonne to Sir George Sonds, of Lees Court in Shelwich in Kent. Who being about the Age of 19; for Murthering his elder Brother, on Tuesday, the 7th of August, was arraigned and condemned at Maidstone, executed there on Tuesday the 21st of the same Moneth, 1655.

Deus vindictæ gladium misericordiæ oleo perungit.

‘ For he shall have judgement without mercy that hath shewed no mercy,
‘ and mercy rejoyceth over judgement.’

JAMES ii. 13.

London: Printed for Thomas Dring, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Signe of the George in Fleet-street, neere Clifford's Inne. 1655.

[Quarto, Thirty-eight Pages.]

The two following interesting tracts have already met the public eye in a modern form, from a provincial press; but the *Evesham* edition, besides its not possessing the merit of fidelity, is already become as unfrequent of occurrence as the original tracts themselves: the editor, therefore, imagines that their being correctly reprinted here will hardly need excuse.

He has met with little more concerning ‘ the family and fortunes of Sir George Sondes, ‘ after the awful desolation of his first family and blooming hopes,’ than what is contained in the preface to the above named edition, as follows:—

‘ Sir G. Sondes lived many years after the lamentable catastrophe, so faithfully and feelingly ‘ related by him. For we find that in the year 1676, the 20th year afterwards, and 28th ‘ of King Charles the II^d. he was by that prince, in consideration of his loyalty and ‘ faithful services to King Charles the Ist. advanced to the dignity of a peer of this realm ‘ of England, by the style and title of Baron of Throwleigh, Viscount Sondes, of Lees- ‘ Court, and Earl of Feversham in the county of Kent, with remainder, (he then having ‘ no male issue) to Lewis Lord Duras, of Holdenby, who had married his eldest daughter ‘ by a second wife, who was Mary, daughter of Sir William Villiers, of Brokesby, in the ‘ county of Leicester, Bart. by whom he had issue two daughters, viz—the Lady Mary, ‘ married to the said Lewis de Duras, Marquis of Blanquefort in France, created in ‘ 1672, 24 Car. II. Baron Duras, of Holdenby, who succeeded to the earldom of Fe- ‘ versham upon the decease of his father-in-law, and died in the year 1709; and, 2d, ‘ Lady Catherine, wife of Lewis Watson, Baron, and afterwards Earl of Rockingham, ‘ in the county of Northampton, by whom she had several children; and by the death of ‘ her elder sister, Countess of Feversham, without issue, became heir general to Sir G. ‘ Sondes, Earl of Feversham, their father. She died in 1695. Of her children by the ‘ said Lewis Watson, Earl of Rockingham, Edward, the eldest, commonly called Lord ‘ Viscount Sondes, married, April 22, 1708, the Lady Catherine, eldest daughter and ‘ co-heir of Thomas Tufton, Earl of Thanet, by whom he had two sons, Lewis and ‘ Thomas, who were successively Earls of Rockingham, and died without male issue.’—
Some few further particulars may be gleaned from *Hasted's History of Kent*.

To the disconsolate Sir George Sondes, &c.

SAD SIR,

BEING a stranger to your person, I shall be secured, I presume, from prejudice, and freed from the world's censure; whilst it cannot be imagined or said, without an high guilt of malice, that in compiling this work (which I did too at others requests) I aimed at any other interest, or had any design, but only the glory of God in the manifestation of his mercy and justice.

I confess, sir, I had a little acquaintance with your mourning pen, in a most Christian and fatherlike letter to your sorrowing condemned son, dated August 20, wherein you acted the part of a tender father, and more, of a divine; as appears by your large and pious exhortations, advising him not to despair of mercy and forgiveness: 'for that man's sin cannot be so great, but God's mercy is greater, and that hell is only full of impenitent souls; pressing him to beware of self-deceiving, to deal plainly and clearly with his God, by judging and condemning himself for his matchless sin; and not to doubt, but upon his humble and hearty sorrow for it, he should find that made good to his soul which the thief upon the cross heard from the sweet lips of our Lord Jesus, 'This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' Besides this to him, I had the sight of two letters more, by you written to the honoured Sir Humphrey Tufton, knight and bart. sheriff, &c. one dated August 15, the other 16, wherein you did 'most humbly beg and intreat, (it is your own phrase) that he would be pleased to respite the execution for a short time, upon this ground (which was the chiefest cause of your earnest request) that it might conduce much to the good of your son's poor soul:' and of this you was assured by a few lines from me, the night before he should have suffered, and so fallen into the bosom of eternity; which, that it might be of joy and everlasting happiness, was the subject of your prayers and pen; which joined issue with our ministerial actings and assistances, of which he had (by God's blessing) a plentiful measure.

You said well in your letter to him, that 'it was not all the prayers, and tears, and cries of all the godly ministers about him, nor the earnest beggings of yourself his father, nor the churches public intercessions, which could work his conversion, and obtain a pardon for him, unless his heart went along with ours, and combined with our holy endeavours; unless he begged it of God himself with earnest supplications, you said truly, that all would be in vain. The hottest sun cannot make a dead tree live; nor the strongest blowing kindle fire in a dead coal. If there be no sap in the root, the sun doth but dry, and not enliven the tree: and if no heat of fire lies under the ashes, all the blowings will never make it to burn.' (These are your own words.) Then, bespeaking your son, you add this: 'I hope thou hast some sparks of grace in thee, though deeply buried under a world of rubbish; and I hope all those godly bel-lows (you mean the breath of the ministers) will blow that away, and make thy fire of true repentance and godly sorrow burn clear; and make thee able truly to say with the prodigal, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son;' then he will embrace thee in the arms of his mercy, he will feast thee in his heavenly mansions; and say unto thee, 'thou wert lost, but now art found; thou wast dead in sin, but now thou art alive in Christ, &c.' Oh, happy sadness, if it produce this joy! Oh, happy death, if it procure thee this blessed life! Happy change, to leave a sinful world and a sea of misery, to go to an haven of bliss,' &c. These are the breathings of your soul, and as you presaged and wished: there we hope your converted son is now beholding the glorious face of his Lord Jesus. Now, sir, who but the malicious (who look with a squint eye upon all good intents and actions) will not say, that you had in you towards your provoking son, the same bowels as David had in him towards his Absalom? Who can imagine that he can be guilty of discouraging severity to his child, to whom he had used too much cockering indulgence in his life, and of whom he was so charitably careful and forgiving before his death? I confess, that the sweetest wines turn to

the sharpest vinegar ; and the best love abused into hatred and the worst displeasure. An act of disobedience and contempt of command, from one whom we have admitted into a deep affection, is ever entertained with greater dislike, repaid with frowns, neglect and slighting. Thus a command from you his father, in reference to his elder brother, being not obeyed, forced you to a paternal severity, to threats, &c. which were not a sufficient ground to provoke him to that bloody act, unless a melancholy passion, (he being deeply in love with a fair gentlewoman) together with a diabolical suggestion, had (God's grace for a time deserting him) possessed his heart, and carried on his hand to attempt and act so horrid a sin.

Sir, you do like a Christian in the close of your letter to him, in charging yourself with a fault, for which, it may be, God brought on you this heavy judgment. It was old Eli's sin, your too much softness and gentleness, 'Do so no more my son,' was Eli's, (1 Sam. ii. 14.) the same your oft and soft expression (as you attest) to him : you say, 'you ought to have gone higher ;' and I believe you did, when you went to your heavenly Father by prayer, for amending what was amiss in him ; but to go higher in passion, might have made you fallen lower in his and your friend's esteem : and it is a part of your son's glory, that in all his sufferings, restraints, and high provocations from one of your unworthy servants, he never discovered any passion or impatience, but meekly, with a composed countenance, used to pray for him, and the rest of his barbarous revilers, and say, 'God forgive them.'

A moderate correction and reproof, carried on with moderation, becomes the persons of masters to their servants, tutors to their pupils, and parents to their children. Too much severity, and too much remissness from them, have destroyed many. Some hearts, like clay, are hardened by the sun-shine of favours and gentleness. To say with that old Eli, 'Why do ye so ?' to say this (and no more) with a gentle voice, when the sin deserves the thunder of a bold and majestic reprehension, or more ; such an easy reproof doth encourage wickedness, and makes it measure itself by that slight censure, and think itself light, because it finds no greater weight from its reprover. As it is with ill humours, that a weak dose doth but stir and anger them, and not bring them off ; so it fareth with sins acted by inferiors, some whereof being of a greater magnitude and deeper stain, get growth and increase by remissness. To trouble you no more with a farther gloss upon your confession, I shall only add this as a caution to all parents : they that are indulgent, are cruel to themselves and their posterity : had you been more severe, you might have had two sons living to be the prop of your family, and less sorrow ; which is augmented by your reflecting on your indulgency and loving care of them, which by them was (as it seems) abused, and not improved to that height of piety as was by you, their father, intended. I hope this complicated sin in you and them, hath met with a gracious pardon from the God of mercy, your Father which is in heaven, who will in his good time dry up the stream of your sorrow, which now runs full ; so that I conceive it vain to oppose counsel, or to go about to stop that torrent which will run over the banks of nature, and never cease till it be bounded with grace and comfort from the God of patience. I confess, such losses, (the loss of children) when they come singly, afflict us ; but when double, astonish and overwhelm our spirits, even to impatience. A wife, is a man's self divided ; children, himself multiplied ; and at one blow to lose all, is enough to batter the greatest courage ; and it is a mercy if that man be not with immoderate grief distracted.

But, good sir, remember that saying of that brave Spartan lady, who hearing of the death of her two sons in one day, only replied thus with an undaunted courage, *peperi mortales*. 'What news is it for those that carry death in their names and natures, to die ? No more hath befallen them than was expected.' But so was not your sons death ; it was sudden and unexpected ; and, as providence or foresight abates grief, and discourtenances a cross, so now that you could not foresee this bloody storm, by so much must your grief be augmented. I profess I mourn with you in secret, and at this hour tears are ready to mingle with mine ink ; and could I mitigate your sorrow by bearing a part with you, I wish my burden might be your ease : but let me tell you, that now is the trial of your spirit and Christianity ; you are now in the lists, set upon by a lion and a bear, two

of God's fierce afflictions, one son murdered, another executed; notwithstanding this, shew your fortitude and patience, and hereby approve to us, in this great difficulty and heavy strait, that you have all this while been a Christian in earnest. Resign up yourself and all that you have to God, to be disposed of by him, the donor, according to his good will and pleasure; and say with those humble ones to St. Paul, 'The will of the Lord be done:' Acts xxi. 14. and be ready to suffer patiently more for him, who hath done and suffered so much for your salvation. Our Lord Christ, for the glory that was set before him, 'endured the cross, and despised the shame.' Heb. xii. 2. This text your son had in his mouth a little before his death, and what I then said to him I repeat to you; so long as glory may redound to God by his shameful death upon a gibbet, do you take comfort, and glory in it. Resolve henceforward to act what the noble matron in St. Hierom once said and did, when she had at one time the corpse of her dead husband, and the bodies of her two only sons, slain in the field, exposed to her view, only replied thus, with weeping eyes: 'By this I shall learn to take off my heart from the world, and serve my God with more attention and greater devotion, being more frequent in prayer and reading of his holy word.' Thus did she; and thus if you do, putting into practice that counsel which Daniel gave to the King of Babylon, (Dan. iv. 24, 27.) then will God, when he sees it fit, (and the times being in his hands, his seasons are best) turn the darkness of your sorrow into brightness of joy, and your sadness into comfort: he will do by you as he did by Job, he will 'bless your latter end more than your beginning;' and in the end of your days you shall close up your eyes with a full assurance of enjoying the soul-ravishing presence, and beholding the saving countenance of Christ in heaven: where, when you shall see your son (with greater sinners than he, that have repented) crowned with immortality, and advanced to glory, you will have a just cause to say and sing with them in the Revelation, chap. xv. 3. 'Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints.'—Chap. vii. 12. 'Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever.—Amen.' To this God Almighty, 'the God of consolation, who is able to comfort and to keep you from falling, and present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy,' I commend your troubled soul, and rest—

Your loving, though unknown friend,

to serve you in the Lord Jesus,

R. BOREMAN.

From my brother's house in Teston,
24 Aug. 1655.

The Life and Death of Freeman Sondes, Esq. &c.

CHRISTIANS,

WHEN you hear or read his name, you will look for a monster in nature, or (as the Pharisee once said) one 'not like other men.' Luke x. 11. So horrid, so unheard of, so unnatural was the fact, that I confess, when I first made my addresses to him at Mr. Foster's house, in Maidstone, I plainly told him, that 'I expected to see the head of a monster (a bear or a tiger) set upon the shoulders of a man:' so amazed (even to misbelief) was I at the first report of the murder.

For who would think that brethren, and they but two, nursed up in the lap of religion, and bosom of the church, should not love each other? Dispersed love, that is cut into many streams, grows weak; but fewness of objects useth to unite affections: and if two brothers be left alive of many, we think that the love of all the rest should centre and survive in them, and that the beams of their affection should be so much the better, because they reflect mutually in a right line upon each other. But the devil, who set enmity between man and God, sets enmity between man and man. Thus by the malice of this foul spirit in the beginning of the world, the elder Cain proved the butcher of the younger

Abel; but now, when the world is drawing to its last period, the younger kills the elder; and murdered himself too in his brother. But what was the occasion of both murders? It was 'Envy, the father of murder,' as Basil, of Seleucia, calls it, ὁ πατήρ φόνος, the corrosive of all minds, and the root of all desperate actions. Abel's sacrifice is accepted, and Cain's rejected: was Abel to be blamed for this? It should have been Cain's joy to see his brother Abel prosper, and to behold his field flourish and grow fairer; as it should have been his sorrow to see that himself had deserved a rejection from his heavenly Father. His brother's example should have directed him to labour for acceptance and grace with God, his Creator. Was Cain ever the farther from obtaining a blessing because his brother found mercy and acceptance? How proud and sottish, even to folly and madness, is envy and malice? It makes a man hate that goodness in another, which he neglects in himself; and 'whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer,' 1 John iii. 15. Blood and cruelty are the attendants of envy: it was ever bloody; for if it feeds not on another's heart, it will eat its own; and unless it be restrained by the bridle of grace, it will not rest till it be fed with another's ruin. If there be an evil heart, there will be an evil eye; and if both these combine, the hand at last will be guilty. This envy is 'a wasp of Satan,' *Impuri spiritus oestrus*, so Gregory terms it; it is a plant of the devil's setting in the heart of man, and grows only when it is watered with showers of blood; I mean other men's losses and afflicting griefs. It choaks the seed of all good education; for if this could have prevailed over an envious disposition, Cain had not been a murderer; neither had young Sondes killed his brother.

Doubtless Adam, though in Paradise not innocent, yet was a good man out of it; his sin and fall now made him religiously circumspect, so that he laboured, by all holy endeavours, to repair that image in his two sons, which he had lost by his trespass in eating the forbidden fruit: notwithstanding this his care, he could not prevent that murder. Good breeding cannot alter destiny. A man's vast reading and knowledge on earth, cannot alter what is written in heaven.

May we not believe the charge of a father to a dying son? Are not these Sir George Sondes's very words to him in his last letter, (which he received the day before he suffered) 'O, Freeman! rouse up thyself like a man, stir up the graces that I hope are in thee.—Thou hast been instructed in the ways of godliness from a child; thou hadst masters and tutors when thou wast abroad to keep thee in them, (he was for a short time educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, about six years since, under one Mr. Matthews, a religious, godly, and learned man) 'and at home thou hadst thy father's counsel and example: (we must give the Knight leave to commend himself a little in so weighty a business; it is not self-flattery, but a just vindication of the world's censures) 'he never failed to make you and your brother read the scriptures, and constantly himself prayed with you, and called upon you to betake yourselves to your private devotions; and still had you to church to hear the best men, and the godliest sermons, and would discourse with you of what was preached. Is all this lost?'—

Now give me leave to subjoin, and make answer to this query:—It will appear by his life and death that it was not lost; though those sparks were even blown out with the blast of a strong temptation, raised from an envious discontent, thinking he had lost his father's love, or that his brother had too much, and he too little of it; which was only veiled with frowns for a time, and mantled with threats, following an act of his disobedience.

When he had given his sleeping brother the first deadly blow, on the right side of his head, with the back of a cleaver, taken out of the kitchen the Sunday night before he did the fact; he, after the first blow, said he would have given all the world to recal it, and made a stop to see how deep he had wounded him; and finding it to be a mortal wound, (having broken the skull) his brother stretching himself on his bed, and struggling for life, and he gathering from thence that he was in great torment, discovered then, even in that storm of temptation, so much of a relenting spirit, that he put him out of his pain, (at which he confessed to me he was sadly troubled) he did reiterate his blows with a dagger that he had in his pocket. When I had heard this story, I demanded of him a little be-

fore he died, what thoughts he entertained in his breast of himself, when he had committed so foul an act? He replied, that he thought he was for this world utterly undone; and often in our hearing he wished, 'that that hand had been cut off that did it.'

When he had thus imbrued his hands in his brother's blood, he threw the cleaver out of a window into the garden, and came, with great confusion and disturbance in his face, into his father's bed-chamber, adjoining to his brother's, with the dagger in his pocket, (surely he had no farther intentions of murder, God restraining the malicious power of Satan) and undrawing the curtains, shook his father by the shoulder, who, being thus awakened out of his sleep, received from his mouth this heart-breaking message, "Father, I have killed my brother!" He, being astonished at it, made this reply with much horror, "What sayest thou? Hast thou, wretch, killed thy brother? Then thou hadst best kill me too." The son replied, "No, sir, I have done enough." (I am sure it was too much.) The father, Sir George, upon this, said, "Why, then you must look to be hanged;" and presently springing out of his bed, took his son along with him, to behold his bleeding brother, and called in the servants to seize upon the other, which was immediately done; and after he had lain awhile upon his mournful bed, an officer coming in, seized on his person, and carried him the same day to a house adjoining to his father's, where he stayed that night under guard, and from thence, about noon the next day, he was brought to Maidstone, (the assizes being there) and delivered to the custody of Mr. Foster, the prison-keeper, a civil honest man, who took him to the gaol, where (though it was stench'd with the noisome scent of prisoners) he behaved himself with great patience and meekness. That night he was, out of respect to his family, conveyed to the keeper's house, and the next day, being Thursday, the 9th of this month, brought to the bar, (after his pre-examination before Sir Michael Livesly and Sir Thomas Stiles, with other justices) where the indictment was read that charged him upon the two statutes of stabbing and murder; and being asked what he could plead for himself against the charge of killing his brother, he cried guilty, and shewed a great willingness to suffer death for that barbarous fact, as appeared by his mild composed behaviour then at the bar, which struck the judges and justices, and the other gentlemen of the county then present with an astonishing amazement.

Having thus pleaded guilty, he was carried to the dungeon in the gaol, where condemned persons are always put, whither divers persons resorted to him, and finding him in that loathsome place, (there being nothing but a jakes to sit on) asked him if he were not sick, and how he could endure it? He replied, "That it was more pleasant to him than his father's dining-room;" (which is, as I hear, a place of great magnificence) nor drank one drop till ten at night, so soberly patient was he then, and all the time of his imprisonment, till death. From the dungeon he was carried that night to Mr. Foster's house again, and the next morning, being Friday, August 10, condemned to die: after which sentence, the judge having desired him to consider the foulness of his act, demanded of him the motives he had to commit it, and pressed him thereunto for the clearing of his conscience, and satisfaction of the country, whereupon he answered, "that he had done it in his examination before the justices." The judge reflecting then upon him, put this question to him: "Whether he had nothing else to say to testify his remorse for his horrid murder?" He then (being slow of speech, and of a reserved nature) made no answer, but delivered the petition to the under-sheriff, Mr. Maurice Eede, to present it to the judge; who, at the petitioner's request, caused the same to be read in court, which was accordingly effected.

A Copy of the Petition.

To the Right Honourable the Judge, and the rest of the Honourable Justices of the Peace for the Assize and Gaol-Delivery holden at Maidstone.

The humble Petition of Freeman Sondes.

Humbly sheweth,

That your condemned petitioner, finding the guilt of the blood of his brother crying

for judgment, and that according to the law and justice a decree is passed against him for death.

Therefore, in respect of the shortness of the time since your petitioner committed this horrid murder, and finding the guilt and sin to be so great before God and man, he humbly, in due obedience to your honours, beseecheth you in the bowels of mercy, and tender commiseration of him in Jesus Christ, that your honours would be pleased to add a few days longer to his life; that in a deeper and more sensible apprehension of his fact he may more penitently, in remorse and sorrow of conscience, make his peace with God, and reconcile himself to his deservedly and highly offended father, that so he may not only die in a more settled peace of conscience, but also testify unto the world the sincerity of his petition.

And he shall pray, &c.

FREEMAN SONDES.

To this petition the honourable Judge Crook condescended so far, as to defer his death till Wednesday the 15th of August; this was assigned only by word of mouth, and not by special warrant, which, together with many weighty reasons referring to the poor soul of the condemned, and to clear some scandalous reports thrown upon his father and him by a wicked foul-mouthed servant, these, with the two forenamed letters from Sir George Sondes to the high-sheriff, in behalf of his son, were the cause that the young gentleman was not on that day executed. He had a week's reprieve from Wednesday till the Tuesday following; and was executed on that day fortnight on which his brother by him was murdered. In all which time how he demeaned himself in sighs, tears, and groans in his bed, in mournful confessions and prayers to God, and in frequent reading of his holy word, (especially such psalms and chapters as were commended by several divines to his devotions) was evident and well known to us, who in our private prayers and exhortations endeavoured the conviction and conversion of his soul to God, who is the Father of mercies and forgiveness, and never rejected penitent and humble sinners; which made St. Austin thus bespeak him in his devout meditations: *Et si ego commisi unde me damnare potes, at tu non amisisti unde salvare soles.* 'Although, Lord, I have committed that for which thou might justly damn me, yet there is mercy with thee which thou still retainest, for which I hope thou wilt save me.' And again, *Si ad veniam nos vocasti veniam non quærentes, quanto magis veniam impetrabimus postulantes.* 'Seeing thou hast invited us to accept of a merciful pardon when we did not seek it, how much more shall we find mercy when we earnestly sue for it?' Thus he in his meditations. C. 39.

It is not in the power of man to out-sin mercy. I except that *peccatum ad mortem*, 1 John, v. 16. that sin unto death, that sin which 'he that is born of God sinneth not.' ver. 18. I mean that damning sin against the Holy Ghost, which is (as Zanchy determines it) an open and malicious rejecting of the truth, or opposition of God's word, against the light of knowledge; and that opposition, joined with an hostile persecution of those that are the defenders of it. St. Paul, (then Saul) when he was a persecutor and blasphemer, 1 Tim. 15. came near this sin, as Calvin proves acutely on 1 John v. but doing what he did ignorantly through unbelief, he was exempted from the staining guilt of it. Now so long as this gentleman could not be charged with this sin, (which carries death and damnation in the nature of it) and forasmuch too as all godly ministers in Kent, and other parts, thought him fit to be put into their public prayers, no man can be so wanting to Christian charity, as not to entertain a belief or hope of his salvation; especially when they may charitably conclude from his ensuing humble confession, as also from his daily practices in prison, (of which you shall have an account) from his prayers, and holy purposes of redeeming the time he vainly spent, (if God spared his life, of which he had no hope) and lastly, from his godly precepts, which I took from his mouth, and set down in writing before his death; from all these may be inferred, that God, who gave him grace to repent, hath crowned his repentance with reception into mercy, and forgiveness.

His confession taken from his mouth, on Monday, the 13th of August, by Mr. Edmond Crisp, a gentleman who is the picture of a true friend, another Achates, and a pattern of fidelity, as appeared by his indefatigable actings for Mr. Sondes, in his extremity.

I Freeman Sondes, do hereby make my voluntary confession, that I am most truly sensible of the horrid and detestable murder which I have committed upon my late dear brother, Mr. George Sondes, in that most bloody and inhuman manner as I did act the same: for which most detestable sin and murder, I do, from the bottom of my heart and soul, beg of the Lord Jesus to pardon and forgive this my murder. I confess my sins, O Lord, and this my murder is ever before my face: O, sprinkle my soul with some precious drops of thy blood, and wash away this my murder. I confess, nothing but the instigation of the devil did cause me to attempt this sin, which, if it were possible to be undone, I should not dare to have such a thought again for a thousand worlds. First, because by this same cruel murder I have dishonoured my heavenly Father, whose image I have killed and murdered in my brother; secondly, I have hereby destroyed, so much as in me laid, human society; and lastly, I have broken the laws both of God and man: for all which sins my heart is truly and penitentially sorrowful; and do beg at the Lord's hand, in and for his son Jesus Christ his sake, to make a greater manifestation of this my sorrow, that I may weep day and night for this my sin and murder.

This is my confession, and the very grief and sorrow of my heart, desiring the Lord in mercy to pardon this my great offence, for which, from the bottom of my soul, I am hereby truly and heartily sorrowful; and so Lord Jesus, for thy infinite mercies sake, look upon me in thine own most precious blood, and receive my soul into thy heavenly kingdom, when I shall depart this life: and in the mean time continue in me a true and hearty sorrow for this my great sin and wickedness against thee, my heavenly Father.

FREEMAN SONDES.

Mr. Freeman Sondes, on August 13, 1655, did read the writing before set down, in the presence of us, confessing it to be, for the main part, pronounced by his own mouth, and from his very heart sincerely; (though written by Mr. Edmond Crisp) and subscribed the attestation at the end with his own hand, and from his own mind, desiring it might be taken as the overt act of his penitent soul.

THEOPHILUS HIGGONS,

Rector of Hunton, in Kent; and
YO. YATE,

Rector of Belsmire.

A Prayer which I composed for his private devotions, subscribed and daily used by him, oft-times on his knees, in which posture I often found him.

Lord, receive my soul when it shall take its flight out of my sinful body; and receive, I beseech thee, the humble prayer that goes forth out of the lips of a penitent sinner. O Lord God, merciful and gracious, my Creator and reconciled Father in the Lord Jesus, when I call to mind the numberless abominations, the vanities, the frailties of my disordered youth, shame and confusion, with horror and dread, covers the face, and perplexes the soul of thy poor servant; and I cannot but look upon all those transgressions, through the glass of thy justice, as clad with damnation and clothed with hell: and when I reflect upon that great host, consisting of many thousand thousand sins, headed with a Goliath sin, a sin of great magnitude, a sin against nature, the murdering of my brother, my soul is overwhelmed with grief, and driven even upon the rock of despair.

But when with the other eye of faith and hope I look upon thy mercy, which is over all thy works, upholding and sustaining them, and above our sinful works, which thou usest to pardon upon an humble and hearty confession of them: (that mercy being infinite,

easily covers that which is finite) when too I consider that great act of thy goodness, in forgiving a Manasseh, who had filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, worshipped devils, and defied thee his God; to this express of thy incomprehensible mercy, when I adjoin the murder and adultery of thy kingly prophet David, the perjury of Peter, the blasphemies and massacres vented and acted by Paul, (then Saul) against thee and thy church, yet all received to mercy, and crowned with forgiveness; I, grounding my tottering soul upon these considerations, and relying upon thy gracious invitation of sinners, together with thy merciful promises of admitting them into thy favour upon their unfeigned repentance, presume to beg mercy of thee my God, in the name of the Lord Jesus, who came into the world to seek that which was lost, and to save poor sinners, of whom I confess and acknowledge myself to be the chiefest.

Sweet Jesus, make a bath of thy precious blood, and bathe my black polluted soul in it. 'Wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me' from the guilt of disobedience to my father, and destroying my innocent brother. Oh, let my prayers find the same success as Manasseh's supplications did with thee; they at once loosed him from his sins, freed him from his chains, from a captive made him a king, and from the dungeon of Babylon restored him to the palace of Jerusalem. Lord, thou art the same for ever and ever; thy essence is unchangeable, thy power irresistible, thy love inexpressible; if thou wilt thou canst make me clean. Oh, be pleased to add a will to thy almighty power, and say unto my troubled soul, by the still voice of thy blessed Spirit, "Thy sins are remitted." Though I am now a loathsome and monstrous spectacle of wickedness, yet I shall be as white as snow, being clothed with the long white robe of my Saviour's imputed righteousness: Lord, first cleanse, and then clothe my soul with this pure and precious garment of my elder brother in heaven, my Lord Jesus; let his blood shed for me on the cross, (which hath a purifying, protecting, and saving virtue in it) let that expiate my bloody aim in shedding my elder brother's on his bed: it was done in his sleep; I hope not to him in his sins; however, Lord, forgive the guilt of this sinful circumstance, attended with base cruelty and unmanly cowardice.

Lord, when I am dead, let me live in my example both of thy justice and mercy; of thy justice, in punishing me so deservedly for my rebellion against thee; and of thy mercy, in giving me grace to repent, by softening my obdurate heart, and vouchsafing pardon, upon my repentance, for all my transgressions: let my fall into this pit, drive those that stand from presuming; and let my rising again to thy favour, keep others that shall sin against thee from despairing of mercy.

Oh, let not the voice of my brother's blood cry for vengeance against this nation, let the voice of it be stopped with my breath; and let the mouth of my Saviour's blood so outcry that which I spilt, that his intercession in heaven, and the prayers of thy servants on earth, may be heard for me, who am thine by creation; O, save me, heavenly father: and thine by redemption, O most gracious Redeemer. Lord Jesus Christ receive my soul at its departure out of my body; and strengthen me, O God the Holy Ghost the Comforter, that I may encounter with death cheerfully, and taste of that bitter cup gladly, of which my Saviour hath drank deep before (and for) me, and sucked the poison out of it, so that I believe it will only prove a wholesome potion to release me from the power of sin, to redeem me from misery, and to restore my soul to an everlasting life in glory:—which God of his infinite mercy vouchsafe unto me, for the merits of my Lord Jesus.

This prayer is the very sense of my soul, and the desire of my mournful heart.

FREEMAN SONDES.

A Miscellany of divers remarkable Passages and Practices of Mr. Freeman Sondes, and others, during his Imprisonment.

Written by a godly and learned divine, Mr. Theophilus Higgons, Rector of Hunton, near Maidstone, and delivered to me, August 23; who have, (as he desired in his letter) inserted some particulars to his observations.

SECT. I.

It is generally reported in Maidstone, concerning Sir George Sondes, the father of Mr. Freeman, that no religious duties have been performed in his family.

Mr. Freeman Sondes told me, that by this report his father was greatly wronged; for it was a constant course, said he, in our family, that after supper my brother read a chapter in the bible one night, and I another, by my father's appointment: afterwards he said prayers himself, all the servants being present. This also is constantly affirmed by Mr. Charnock, Sir George's steward, who hath dwelt with him twenty years; and saith farther, that besides the former public duty, his master prayed by himself privately. Prayers also (as he saith) were often said before dinner.

So then, we must not impute that bloody act of the young gentleman so much to a want of education in religion, as to a want of grace for the present, which God did withdraw from him for a time, when he was under a strong temptation; and without which grace supporting and preventing us, the best may fall into the worst of sins: so that the most fortified Christian being weak, (if we respect his natural condition) may rightly, and to God's glory, say with St. Austin, C. 6. Soliloq. *Tentator defuit, et ut deesset tu fecisti, locus et tempus defuit, et ut deessent tu fecisti: affuit tentator, non defuit locus, non defuit tempus, sed ut non consentirem tu me tenuisti.* 'Lord, the tempter, time, and opportunity of place was wanting, and all these were so by thy grace and blessing: the tempter came and assaulted my infirmity, I wanted not opportunity of time and place; yet that I should not consent to him, thy goodness prevented me. Blessed be the Lord for his grace and mercy.'—'Let him that thinketh he stands, take heed lest he fall.' A proud presumption, and want of pity to others, is the first step to ruin and misery in ourselves.

Item, whereas some in Maidstone reported, that Sir George Sondes, in his letters to his son Freeman, (being in durance at Maidstone) did not reprove, as he ought, his son's great offence, but 'daubed it over,' &c.¹

This report is malicious and false; for in his first letter, about August 13, and in his second, August 20, the day before his son's execution, he wrote very sharply and fully to him, about the greatness of his sin, and stirred him to a very deep repentance, with serious and hearty prayers to God in his behalf. This appears by his words, cited in the epistle of this book.

SECT. II.

Mr. Freeman Sondes hath been loaded here with many grievous calumniations.—It was reported, that he being at first committed to the common goal, on August 8, wine was sent for him, and that several gentlemen with him drank freely; he shewing no signs of repentance or remorse for his great offence. I charged him with it; his answer was, (and it was true, confirmed by some of the said gentlemen) that they had not one drop of wine, nor any beer; and that for his part, he who was of the temper of those Rechabites, (Jer. xxxv. 6.) drank no wine or strong beer at any time. This is most true of him, as the other report is most false, coming from the father of lies, who is too busy in the hearts and tongues of the men of this age: who reported likewise most falsely, that the devil ap-

¹ Ezek. xiii. 10.

peared to Mr. Freeman Sondes, in a visible shape, and that he had a conference with him: this was strongly denied by the young gentleman two hours before he died, who said, he was only overcome by a strong suggestion, from that old serpent, the enemy of mankind. Let those that report such things maliciously, beware, lest for their uncharitableness, God give them up also to Satan, who may tempt them to commit the like, or a worse sin.

Item.—It was reported here, that for the space of three or four years, he had never taken a bible into his hands, and had no sign of religion. I asked him of it; his answer was, (as before, sect. 1.) that every second night he read a chapter in the bible, (and surely he had it then in his hands) besides many other times. (But to have it in the hands is nothing, unless a man have it with delight and love in his heart.) As he ever prayed with his father at night, so Mr. Charnock, aforesaid, assured me, that when they went to bed in two several chambers, his brother and he did, upon their knees at their bedside, pray unto God in private: and this was their constant course, by imitation or injunction from their father. And it is farther testified by George Cuthbert, of Little Chart, (who had the custody of him at the house of Mr. Foster, keeper of the prison, and truckled under him every night, from August 8, to August 21, when he died) that Mr. Freeman Sondes did duly every morning as soon as he arose, and every night before he went to bed, fall down upon his knees at his bed-side, and prayed by himself. Also I testify, that I saw a very good prayer-book which he brought in his pocket to Maidstone; the title of it is ‘Crums of Comfort,’ a book full of good instructions and divine meditations, printed the thirty-sixth time: and many can witness upon their knowledge, that being in the keeper’s house, he did read the scripture, and the ‘Practice of Piety,’ every day, especially that content of the joys of heaven.

SECT. III.

And as touching his disposition, I found that true which was commonly reported by his friends, that as he was no drinker, so he was no swearer, curser, nor liar, nor profane in his conversation. He resolved to fast on every Tuesday so long as he lived, (because on that day his brother was murdered) and could hardly be induced to eat that Tuesday night, preceding the Wednesday morning on which day he should have suffered, if he had not been reprieved: so constant was he in his holy purposes, and steady in his resolutions. And I am persuaded, that if he had lived, he would have made good by his practice, what he asserted to me that night, saying, ‘If I were to live, (though I have no hopes of it) I would wait on my father upon my knees all the days of my life.’

He was very willing to hear the ministers, who opened unto him the scriptures, and shewed him the greatness of his bloody fact: he heard them patiently and meekly, and comfortably joined with them in frequent prayer.

Though he heard of divers calumnies shot out of the devil’s bow against him, by some malicious archers, yet he never was stirred at it, nor spake any bitter words against them, but was, unto his death, very gentle and humble, like a child.

SECT. IV.

By the first command of the judge he should have died on August 15; wherefore I and Mr. Yate, a good and faithful minister, (who usually attended him by Sir George’s direction) did very seriously employ ourselves some days before, to prepare him for death by instruction and prayer: we shewed him the benefit and comfort of absolution, (for which purpose I directed him to read the 40th content in the Practice of Piety, with serious consideration) with the grounds and reasons of it: whereupon he was very glad, and desired greatly to receive it; and after a comfortable acknowledgment of his great offence, he meekly kneeled down, when I and Mr. Yate laid our hands upon his head, and I pronounced the absolution unto him, which he joyfully received; we assuring him, according to Christ’s promise, Matt. xviii. 18. John xx. 23. that it being duly performed by us, and

received by him on earth, it was ratified in heaven. No doubt but in this distracted time, some men will blame our act herein; but blessed be God, we can justify it by our pens and tongues against them all.

SECT. V.

But now followeth a matter of higher concernment in reference to Mr. Freeman Sondes; for now unto me and Mr. Yate, was added Mr. Boreman, a bachelor of divinity, and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; who coming to Maidstone on Monday, the 13th of August, and hearing the distressed condition of Mr. Freeman, came unto him, and joining with us, performed many charitable offices for the good of the poor gentleman. Thus then it was: Mr. Boreman being absent when we absolved Mr. Freeman, I staid till he returned from Teston, it was in the evening of August 14, at which time I took my leave of the gentleman, (with grief and joy for him) expecting his death certainly the next day, very early in the morning: but it was put off till August 21, for weighty reasons premised.

Upon my departure, Mr. Freeman very humbly desired Mr. Yate to administer the holy communion unto him, which being proposed to Mr. Boreman, was agreed to about nine that night, after he had, upon examination, found the gentleman prepared for it; being truly sorrowful for his foul sin, and resolving, if God spared his life, (which he did not hope for,) to lead a new one, in a most strict conversation, &c. Upon these grounds, and after a short exhortation to the gentleman, concerning the benefits and ends of the blessed sacrament, Mr. Boreman, at the request of Mr. Yate, did administer it unto him, to his great comfort; for after the receiving of it, being assured by God's grace of the pardon of his sins, through the blood of Christ, sealed up in that holy sacrament, he said to Mr. Boreman, 'That he should die the next morning as chearfully as ever he went to bed: and it seems his soul was in a calm and sweet temper; for when Mr. Yate came unto him the next morning, to wait on him to his execution, (which was respited late that night, Mr. Yate not knowing of it) he found him fast asleep, which shewed that he was not afraid of death, which he looked on as a drone, its sting being taken out. 'The sting of death is sin.' 1 Cor. xv. 55. which he believed to him was pardoned. Why then might he not have the seal of his pardon? Why should any man be so wanting to charity, as to say, that to minister to him the holy communion, was to put a seal to a blank? Can we imagine that his own prayers and tears, with the earnest supplications of many thousands, sent up to heaven on his behalf, did find no acceptance with the God of mercies, who never rejected penitent sinners? And if his sins were remitted, why should not the holy sacrament, (which is a sacrament of consolation and confirmation) be ministered unto him for his strength and comfort? Is the word of God against it? Where? by plain expression or good consequence? We profess our ignorance, we know no text that forbids it. We highly reverence the judgment of our mother, the Church of England, which appoints in its most excellent liturgy, the Communion for the sick, which is all one for substance with Mr. Freeman's case; only a sick man might live, and he was assured to die.

But we reverence yet more the decree of that great and sacred first Council of Nice, (anno Christi 325) which saith thus, C. 13. 'Concerning those that are near to death, now also the ancient and regular law shall be observed, that if any man be upon the point of death, he may not be deprived of his last and necessary *viaticum*;' (provision for his death and long passage to eternity) to wit, the holy communion. This was spoken especially for such as were under ecclesiastical censure; but it followeth afterwards generally, 'that the communion shall be given to any man that is near death, and desireth it.' So saith the famous council, so the church of England; this the practice of the universal church of Christ in all ages: it was no new law in that council, but *lex antiqua*, an ancient law and practice in the primitive times.

If this may not satisfy the fierce opposers of it, and that practice, yet perhaps Mr.

John Calvin may be accepted of them. Hear then his judgment in his epistles, col. 453. printed at Geneva, 2 fol. 1616. 'Many and great causes enforce me not to deny the Lord's supper to sick persons: and col. 454. I collect well, as I conceive, from the nature, end, and use of the holy mystery, that men, being in danger of death, should not be deprived of so great a good.' And page 455. he justifieth such a communion as not unlawful, though in a private house; and page 55. he saith, 'I think that the custom to give the communion to sick persons is willingly to be admitted.' Then he addeth, 'Neither is it greatly to be repugned, (or denied) but that the communion should be given to such as are put to death for their offences:' (which was Mr. Freeman Sondes's case) concerning which, Concilium Moguntium, the Council of Mentz, held anno 847, saith thus, C. 27. 'If the holy communion should be given according to canonical injunction, to all men upon the end of their lives, making a sincere confession of their sins, and being truly penitent, why not to them also, who suffer death for their offences?' For which the fathers of that council give their reasons, which are too long and numerous to be inserted in this place. If Calvin's judgment, with this council's, satisfy not, hear yet the completely learned, and most judicious divine, Hieron. Zanchius, who in his epistles, l. 1. p. 155. printed at Hanovia, in octavo, 1609, saith expressly, 'That the holy communion may, and ought to be given to sick persons, for their spiritual comfort;' who also, p. 421, 422. setteth down the resolutions of the ministers of Geneva that, 'where the communion is given privately to sick persons, the custom herein is not to be rashly abrogated upon certain conditions;' viz. of their true faith, and contrition for their sins. So then (to put a period to this weighty doubt) the whole Christian church asserts, that the communion ought to be given, if it be earnestly desired by them, to all persons ready to die; so our church of England, so Calvin, so Zanchius, and so all sober Christians maintain; and none oppose it, but only those, who being of a hot temper, and unruly disposition, the offspring of Cham, (as Austin, l. 1. de Civit. Dei, well attests) have overthrown the church's wholesome constitutions in this particular, and some others of great importance, to their shame, and our great disturbance.

To conclude this discourse, concerning the care which was had of this poor gentleman's soul in his restraints: it pleased God to move the pious heart of the right honourable and truly noble the Duchess of Richmond, to send from Cobham-hall, her domestic chaplain, Mr. Gunton, a religious and learned divine, to visit him, which he did on Friday, the 10th, and discoursed to him of death, of repentance, and the sufficiency of Christ's blood, (or the efficacy of his meritorious death) whereat Mr. Sondes (as I have it under Mr. Gunton's hand) was very attentive; (as he ever was to all good instructions) and Mr. Gunton, for his furtherance in devotion, prescribed him the 25th, 38th, and 51st Psalms, which he frequently perused; for I found him one day reading in the bible, (in which he took delight) and perceiving some leaves turned down, I asked him by what means, or by whose direction, he read those proper psalms? He told me that a minister who came to visit him, ordered him to do it; whereupon I turned down leaves at the seven penitential psalms, (of which two of the former are a part) and likewise at the 4th of Gen. ver. 7. 'If thou doest well,' &c. So God to Cain, &c. which shews that there was a door open for mercy, if he would have repented of his sin; and at the 18th and 33d chapters of Ezek. We added to these that soul-establishing chapter, Rom. viii. These and many more, with the psalms and chapters for the day, appointed by the church's rubric, were (besides his private prayers) the ground of his devotion, meditation, and practice, whilst he was in confinement.

From the prison he was (after the commendation of his soul to God, first by Mr. Higgons, then by myself, in private) conveyed, in a mourning habit, on horseback, to the place of execution, many gentlemen attending him, with myself and that reverend divine. When he came to that place, being dismounted from his horse, he stood like a mournful penitent, whilst a discourse for half an hour and more was uttered by me, concerning the heinousness of sin in general, and of his murder in particular; together with the nature of conversion, the parts and properties of it; to which was adjoined the freeness of God's

mercy in the Lord Jesus, to all repentant sinners: this done, with an exhortation to the people to entertain a charitable and Christian persuasion of the truth and sincerity of Mr. Sondes's conversion to the Lord, the penitent standing at my right hand, a prayer was conceived to commend his sad and mourning soul to God. This ended, he (having meekly and humbly submitted himself to death) went up the ladder, and standing in the midst of it, with great modesty and meekness, he desired the prayers of those that were present: he likewise, with erected hands and eyes, did beseech God to forgive him his sins against his father and brother, and prayed in few words, for a blessing on his distressed father; and closed all with this resignation of his soul into the hands of his Maker, saying with a soft voice, (for his nature was not to speak either aloud or much) "God's will be done," and "Lord receive my soul." After which words the executioner did his office; and his body (after it had hung a good while) being cut down, was put into a coach, and carried to a church not far from Maidstone; the place is called Bersted, where it lies interred, expecting a joyful resurrection through the mercies of the Lord Jesus.

A Postscript to the whole Kingdom.

IT is a true saying of St. Augustine, '*Deus non respicit quâ morte, sed quales ex hac vitâ eximus:*' God regards not what death we die, as in what frame of spirit we are when we give up the ghost. A man may go to hell upon a feather-bed, and to heaven dying on a gibbet. The end which divine mercy proposes to itself, cannot be prevented by human means; and if God intends his glory by man's shameful death, I see not but that I, and all here, should magnify him for it. It is God's mercy to make us witnesses of the judgments of others, that we may be fore-warned, ere we have an occasion of sinning in ourselves. So then, if his mercy and justice, his justice in punishing, his mercy in releasing and giving a sinner time to repent; if these two attributes be advanced by Mr. Sondes's death, we have all great cause to sing an hallelujah to God.

It is said, Heb. xi. 4. of righteous Abel, that 'being dead he yet speaketh:' this is meant of his faith, for which his sacrifice was accepted, and by which he has left us a lesson behind him, how to offer up our prayers and services to the God of heaven.

Thus our young Cain that killed his elder brother, being dead yet speaketh. He by his shameful death bespeaketh,

1st, To the proud gallants of this age, who mind the outward dress of their bodies, more than the inward dress of their souls; that starve the latter and pamper the former; that spend whole mornings in decking a rotten carcase, and sleep away those hours that they should employ in prayer, and reading of the holy scriptures, with other godly books: men (if I may so call them) that look like monsters, pictures of fancy, and walking emblems of vanity; these he, in a manner, bespeaks thus: Look upon me, who have been guilty of your vanity and idleness, and know that the eye of justice never sleeps, so that it will not connive at that sin in you, which it hath severely punished in another. If you turn not speedily to the God that made you, and throwing off your plume of pride, 'walk humbly with him,' (Mic. vi. 8) in a constant profession of piety and temperance; unless you speedily do this, he will strip you of your glory, and by some fearful judgment bring you down, and throw you into the pit of shame and misery. '*Ex aliorum vulneribus medicamentum faciamus malis nostris.*' Aug.

2dly, To all stubborn children he speaks thus: Consider what a train of heavy judgments followed upon my disobedience to my father, who commanded me to give that (which I desired to keep) unto my brother, which command I disobeyed, and thereby incensed my indulgent father: consider this with yourselves, and by my example learn obedience to your parents, in small and great things. Consider what St. Paul writes to the Ephesians, chap. vi. 1. and to the Colossians, chap. iii. 20. 'Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right;' this obedience is most just and meet. Again to the

Colossians, 'Children, obey your parents in all things, (that are lawful, good, and indifferent) for this is well-pleasing unto the Lord.' Parents should not 'provoke their children,' Ephes. vi. 4. In so doing they sin, and may be the cause of sin in them, for which they must answer severely before God: and yet if parents should exceed in severity, and chasten them according to their will and pleasure, (which may be immoderate and irregular) children should give them reverence, Heb. xii. 9, 10. ever remembering that ingenious saying of Cicero, '*Non modo reticere homines parentum injurias sed etiam æquo animo ferre oportet.*' Our duty is not only to conceal the injuries of our parents, but also to bear and sustain them with a meek submissive patience. Stubborn and disobedient children were to be stoned under the old law; then were they given up into the hands of men: but now under the gospel, God takes the matter chiefly into his own hands, and it is a fearful thing to fall into them; he ever did and will punish disobedience to parents by fearful and shameful judgments; and to shew the horribleness of this sin, the same death, viz. of stoning, was appointed for idolaters and blasphemers.

3dly, To all indulgent parents he speaks thus: Pour not oil (the soil of flattery and soft speeches) into your childrens wounds, when they need corrosives, or vinegar of sharp reproofs. 'Chasten your children betimes,' Prov. xiii. 24. and thereby shew your true love to their souls: in the dawning of their tender years, in the morning of their age, sow the seed of religion, and the fear of God in their hearts; then will their masters at school, and tutors, have less to do in the universities, and have more comfort, ease and credit, in their education, when they shall not meet (as usually they do) with a double task and labour; which is, first, to pull up the bitter roots of vices, and to weed their souls of corrupt habits, (as lying, swearing, &c.) before they plant them with the arts and sciences, and other academical accomplishments, which plants will not grow well amongst thorns and briars.

Oh, then 'let your children bear the yoke in their youth,' Lament. iii. 27. Break the sinews of their proud necks before they get strength in wickedness, and force them to obedience of your holy and just commands. He that smiles on his child when he should frown, and flatters him in his sin, may justly be served by him, as King David was by Adonijah his son, 'whom he would not displease from his childhood, to say, why dost thou so?' 1 Kings i. 6. (Oh the fondness of cockering love). He was punished for his doating with rebellion against his person. 'Adonijah (says the text) exalted himself, and said, I will be king.' 1 Kings i. 5. So commonly indulgent parents are domineered over by their children, who at last, for their just reward, meet with a rope, or some other judgment.

4thly, To those, who by reason of their bosom sins and open impieties, are fallen into misery, and lie mourning in a prison, to such he reads, by his example, a lecture of consolation, saying, as it were in these words: We may not always measure the displeasure of God by his stripes; many times after the remission of sin, the chastisements of the Almighty are deadly; no repentance can assure us we shall not smart by outward afflictions. 'Thou forgavest their sin, O Lord, and punishedst their inventions.' So David's psalms, speaking of the rebellious Israelites. Our hearty sorrow for sin may prevent the eternal displeasure of God, but still it may be necessary and good, both in respect of ourselves and others, that we should be corrected; our care and suit must be, that the evils which shall not be averted, may be sanctified; which is, when we look upon our sins in the glass of God's goodness, and Christ's sufferings, and accordingly lament and mourn for them, by an humble confession of them, and resolving, by God's grace, to turn the stream of our lives backward, and to become new men in sobriety and strictness of an holy conversation.

Thus did Mr. Freeman Sondes bewail his sins before his death; and to this he was exhorted earnestly and frequently, with great aggravations of them, by myself and other divines forenamed, who for all our Christian pains and holy endeavours, meet with reproaches and obloquies, (as our Saviour did in his time) from the envious and malicious Pharisees of our age, who are, it seems, angry that we did that by God's blessing, which

they, perhaps, would have done themselves, and by themselves, without our assistance, and so get (which was their aim) a little glory, by popular applause, to their proud persons; than whom (to speak the truth, which I do with much meekness) I know no greater nor worse daubers, as they call us. They endeavoured once to set up their idol, their Dagon, and to fence it with a wall of discipline in the church, which they cemented with the blood, the lives, and fortunes of many thousand deserving persons, eminent for their learning and godliness; but God be praised, the stones fetched out of the quarries of Scotland and Geneva, are fallen upon their own heads; the wall is beaten down: 'the snare is broken, and we are delivered' from their intended cruelty, and persecution for conscience.

They are offended, poor mistaken souls, with me, for giving Mr. Sondes the holy communion the night before he was to die: hereby they seem to accuse me of sottish stupidity and rashness, as if I had thereby abused the holy ordinance. Let them read what has been premised, sect. 5. of the Miscellanies, concerning this particular, and let them consider with what circumspection and caution I gave it, as being first assured by Mr. Yate, a grave and learned divine, (whom Sir George Sondes sent to his son) that the young gentleman was prepared, being instructed by him, and read for many days the Tractate in the Practice of Piety, concerning the Lord's supper: secondly, I examined him myself in respect of his faith, knowledge, repentance, and charity, the requisites of a worthy communicant: then, thirdly, grounding my act upon a charitable persuasion of his true and hearty sorrow for his bloody sin, I did, upon these grounds, minister the sacrament unto him and Mr. Yate, who only did communicate. In so doing I hope I have offended none but those who will not give the sacrament to any but to them who are of their own faction; (and they but a few, as I am informed) to submit to which faction, and subscribe to their decrees, is counted the first and main degree of conversion; so that they of that town that will not submit, (and they are the greater number by far) they and their children must be debarred from both sacraments, baptism and the holy communion, which none of them can receive, living or dying, neither in public nor private; and without it many have deceased, by whom it hath been earnestly desired. Oh, sad and fearful condition! As I would not have 'the children's bread given to dogs,' so I would not have it denied to the children themselves; I mean those Christians who live soberly and honestly, with repute in their several callings; whose compass (by which they steer their lives) is faith, not faction; whose profession too, is not to side with parties, but to serve the Lord Jesus.

If Mr. Sondes had staid the leisure of our lording censors, and received not till they had given him a probat, he had died (I verily believe) without the seal of his everlasting comfort, and that, because (it may be) he was of a different judgment from them; for which cause myself, with others, are censured so severely and unchristianly by them, who make us either ignorant men that know not our duty, or unconscionable men that will not perform it. But God forgive them. '*Qui volens detrahit famæ meæ invitatus addit gloriæ meæ.*' So said St. Austin once to his reviler; so Mr. Higgons, Mr. Yate, and myself, who glory in the shaming unjust reproaches of our adversaries. To do well and hear ill, was not only the portion and lot of our blessed Saviour and Master, Jesus, but it is also ours, who are his unworthy ministers. Malice will ever find a tongue to blast the persons and blot the actions of well-meaning and deserving Christians. I shall only exhort them in the words of St. Peter, 1 Epistle, ii. 1.

Mistaken, seduced, and seducing Christians, 'laying aside all maliciousness, and all guile, and dissimulation, and envy, and evil speaking, as new-born babes,' be innocent, and not injurious to those that are living, the true ministers of God, nor to the memory of the deceased Mr. Sondes, 'who being dead, yet speaketh;' and in the fifth place, exhorteth all those that lie under any diabolical temptation, a temptation which is against nature, (as for a man to murder himself or another) he exhorts those (and all such as are troubled in mind, or afflicted in conscience) to open their minds to a godly friend or companion, to a minister especially, that is knowing and prudent; which if Mr.

Sondes had done, he had not committed so foul a sin. He likewise advises all such to be earnest with God, and frequent in prayer, when they are so tempted. It is a good saying of an ancient father, *Gravis sit nobis illius tentatio, sed gravior illi nostra oratio.* 'His temptation (i. e. the devil's) may molest and trouble us, but let us be assured, that our faithful prayers to God (who is above the devil) do much more molest and disquiet him.' *In hoc uritur incendio,* 'he is scorched and tormented with the flame and fire of our devotion.' He is compared to 'a roaring lion,' by St. Peter, 1 Epistle, v. 8. Now as a lion is (as the naturalists observe) frightened at the crowing of a cock, and runs away at the first hearing of it, so the devil will not stand, but cease from tempting so soon as a man betakes himself to the soul's sanctuary, which is hearty praying.

I demanded of Mr. Sondes once, whether he said his prayers during the time that the devil assaulted him with that fearful suggestion? His answer was, that he was at prayers the night before he did the fact, with his father and his family; (whereof his brother was one, and so went to bed, and died with prayer and his father's blessing) but confessed that he prayed faintly, (he meant formally) he only heard another pray, but his heart did not join with him. It is a hearty, fervent, faithful prayer, which prevails with God.

This mentioning of the devil, puts me in mind of a false unchristian report in a lying pamphlet², which was, that the devil appeared, and talked with him about two hours before his death: I shewed him the pamphlet, and demanded of him an account of that flying report; he mildly (as his manner was to answer) replied, that there was no such apparition, and that he was only assaulted with a strong suggestion, which he believed (as is true) was from the devil, arising from discontent and melancholy; which he advised all men to avoid and shun, as they desire inward peace and comfort, lest they fall into some fearful sin as he did. Who sixthly and lastly, as his last legacy, (and we know that the last words of David were, as the words of dying men are, especially noted, 2 Sam. xxxiii. 1.) desired me, a little before he was to die, to publish these very words, by way of advice to the world:

First,—I desire all gentlemen to learn by my example to read the word of God frequently, and not omit their prayers to him daily.

[He read the bible, with his brother, by course, most nights, (as I am informed) and joined with his father in prayer; but he did this then, as it seems, only in appearance, with outward compliance, but not with hearty and sincere affections, as he did afterwards in his restraints. Then is our reading of the word and prayers sincere, when they end in practice.]

Secondly,—I advise all parents not to suffer their sons to live in idleness, (which exposes a man to temptation), but to employ them in some honest public calling.

These be the dying words of Mr. Freeman Sondes, and I believe he might say at last, as David did, ver. 2. of the fore-named chapter, 'The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.'

The Lord of heaven grant that what hath here been published may tend to the honour and glory of his name, by the conversion of sinful souls, the confirming of those that stand, and the raising of those that are fallen. Amen. Amen.

An Appeal to the godly orthodox Clergy of the Church.

IT was a most true saying of the Roman orator, (though in better language) "that there was never any act so vicious, but in some age had a commender; and none so laudable and virtuous, but that it found many times a reprover." Thus of late have I (with

² [The Editor has not met with the pamphlet alluded to above.]

some others of my judgment and profession) met with a sort of men, (who, I thank God, cannot meet with me, nor reach me with a just reproof) ‘ whose teeth are spears and ‘ arrows, their throat an open sepulchre, and their tongue a sharp sword,’ whose common trade it is to invent crimes with defamatory calumnies, that so they may wound the persons, and blot the reputations of those, whose actions are built upon scripture grounds, and carried on with good intentions. It is said, that the ink of the cuttle-fish, poured into lamps, maketh the bravest and most exact pieces of painting to be seen with horror, as dressed with ugly shapes; so these wicked tongues, stirred up by malicious envy, which has for its companion (as her picture is in Lucian) detraction or calumny, when they have cast their poison upon the light colours of a life or action that is innocent, make it appear with hideous deformity. But I shall not dip my pen any farther in the ink of confutation, to discover the men and their malice who have raised a dust in Maidstone, and the adjacent parts, which has flown into their own eyes, as they that spit against the wind defile themselves. I could describe their persons at large, from true informations: two of them had been mechanics and tradesmen in the city of London; one of which, Mr. T. D. is much spoken of for his profitable employment about Mr. Sondes, and how he wrought upon him, and so far won his good opinion, that he desired him to lodge with him: this is constantly reported, though it be most false; for Mr. Sondes utterly denied this thing, and said, “ He troubled me so much in the day with his weak and simple discourse, that I had no reason to desire his company in the night.” Yet this is made a great matter to magnify Mr. T. D. and to vilify us, the true ministers of Christ, sent by him, which cannot be said of them.

There is likewise a great stir about Mr. I. D. another mechanic, (which was his first degree to the ministry) who pressed, with another beardless youth, at the place of execution, to speak to Mr. Sondes, who stood then between myself and that reverend divine, Mr. Higgons: it was, forsooth, to make him sensible of his sin, of which it was conceived by him and his fraternity, that he had no sense: (So rash and uncharitable are they in their censures!) But we suspecting truly and justly that his speeches might disturb the poor gentleman, whose soul was *ἐν γαλήνῃ*, (to speak in Chrysostom’s phrase) most quietly composed and fitted, God be blessed, for its passage to eternity; being assured of this, we would not give way to this unseasonable intruder, to whom I said thus (it is known) with great moderation and mildness, that we could not but thank him for his good intention to the soul of the dying gentleman, but not approve of his indiscretion, which defaces learning, and sours religion; both which without discretion, are disordered, wild, and furious.

Moreover I said, that if he had given a visit to the gentleman at his chamber before his death, when he should have met with us to witness his piety, then I would have commended his charity, &c. But these are *solifugæ*, those that hate the light, love to do what they do in private; (Christ ever spoke in public) they love to make disturbance; (he is the God of order and Prince of Peace.) Are these then the messengers or servants of our Master Jesus? Are these, who have disturbed the church of Christ, and rent his seamless coat by schisms and heresies, fit persons to quiet a distressed conscience? I pray God that be not true which I said then to this Mr. I. D. and his companion: it was—“ that I feared himself and the other made that unseasonable motion to confer with Mr. Sondes being at the point of death, more to be talked of by the people, than out of love to his soul, otherwise he would have been more tender than at that time to disturb it:” which is now, I hope, out of the reach of malice, freed from the power of sin and Satan, and in the bosom of Abraham, in that place of rest which is provided for the faithful, and all true penitents.

But who are such? Was Mr. Sondes, sir?

These are two queries which I shall answer briefly, and so (I trust) satisfy all parties who have loaded us with reproaches, and harsh unchristian censures, for giving the sacrament to him.

1st, As it is a hard task to prescribe a just period to the best man’s repentance, (to say after he is fallen, he must repent such a day, week, or month, or else never hope to

rise) for the holiest soul may take long and dead sleeps in fearful sins; as is evident in David, who after the murder of Uriah, &c. between his sin and his sorrow for it ten months had well nigh passed: as then in the former case it is a hard matter to prescribe, &c. so it is as difficult a task to describe the parts of repentance, and the true properties of a penitent, who is in a right frame of spirit to receive the holy sacrament. However, what I said upon the sudden (God assisting me) at the place of execution, about half an hour before Mr. Sondes died, I shall now make of the same a short repetition.

1st, That repentance is sound which is grounded upon the consideration of God's goodness and mercy to a soul in the Lord Jesus.

2dly, This consideration begets that heart compunction, or grief of mind, which is by the apostle, 2 Cor. vii. 10. termed 'Godly sorrow that worketh repentance unto salvation not to be repented of.' A grief or hearty sorrow, that we have offended our good God, our heavenly and most loving father: upon which sorrow there follows in the soul of a true penitent, first, a change in the mind or judgment, disproving or disallowing that evil which we have ungodlily committed and approving of the contrary good which by us was omitted. Secondly, upon this there follows a change of the will, which repudiates, or declines that evil, and embraces, with a delightful choice, the good which formerly was refused, and inclines to it as its chief joy and content, resolving for the time to come, to act or do it. To this change of the will succeeds, in a true convert, a change of the heart or affections, hating and detesting that sin wherein we have offended, joined with a love and prosecution of that good duty which we did not, and is to be done. These be the parts and degrees of an evangelical repentance, which being seconded with a religious practice that crowns all, are the *κελήρια* by which we discern true converts.

And having discerned these in so short a time as was allotted to the deceased Mr. Freeman Sondes, (as you have had a full narrative in the former discourse) we conceiving that God in mercy to his poor soul, had given him a true sight of his sins, with a sense of his mercy in the Lord Jesus, presumed we might, after his absolution, minister unto him the blessed sacrament, which is not (without great danger to those that refuse to give it) to be denied to any that are not notoriously scandalous and wicked, and shall, having heartily desired it, (as a sacrament of their union and communion with Christ in his merits) humbly confess their sins in the face of the congregation.

Will now any man dare call us daubers of sin, or say that we blanch it with a gentle connivance, when that we ground our practice upon such strict principles? The Lord rebuke Satan in the mouths of such revilers.

For a close of all, I shall take leave to give an account of what I heard the last Lord's-day, September 1, at St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, delivered by their godly and learned teacher, Mr. M. to that most Christian congregation, where I myself, with many, did receive, to our great comfort, the holy communion. His words punctually set down are these: (which suit with my judgment, and are the very sense of the souls of the other divines that did attend Mr. Sondes in his restraint, they being the sum of that doctrine which we preach and profess; and I hope none will say they savour of looseness.)

"He that accounts it a slight and easy task to be humbled for sin, and sue for pardon, hath not yet learned how dreadful it is to offend God, and how joyous to please him.

"To be humbled for sin in its guilt, because exposing to wrath and eternal death, this may be merely from a principle of servile fear: to be humbled for sin in its filth, as defiling the conscience and polluting the soul, this may be merely from a principle of ingenuous shame: but to be humbled for sin as offensive to God, loathsome to so sacred a Majesty and divine a goodness, this is the very *ἀληθ* and full growth of repentance, (as to contrition) whose rooting is that of a dutiful love and filial fear, whereby the humiliation becomes purely evangelical, and most acceptable unto God through faith in the blood of Jesus."

To the blessing of the same Jesus I commend this work, proceeding from a principle of love to souls, and driving at the main end of all, the honour and glory of God in the establishing of weak converts, and the conversion of poor dejected sinners; and I shall only

supplicate the divine goodness to turn the hearts of our enemies, that their tongues may, instead of censuring us, be filled with his praises, who gave grace to Mr. Sondes to repent heartily of his misdoings, that by his example as others may be scared from self-dependency and presumption, so sinners not despairing, may turn and be converted to God, the God of pardon and salvation.

Glory be to God.

תושלבע

Sir George Sondes his plaine Narrative to the World of all
Passages upon the Death of his two Sonnes.

London, Printed in the Yeare 1655.

[Folio, thirty-eight pages.]

THE ministers and godly men about me, seeing so many miseries and calamities daily befall me, before one was over, another coming on me afresh, hardly giving me breath, and still greater and greater; they did conclude, that certainly these fearful afflictions could not be laid on me for trial, or afflictions that God lays on his children, but must be for some notorious sins formerly committed, or that now I lived in, and therefore they looked into the actions of my life: and when they had made a catalogue of what they thought fit to charge me with, they came fairly and privately to me, and told me, they were the servants and ministers of God, and thought they were obliged by their office, to let me know wherein they conceived I had done amiss, and what might be the cause of all these punishments that befel me.

I told them "I took it kindly at their hands, and thanked them heartily for it, and that I would deal clearly and ingenuously with them, and conceal nothing of truth that I knew. And I could not but confess that my afflictions had been great and many, and that for these twenty years last past, I have hardly any time been free; as the loss of my wife and many children when they were young, and now my two only sons, when they were come to man's estate, and I began to have comfort in them, the youngest so foully to murder the eldest in his bed sleeping, and thereby to suffer so ignominious a death at the gallows, his foul offence justly deserving it. Then I remembered my perpetual imprisonment for almost these dozen years, and the worst of imprisonments, ship-board, and the sequestering my estate for many years, and taking away all my stock and goods, to the value of twenty thousand pounds and more, and for divers years not allowing me any thing to keep me and my children: and now to be taken from my house and affairs, and clapped up in a country castle, there to remain during pleasure, and God knows for what. For I profess to you, gentlemen, that notwithstanding all these imprisonments, and sequesterings, and clappings up, I never acted any thing against the parliament, or state that now is; nor ever in all this time was in arms against them, or ever any ways assisted the contrary party, or joined in any petition against, or ever held any correspondence in any plottings against them; nor in all their examinations and sequestering, nor in the time I was forced to compound for my estate, could they charge me with any delinquency, but only of that for not paying a tax for my park, which I refused to pay because it was

over-rated, and upon abatement paid it. And this is all the delinquency they could ever charge me with, though I had been sequestered seven years, and imprisoned, and forced, before I could off the sequestration, to pay for composition three thousand five hundred pounds. And I hope gentlemen (said I) this is no such crying sin against God, to draw down the plagues of heaven in such a fearful manner upon me."

"Sir, (said they,) we know you have suffered very much, both in your person and estate, and have had very hard measure; but that is matter of state, and therefore we meddle not with it; but we come to treat with you only about those things wherein, as we conceive, you have failed in your duty towards God."

"Gentlemen (said I) let me know wherein, and I will give you the best satisfaction I can; and wherein I am faulty, I shall ingenuously confess it, and I hope then you will join with me, to beg heaven's pardon for me."

THE FIRST CHARGE.

"Sir (said they) we shall. In the first place, we and the country think you much to blame in not maintaining that free-school which Sir Thomas Sondes, your ancestor, founded. For we are informed, that he by his will gave twenty nobles a year to a school-master, and his diet, to teach twenty poor children of the parish of Throwly, and enjoined his heirs and executors to pay the same out of his lands for ever. This your grandfather and father did do, but since you came to the estate, you have not done it."

THE ANSWER.

"It is true (said I) Sir Thomas Sondes did erect a free-school in Throwly, and gave six pounds a year to the master, but not twenty nobles, nor his diet: and it was so good and necessary a work, that I always liked very well of it, and intended, as the neighbours know, not only to have continued that stipend, but to have made it as much more, and so possibly may do yet. But the school-house being fallen down, and my many troubles and sequestrations coming upon me, for the present diverted me; and now upon the questioning of it, looking better into the will, I do not find that Sir Thomas Sondes binds his heirs, but only his executors, to perform the same; and that he gives six pounds a year out of his lands, but says not for ever; besides, in the close of that part of his will in which he gives his legacies, and this and other charitable bequests, in the close of all he hath these words: 'That for the fulfilling of every bequeath in this my last will and testament, therefore as also for the brotherly love and affection which I bear to my dear and well beloved brother, Michael Sondes, Esq. I give and bequeath to my said brother, the lease of the manor of Stausfield, the lease of the woods there, the lease of the parsonage of Throwly, the lease of Rushmore, and all other leases whatsoever I have in right or possession.' These leases are all given to perform that charitable deed of the school, and the other charitable uses in his will. Now the longest of these leases were but for forty years, or three lives. The leases for years being long since expired, it being threescore years since he died; and the leases for lives ended with my father Sir Richard Sondes, so that I have nothing of all the estate that was to maintain this school, nor one foot of land as heir or executor to him or to his executors, and therefore neither in lawn or conscience am I any ways bound to maintain it, having neither lands nor any thing of an estate from him. Notwithstanding, I like so well of the thing, as I intend (and that suddenly, if I can be at quiet) not only to give that pension of six pounds a year towards a free-school, but also as much more, and a conveniency of an house, besides an addition of a certainty in money for the relief the poor."

Upon this, they, perusing the will, and finding it to be as I said, rested satisfied, and approved of my good intention.

THE SECOND CHARGE.

“ Next (say they) we understand that you were executor or administrator to the will of Alderman Freeman, and that he gave great sums of money to many charitable uses, and great legacies to his friends and kindred, which you have not satisfied.”

THE ANSWER.

“ It is true, upon my cousin Freeman's renouncing the executorship, I and my wife (she being his only child) did take out letters of administration, and to my best ability did endeavour to get in all his estate, and did as it came in, pay his debts and funeral charges, and all the petty legacies to divers friends, and the legacies to his poor kindred and servants, and was in hope there would have come in enough to pay all; but till the debt of ten thousand pounds, which the alderman made his kindred (certain merchants) to owe him, and the return of the Muscovy stock, wherein the alderman accounted he had twenty-five thousand pounds adventure, till these considerable sums were ascertained, it was dubious how the estate would prove. I therefore treated with those merchants his kindred, Sir Thomas Soams and Mr. Flyer, to pay the debt, they refused it, and referred it to account, and so much time was spent about it. Then I put it in suit, and it was referred to merchants to certify, who when they had examined all books, in fine, made the alderman indebted to them two hundred and odd pounds, and so decreed for that ten thousand pounds. And for the five and twenty thousand pounds in the Muscovy stock, there never came of it to the alderman's estate above eight thousand pounds.

“ These two great sums falling thus short, stopt my hand from paying any more legacies; and thereupon followed divers suits from the kindred and others, for their legacies, in chancery, where I delivered in an account upon oath, in which is set down the full of all the receipts and disbursements of the estate, and proved it by the oath of him that managed the estate, who was a servant of the alderman's, and chosen by the consent of all parties to do the same. And I am confident there is not in that account any thing omitted that ought to be put in, nor any thing charged that was not truly paid and disbursed. And in that account there is more disbursed by me than received, eight thousand pounds or thereabout, I am so much a gainer by it. At last the whole business upon suit being referred to a master of chancery, and from him to merchants, and from them to accomptants, to see what the estate would produce, after long time spent, they certified (striking off my own legacy of seven thousand pounds, and almost all other, allowing only just debts and other necessary payments) that the estate would produce toward payment of legacies but four shillings and a penny in the pound, the legatees giving security to repay proportionably, if more be recovered out of the alderman's estate, there being six thousand pound debt still in demand. And thus stands the condition of the estate, and therefore I conceive there can be no blame in me for not paying every man his full legacy. I protest, that I was so willing to do it, that if a thousand pounds or two would have done it, I would have disbursed it out of my own purse.

“ The reason of the falling short of the estate was from these particulars following, which was not in my power to remedy: First, the loss of ten thousand pound by his kindred, which the alderman accounted a sure debt, but it could not be recovered. Next, the falling short of the Muscovy stock, at least fifteen thousand pounds of what he accounted it; and this could be no fault of mine, being managed by the company, I but received the money as they paid it in, and so put it to account. Then the loss of his two ships in the straits, taken by the Turks the summer before he died. Those ships were the Hector, and the William and Ralph, which if they had come home, he computed would have been worth to him eight thousand pound.

“ Then he bought the fee simple of his house, which cost him two thousand pounds, and the building and fitting of it against his mayoralty cost him two thousand pounds more.

His cash-keeper Rowland ran him out of cash fifteen hundred pounds; and his expences in the time of his mayoralty, and his entertainment of the king and queen just before his death, cost him at least four thousand pounds more.

"All these losses and expences happened since the making of his will, and the disposing of his estate. And besides all this, his debts came to almost four thousand pounds more than he accounted them, which must be and are paid. All which sums amount to forty-six thousand and five hundred pounds. Enough to sink a good estate. And therefore the world need not wonder that his estate which remains will pay but four shillings and a penny in the pound.

"I am so much a gainer by the administration, that let me be but satisfied what I can prove I have truly paid out for him, I shall willingly quit mine and my wife's legacy, which is seven thousand pounds, and demand nothing for it; and I am sure my child's part would have come to twenty thousand pounds at least. All my pains and attendance about it for these twenty years I will rate at nothing; a great deal of money shall not hire me to do so much.

"Many think four shillings and a penny a small proportion; let me be free and quiet, I will be content to lose all. And I profess to heaven, not a farthing that I have any ways got by it that I know of, but only a world of care and trouble. No man shall be content with a less share than myself, I desire nothing, and others may have what proportion the estate will produce, and I think no man in conscience can demand more.

"The cloth-workers of late, since the time of this sad accident, sent a letter to me for their legacy, thinking now to hit the bird in the eye: they had formerly with a long and chargeable suit kept me in the chancery about it; and being able to do no good with me there, then they had me to Guild-hall, before the commissioners for charitable uses; and being cast out thence, cunningly, under colour for relief of poor prisoners, they got me into Salter's-hall, and there (such was the wisdom of that court) they got a decree for the legacy, with treble damages, such being their power in some cases, though not in mine. This blind decree was made when neither I myself, nor any counsel for me, was there that could say any thing to the business; and so peremptory they were, that upon my coming to town I was served with the order to pay the money, and with much difficulty I got leave for me and my counsel to be heard: and upon the hearing they reversed the order, and referred the business to Mr. Wilde and Mr. Fountaine, authorising them to take two accomptants to them, to examine what the estate would produce; Mr. Bremstone, then chairman, saying, "God forbid we should ever do so unjust an act, as to enjoin an administrator to pay more than the estate will produce." They had some meetings about it, but Salter's-hall being put down (as I think most justly) nothing was done. And now they come upon point of conscience, hoping that upon this my sad loss, the Lord (as they say) would open my heart to pay the legacy, and relieve the poor, and that God would bless me the better for it. They began their letter thus: 'The wise man saith, that words spoke in season, are like apples of gold in pictures of silver;' and then they tell me, that the judges above a year ago ordered the payment of it. To this I answered, that to speak a word in due season, was much commended by wise Solomon; and certainly then they are as much to be discommended, who move things unseasonably, and ground themselves on things that are not true. Indeed if the money had been justly due, I think now had been no seasonable time so hastily to press it. And it is a great mistake where they say there is an order from the judges of Salter's-hall, that order being vacated. So that if the poor have not what is due to them, it is their fault and not mine; I long since offered them what proportion the estate would produce, and more they ought not to desire. I said moreover to them, that neither my thoughts nor my conscience were troubled for not well performing the alderman's will, I had done it with all the sincerity of my soul, and so little to my advantage, that I was a great loser by it. And when I have endeavoured what I can, if the estate fall short, the blame is not mine; I had given in a true and just account of what I had received and paid. And for the afflictions that befel me, I told them, 'I must and do patiently

‘submit to the will of heaven, and say, God’s will be done, he may punish when, where, and how he pleaseth; I wished them not to judge rashly, nor insult over another man’s miseries, for thou knowest not, O man, what may befall thee next. The like to this of mine I desire God to divert from them all.’ And so I concluded my letter. Now what I said to the cloth-workers, I say to all legatees yet unsatisfied, they may have that proportion the estate will produce.

“Upon a suit of Mr. Henry Pettit’s, for his and his father’s legacy, it was referred out of the chancery to merchants, Mr. Wright, Mr. Rous, and Mr. Abdy, who appointed accomptants to cast up the estate, and certify to them what it would produce; and they have made it produce four shillings and a penny in the pound, allowing me neither my own legacy of seven thousand pound, nor hardly any other, nor my charges, which came to three or four thousand pounds. And this four shillings and a penny in the pound, the legatees are to have, giving security to repay proportionably, what more shall be recovered from the alderman’s estate, there being six thousand pounds debt still in demand, and two lately recovered of me. This proportion, upon such security, I am still contented to pay, or two shillings in the pound without security, as some for quietness sake have taken; and this I leave to every man’s choice. And those that will so do, let them this Michaelmas term enter their names at Mr. Allington’s, near Moor-fields, who is one of the accomptants, and they shall forthwith be satisfied. And I hope those who are already overpaid, will, without farther trouble, repay their proportion, otherwise I must pay all these moneys out of my own purse, nothing of the estate being left to do it.”

But I return to the ministers, who, as they said, had yet some great matters to charge me with. I desired to know them.

THE THIRD CHARGE.

Then they said, “that it was generally reported that my son George was married to a virtuous and good gentlewoman, and that when I came to know it, I would by no means give way to it, but upon my blessing forbade him to accompany with her; and that if he did not leave her, I would never look on him, or give him any thing I could keep from him. And that to be sure to keep him from having her, I had consorted him with one of the most debauched young men of the country; so that it appeared I cared not what became of his soul, if I could keep his body from her.”

THE ANSWER.

“I never knew that he was married to her, nor do I yet believe that ever he was, either according to the old or new form. And to confirm me in this belief, I have it under his own hand. In an answer of his to a letter of hers, he says, ‘All that she can pretend to, is, that he promised her marriage, wherein he confesseth that he might perhaps have used some foolish expressions tending that way, but conceived she would never have made use of them to his ruin; and withal tells her, that she must now lay aside those thoughts, for he did see so much inconvenience in it, by reason of the nearness of blood, and the high distaste of his father, that it would be unhappy for them both.’ These are his own expressions in a letter to her. Now the first notice that I had of the business, was in August 1654, which was by a letter from my brother Huginson, wherein he writes, ‘that he had thought his cousin George had come to his house out of love to bowling, but he saw now it was out of love to his cousin Anne Delaune, and that if it were not timely prevented, they might make themselves sure together.’ This unexpected news came to me late at night. I said nothing then to it, but the next morning went to Lingsted, and asked for my sister, and told her I hoped she had not so served me, and endeavored my ruin. She pleaded ignorance, and that she knew nothing of it, and that she utterly disliked it. I asked then to speak with her daughter, who with some difficulty was brought to me. I said to her, “cousin, there is a business going on be-

tween my son and you, altogether against the liking of your parents, and if you go on it will be the ruin of you both, for I shall never give way to it, I hold it so unlawful for cousin-germans to marry: and therefore if you will now lay it aside, and go no farther in it, I shall be a good friend to you, and take care to provide you a fitting husband."

"Sir (said she) it is gone so far that I think my cousin George will not consent to what you propound, but if he be willing, I shall not be against it, yet I think he will not."

"That I shall try (said I) when I come home, having not yet spoke with him about it."

When I came home, I let my son know that I had heard of such a business, and had spoken with his cousin about it; and that she, finding it so distasteful to her mother and me, seemed willing to lay it aside, if the like willingness were in him. "Is she so," (said he? "Yes, really, (said I,) I do not see but she may be persuaded to it, and so I would have you, for I tell you, if you go on it will be the ruin of you both. Perhaps this familiarity may have somewhat settled your affections to one another, and therefore for the present I would have you forbear going to her, and that will lessen it."

"Upon this he absented for a few days, but being under-hand solicited by them to come thither, he was very importunate with me to go. I confess I was much against it, but because he so earnestly pressed it, at last I gave way to it, telling him, I hoped it might be for good, and that he would so fully tell her his mind, that she might have no more thoughts of it. About an hour after he was gone, I went after him, and when I came to Lingsted, I asked for them, and my sister telling me they were in the parlour, "Come (said I,) let you and I go to them;" and when we came to them, "Cousin and son, (said I,) I have already spoken to you both apart, now I will tell you my mind together. It is this: I shall never give my consent that you two shall be married together, for I do, and ever did abhor the marriage of cousin-germans; and therefore if you will both fairly lay it down, there need be no more words of it, and I think no wrong to either party. For if you have been so foolish as to make engagements to one another, it was without your parents consents or knowledge, and between parties not fit to marry together; and now your parents know of it, they are utterly against it, and therefore you may both disengage each other of your promises, and I think no harm done, but all well; and then cousin Anne, be assured, I shall be a good friend to you."

"Upon this the young couple began to be somewhat at a stand, when presently my sister said, "Brother, what if my daughter be with child?" "Truly sister (said I) it is a question very unseasonably put, and I think upon no ground, for I am confident that he never lay with her; (which he hath often since professed, and that he did not know whether she were man or woman) but if she be with child, (said I,) the bastard must be kept, better so than worse; for I tell you George, if you marry her, you must not look to come within my doors." Upon this my sister presently replied, "Cousin George, be not discouraged with that, for if your father will not receive you I will, and you shall be welcome to me, stay as long as you please." "This is right, (said I,) now you have fully discovered yourself to be what I thought you, the main contriver of the match; I have done. Come, George, (said I,) if you will go home with me, well and good, if not, take what comes of it;" and so away I went. About half an hour after my son followed me home; I told him it was well he was come, and wished him to forbear going thither any more; he followed my advice, and kept with me. But privately under-hand my sister and his cousin sent to him: and then she carried her daughter up to London, and there endeavoured to have them asked at church, and cried at market; which, coming to my ear, I prevented, and that most fearfully madded her and her party. And to prevent farther attempts of the like nature, his uncle Dudley coming in the nick of time, and offering himself, (my son also desiring it) he was admitted his companion and bed-fellow, to stave them off; for as soon as my back was turned, they were still soliciting of him. Then my son presently wrote a civil letter to her, that whatever his intents were heretofore, yet the matter being now known to his father, he did see so much averseness in him,

that he could not go on ; and that they were so near of blood, that he feared God would never prosper such a marriage, and therefore desired her to have no more thoughts of it. After this, her friends soliciting and troubling him, he went into Sussex with his uncle Dudley, and was absent from me near six months. In all that time, for ought I ever heard, they kept very good company, and lived orderly ; and whatever his uncle did himself, I am sure he was careful that my son should no ways be debauched ; neither did I at his return find him tainted with the vices of the times, but every way very well. I am sure he did run far greater hazards when he kept her kindred company ; for I have been informed by a good hand, that there were strange plots to intoxicate him, so to work their ends ; I am ashamed to mention the manner of it. Indeed they could never compass their design, for he hath very often professed that he did never lie with her, nor was ever married to her. Something they talk of, was said, by a man of their procuring in a chamber ; but sure it signified nothing, for she hath discharged him of that and all his other promises to her, and, as he said, did give him free liberty to marry whom he pleased. And I verily believe, had it not been for the mother, little dispute had been about it : for not long before his death he was heard to say, " That he would not for ten thousand pound that he had been married to his cousin Anne Delaune, for I could not have loved her (said he) a month to an end." And I am sure of late he was so averse to them, that he could not endure my mention of her or her mother.

" And this is the story of that so much talked of marriage. And wherein, I pray you, lies the heinousness of my sin in this business ; if I did forbid my son to marry, where to me it seems absolutely forbidden by the word of God, by decrees of ancient councils, and not allowed by the most orthodox and best men ? I am sure the scripture says, ' Thou shalt not approach to any that is near of kin to thee ;' and I am sure cousin-germans are very near of kin. Let others do as they will, and make what constructions they please, the words of the text have and ever shall prevail with me. So long as God hath given us choice enough, I think I shall not venture within the line. And whatever may be talked, it was neither smallness of portion, nor want of proportion and handsomeness, nor meanness of birth, nor unfitness of years, or any outward thing, (though perhaps there might be enough to except against) that made me so averse, but only the prohibition of heaven, which says, ' Thou shalt not approach,' &c.

" And now, gentlemen, if I must be punished for causing my son to obey that which I conceive to be the law of God, *Fiat voluntas Dei.*"

" Sir, (said the ministers,) we cannot think, neither must you, that God will punish you for keeping his laws ; and being you are persuaded that it is unlawful for cousin-germans to marry together, and that your son was never married to her according to the church of England, nor had ever carnally known her, we cannot conceive you were at all to blame to forbid it, as soon as it came to your knowledge, but that you did well in it ; such marriages seldom or never prospering. But, sir, (said they,) seeing you are pleased thus fairly to treat with us, give us leave to be plain with you, and come a little nearer home to you, and tell you of some personal vices, which we think stick close to you."

THE FOURTH CHARGE.

" As first, That your mind is too much set on the world ; that you are of a covetous disposition, and keep not that hospitality that befits your quality and estate.

" Secondly, that you are a hard landlord, and raise your rents, and let things for more than they are worth, or can be made of them.

" Thirdly, that though you live unmarried, yet being a lusty able-bodied man, you can hardly live chastely, but must offend God in those unlawful pleasures.

" Fourthly, That you are not so observant of family duties, nor have educated your children so virtuously, nor with that care godly parents ought to do.

" Fifthly, That you have not dealt so well with your younger brothers as you ought.

THE ANSWER.

“ Gentlemen, (said I,) now you touch me to the quick, and make me examine all my ways, and the sins of my youth; what man is there that liveth and sinneth not? Who can say that he is clean? I confess that I have sinned, and do daily, and while I live in this body of flesh, it is hard not to sin. While we live here on earth, we are still but men, and not angels or saints. But to answer to the particulars of the charge, and first to that of covetousness: covetousness is that which rests, as I conceive, in the affections and desires of the mind; and I profess, as far as I know my own soul, I do not, nor ever did covet my neighbour’s house, lands or goods, or any thing of another man’s, so as wrongfully to deprive him of it. I never said to gold, thou art my god, nor trusted in uncertain riches. If my own soul deceive me not, I could act that part Christ commanded the young man in the gospel, ‘sell all that thou hast, and come and follow me:’ I could easily part with all when he commands. I have been deprived of houses, lands, goods, and liberty, and that causelessly, in an instant; my losses have been to the value of thirty or forty thousand pounds: And I thank heaven, I never shed tear, nor broke night’s sleep for it. I have peace and quiet within. These outward losses never troubled me. They seemed so loose upon me, and cleaved so little to me, that the parting from them never drew drop of blood from me, or caused so much as one sigh; I found myself still, and a contented and happy man, though I wanted them: I saw they added little to it; and should the like befall me again, I doubt not but I should still be the same. By this I find my heart is not set on covetousness. But if an honest endeavour not to suffer a man’s self to be defrauded and cozened, (though I think I have been so as much as any) and if to manage an estate as near as I can to the best, if to improve it and busy a man’s self about it, if that be covetousness, I think I am guilty of it. Sure there is good warrant, both from reason and scripture, that every man should labour and endeavour in that way God hath placed him, and should tend to something. If God hath blessed my endeavours in these ways, men may envy it, but sure no blame is due to me for it.

To the Charge of Hospitality.

“ You charge me for defect in hospitality. I am sure no man’s house in the country is more open to poor and rich than mine; and if the jealousies of the times, and my own restraint, did not now hinder, it would still be more open. As it is, I am sure there are twenty poor people at least weekly relieved, and that more than once. My lowest proportion in my house, whether I be there or not, is every week a bullock, of about fifty stone, a quarter of wheat, and a quarter of malt for drink, which makes about a barrel a day for my household. I mention not sheep and other things, more or less, when I and my children (when I had any) were at home. Sure this is no very niggardly proportion for a family. And for setting poor people to work (which I take to be as good a deed as most) I think few have exceeded me. I am sure for well nigh thirty years, (except three or four that I was in prison) I have expended on labourers and workmen, at least a thousand pounds a year. And I do not know of one that I have employed in all this time, or in all my life, servants or others, whom I have defrauded of their wages, or not paid them their hire. It is true, there is a smith who did some work about ploughs and carts, and shoeing of horses, just at the time I was sequestered and carried to prison; when he demanded money of me, I told him the sequestrators, who had the ploughs, and carts and horses, and the corn, and all, ought in conscience to pay him, and not I, who had no benefit of it; him I turned over to the sequestrators, as I thought I had just reason to do. There is likewise a Sandwich man, in a store-house of whose I had about thirty or forty quarters of wheat. This the sequestrators also took away; and when he demanded money of me for the hire of his room, I refused to pay him, telling him, those that have the corn ought to pay for the room. Other than these, I know not any

to whom I have denied payment, and I conceive there is much reason why they should not be paid by me ; and therefore I hope no great offence to heaven in this.

To the Charge of being a hard Landlord.

“ It is said I am a hard landlord, and raise my rents. I confess as tenants leases expired, I took no fines to renew, as my ancestors used to do, but let out my farms at improved rents, both the tenant and myself better liking of it. But I do not know that I let a farm to any tenant for more than I thought (and I had some little skill) it was really and honestly worth, nor for more than (had I been to have taken a farm) I would have given for it myself. Nor have I any tenant (though the times be now very bad) who shall say, sir, my farm is too dear, I cannot live upon it at the rent ; if he leave it to me but as good as it was when he took it, I will take it again. Nay, notwithstanding corn is so cheap, I give any tenant I have, liberty to leave his farm, and I will take it. I never did, or ever will, force any tenant to keep his farm. Neither in all this time, hath any tenant come to me to take his farm again. Some indeed I would have ousted of their farms, (being none of the best tenants) but could not persuade them. I never arrested or imprisoned any tenant for his rent, nor willingly used any severe course, if I could indifferently be satisfied any other way. I have scarce demanded my rents of late because of the cheapness of corn, but have made all the shifts I could to get money to serve my occasions, and spared my tenants, that they might not be forced to put off their corn at too mean rates. If these be the signs of an hard landlord, then I am one. There is one Ellen, of Stausfield, I hear, hath complained of me for being so. I will tell you the case, and then you shall judge whether I deserve it or not. Last Michaelmas was two years, I let a farm there to him of forty pounds a year. At the end of the year I sent to him for his rent ; his answer was, that it went hard with him the first year, being to buy all his stock and seasons, therefore he desired me to have a little patience till he could make money of his corn : upon his desire I did forbear him. About half a year after I sent to him again, and then he said corn was so low that he could make but little money of it. Upon this I forbore him till the other year was up, and he indebted to me two years rent, and went myself to him, and wished him to leave the farm if he found he could do no good upon it. He desired to keep it, hoping the times would mend, and offered to make over his stock to me for my security ; this he did, and continued in his farm, and at Lady-day next promised to clear all. About a month after the time I sent to him to fulfil his promise, and was informed that he had sold all his corn, driven away his stock, and carried all his goods, and was gone himself, and had left me about twenty pounds worth of corn on the ground, to satisfy for three years rent, which was six score pounds ; so I was to be a loser one hundred pounds by him. This is the truth, and who now do you think did the wrong ? Many of these hardnesses have I used to my tenants, and have been so served by them.

To the Charge of living unmarried.

“ To the charge of my being unmarried, and not living so chastely and virtuously as a Christian ought to do, I confess, that for almost these twenty years I have lived unmarried, and I thank heaven I have a healthy able body, and have natural and carnal affections in me, and a love to women and their company, and I think he deserves to be unmanned that hath not. I confess I have been more vain and foolish with them than I ought to have been, heaven forgive me. But for committing fornication or adultery with any single or married woman, I protest before heaven (though perhaps few may believe it) I am clear from it. I never had illegitimate issue, nor ever had carnal knowledge of any woman, save of my own wife ; nor of her, but as was fitting for procreation ; seldom or never after I knew her to be with child. Neither was this abstinence in me from any

frigidity or disability in nature, for my dispositions that way, were (I think) as strong as most men's. Neither was it for want of invites and opportunities to it, of them I had enough. Nothing restrained me but the fear of offending heaven; *vox illa terribilis*, always sounding in my ears, 'Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.'¹ This hath all along been the bridle to my unlawful desires, and I hope ever shall be.

To the Charge of neglecting Family Duties.

"To that of ordering my family and duties thereto belonging, I confess it is an excellent thing when the master can say, 'I and my house do and will serve the Lord.' But it is hard in a great and numerous family to have all so well minded. It is the master's part to see them perform the outward duties of God's service, as prayer and going to church, and to shew them the way by his own godly example; this I was always mindful of, frequenting the church on the Lord's day, both forenoon and afternoon, if not hindered by the weather, or some extraordinary occasion, and calling upon my servants to do the same. And all the week after, it was my constant course to pray with my family once, if not twice every day; and if I had not a Levite in my house, I performed the office myself. It is true, though in my own private devotions, morning and evening, I used constantly, without failing, my own conceived ejaculations to heaven; yet to my family, after reading some part of the scripture, I commonly used the set forms of prayers of the church, or of some other godly men: which in public meetings, and no extraordinary occasion happening, I conceive to be very fitting, and sufficiently warranted, both from Moses, David, and Solomon, who composed prayers for the church; as likewise from Christ himself, who made a prayer for his disciples, and bid them pray thus: 'Our Father,' &c. It is warranted also by the practice of Christ, who sure had the spirit of prayer as much as any; yet in his agony he used no variety, but three several times, as the text hath it, went and said the same words: 'Father! if thou wilt, let this cup pass from me.' He quarrelled not at the set form, nor do I know why any man should. If another man has composed a prayer whose words speak my mind to the full, and peradventure more full than my own words can do it, why should not I use them? Let thy heart and affections go with his words, and then they are thine own. I confess I like not praying by rote; and I think him but a dull Christian who cannot, or does not, upon extraordinary occasions, pour out his soul to God in his own words. Thou mayest have some sores, which none but thy own words can discover. But at a public meeting, and upon a general confession of our sins, when we all join together in prayer, what a pleasant harmony, or rather thundering violence, doth it use to heaven's gates to bring down a remission of our sins? And this hath the church of God used heretofore. For my part I cannot dislike it, so the private be not omitted. For I confess, nothing speaks a Christian better, than frequency in prayer; no duty comes near it. It makes thee acquainted with heaven, it begets a familiarity between thee and thy God: that ye shall not be strangers one to another; you have a friendly converse together: it brings down heaven to thee, it lifts thee up to heaven. It is the key that unlocks all God's treasures: it is the Columbus, which discovers and brings home to thee that *terra incognita*, and more than Indian treasure. It makes heaven and earth all one. It makes thee see and enjoy God himself, without thy dissolution. The weak-sighted owls and bats of this world, see not God, except he express his goodness to them, in giving them riches and honour, and wives, and children, and such outward blessings; and more or less, as they receive of these, they judge of God accordingly. But thou shalt, when God hath taken away thy children, and all other outward things, thou shalt see them really in him, and with more comfort than when thou hadst them here. For here thou enjoyedst them with a mixture of ill; in him

¹ [Heb. xiii. 4.]

thou enjoyest them pure, and all other happinesses beside. Thou hast the fountain-head, and body of the sun, from whence all these rivulets and beams proceed. This elixir and sovereign balm, a wise Christian will not lose : I have found it the sole medicine for all my afflictions ; and as I ever have, so I ever will make use of it.

“ The Apostle’s advice to the Thessalonians, ‘ Pray continually,’ is excellent, and I wish all Christians to follow it. But I pray, Paul, let us reason it a little. ‘ Pray continually?’ Must we pray when we enjoy? Prayer implies want, and want causeth sorrow and mourning. And ‘ can the children of the bride-chamber mourn while the ‘ bridegroom is with them?’ And canst thou want any thing who enjoyest thy God? Thou enjoyest not him if thou wantest, or desirest any thing besides himself. And if thou enjoyest him, what hast thou to pray for? Thou hast already the fruition of what thou canst pray for or desire. Sure then thou art to rejoice, and solace thyself in thy God. Thou art already arrived at this harbour and haven of happiness. Thou needest then no more winds, no fresh gales of prayer to fill thy sails, and carry thee to thy port. Thou art come to it, thou mayest now strike sail and be at rest, thou hast no farther to go than to thy God. Whither wouldst thou sail? What! go from thy God again? Wilt not thou rest thyself now thou art come to him? What wouldst thou have?

“ Oh, but poor soul, thou canst not always enjoy these feast days. The sun of righteousness will not always shine so clear upon thee. There are mists and clouds that do, and will daily rise from thy own corruptions, which will obscure and darken that sun, and keep his chearful light from thy soul, and cause him to hide his face from thee. There will be times when the bridegroom shall be taken away, as our Saviour says, when thou shalt have lost him whom thy soul loveth. What wilt thou do then? That will be a sad time indeed, and then thou hadst need fast, and mourn, and pray, and night and day seek after him ; thou hadst need hoist all thy sails to follow him, and run about the streets, and call to the watchmen to help thee, and use all means, both by thyself and others, to find him out ; and when thou hast found him, be sure to hold him fast, and not let him go. But poor soul, thou canst hardly hold him so fast here, but thy corruptions will quickly loose him from thee again. Aye, Paul, thou knowest that too well, and that made thee cry out, I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. While thou art in this vail of flesh, thou canst not fully, and without intermission, enjoy thy Saviour. God said to Moses, no man should see his face and live. Here we must be content to see his back parts, till we put off these rags and clogs of corruption. When we come to heaven, and not till then, we shall see him face to face, and be blest with an everlasting fruition of him. Oh then, pray continually, pray here without ceasing.

To the Charge of the Education of my Children.

“ Now for the education of my children, this I say : In their younger years they were tender and weak, and when I had buried many other, and had only them two, I confess I was more fond and indulgent, and gave more way to them, than otherwise I should have done : yet I do not know that I omitted any thing that was fitting for them. As soon as they were of years convenient, I put them out to very good and careful schools, Bromley and Wye, where I was often myself with them, to see that their masters educated them well, both for religion and learning ; and was ever careful to have them accommodated with all other masters, to learn from them such things as their ages were capable of. From school I carried them to Cambridge, where I made choice of an able and godly tutor, and placed them in Sydney College. When they had been there two or three years, I brought them to London, intending to send my eldest abroad into France, and my youngest to the inns of court, because he had no disposition to travel. I went with my eldest once or twice to Dover for that end, but France being at that time in much garboil, I durst not venture him. After that, some overtures of matches stayed him ; and the eldest not going abroad, the youngest would not be persuaded to go to the inns of

court, (though I much pressed him to it) but would keep with his brother: I desired nothing more than putting him upon some employment, and gave him his choice to take to what he would, but never could get him to take to any. Whilst they were in London I had several masters who came to my lodgings to instruct them: their singing, dancing, and fencing-masters, and one who read the mathematics. Thrice a week they went to the Mews to ride the great horse. These exercises they had constantly; and their masters, who were accounted the best in town, cost me about six pound a week. Every night I caused them to read a chapter or two, and then prayed with them, and willed them to use also their own private devotions. On the Sabbath days I carried them to hear (as I thought) the best preachers, and discoursed with them of what they heard. On the week days they often went to lectures, and I took the best care I could to keep them from idle company and not fitting sports; though youth will have its vanities. By my own example, and best counsel, I dissuaded them from debauchery. For, I thank heaven, no man can tax me for swearing, drinking, whoring, or gaming. I never, to my knowledge, swore an oath but before a magistrate; nor ever drank so much as might unman me, and make myself a beast; I ever abhorred it. Though I must confess, that I have sometimes (yet but seldom) for company sake drank more than enough, or did me good. No one can charge me with being a whore-master: and I never gamed for more than I was indifferent whether I won or lost. I never played for love of money, but only for company and recreation; and I dare confidently say it, my sons were also free from those vices, except gaming. I do not think they did ever swear or whore. My youngest could not endure wine or strong drink, and my eldest but seldom drank it. To that foolish sport of cocking they were addicted, but the youngest most; as also to carding: he would play somewhat deep at those games, but never at dice. I often chid him, but could never break him of it. My eldest had handsomely left both, and was ready to hearken to his father's advice, and, I think, was virtuously disposed. I am confident all the world could not make him commit a known sin. He never failed, morning and evening, to betake himself to his private devotions, that I observed; neither do I know any vice that he was inclined to: he was of an affable, mild, and soft nature, which won him the hearts of his friends and acquaintance; but his brother of a contrary, pleasing and courteous to none, but cross-grained to all, as much to his father as any, and I knew not how to break him of it. I was in hope that years and discretion might in time have made him to leave it; and so possibly it might, had not envy to his brother's virtues and growing goodness, thrust him upon that devilish fact, which caused him most deservedly to be cut off by a shameful death, before he was come to the age of twenty years.

"This is all I shall say for the education of my children. I am sure, night and day, my care and my prayers have been for them. More than I did, I know not what to do. Many a father who hath not been at half that care and cost I have been, have had their children do much better; they could not do worse. But God's will be done. Many are made to believe that I kept the youngest very short of maintenance: to that I shall say nothing here, but what Mr. Boreman, a reverend and grave divine, had from his own mouth, and is ready to testify. That gentleman, who was with my son Freeman to the last, once put the question to him, what maintenance his father allowed him; he answered, "I never asked any thing of my father but I had it." Indeed he might well say so; for I ever gave them, not only when, but commonly before, they asked; and then, not stones for bread, but usually better and more than they desired.

To the Charge about the Younger Brothers.

"To that of my younger brothers by a second venter, I say, I did more for them than their father either would, or could have done, had he lived. I took the same care for them in their education as if they had been my own; if they will not make good use of it when they come to age, it is their own fault, not mine. When my father settled an estate

on me upon my marriage, he reserved at least one thousand pounds a year, to raise portions for his younger children: but before his death this was sold away, and he was indebted besides near four thousand pounds. He had a sister, and another son, my whole brother, to whom he left nothing. All his estate and goods appraised, amounted not to above a thousand pounds; yet I administered and paid all his debts: there was not any could justly demand a farthing. Indeed I took some time to do it, but at last paid all; which cost me three thousand pounds more than his goods were appraised at. To my father's sister during her life, I gave her diet with me, and fifty pounds a year out of my own estate; and to my brother, who was a student in the law, I gave one hundred pounds a year as long as he lived, out of my own estate likewise. My half-brothers were thus provided for: The eldest, who was then a man grown, I sent to travel, and allowed him one hundred pounds a year; I am sure he never before spent my father twenty pounds a year. The second having something of a scholar, I sent, with letters of recommendation, to Leyden, to study physic. The third had a mind to be a soldier in the Low-Countries, thither I sent him, and furnished him with money to buy places of preferment as they fell, and he is now a captain or a major. The fourth I put apprentice to my father-in-law, a merchant, who loved him dearly, and would have done much for him: before he died, he run his master fifteen or sixteen hundred pounds out of cash, and spent it; and I am almost forced to pay it for him. The fifth I bound to a Russia merchant, and gave with him two hundred pounds. During his master's life he was employed in Russia, and after his master's death returned; but I sent him thither again, and to encourage him, adventured two or three hundred pounds with him, which he fairly spent, and then betook himself to other courses. The sixth I bound apprentice to a woollen-draper in St. Paul's Church-yard, and gave one hundred and twenty pounds with him: he served out his time, and was a journeyman a while, and had thirty pounds a year of his master, and twenty of me. But he soon grew weary of his employment, and running into his master's debt, was forced to leave the town, and then to mend the matter unfortunately married. The seventh was a daughter, to whom I allowed for her maintenance forty pounds a year, and offered, upon a convenient match, to have given five hundred pounds portion with her; but she, when I was sequestered and in prison, before I ever knew any thing of it, married herself to one of the sequestrators of my estate, who is, now he comes to live upon his own, worth I think but little. This is a true relation of what I did for my half-brothers and sister, which I think is not much amiss. And I still continue to every one of them (though they have not made good use of the courses they were put in) an allowance of thirty pounds a year out of their mother's estate; if they will take no course any way to help themselves, and better their fortunes, the blame is not mine. I am sure, had I not used all the friends and interest I had, and disbursed a good sum of money too, a courtier had begged their mother, being a lunatic, and then there had been nothing at all to maintain them. What their mother doth not spend they have, and shall have fairly distributed among them after her decease. In the mean time they will do well to look out for some additional subsistence, for the dividend will not be much.

“ And thus I have given you an account of the education and maintenance of my half-brothers. There is much fault found with me because I denied to lend my third brother a sum of money, about one hundred pounds, which he lately writ to me for out of the Low-Countries. It is true I did deny it, and upon this account: I was at that time, with divers others, a prisoner in Upnor castle. Cause I knew none, but we suspected it might be for fear of the Swedish army, lest they should draw down this way, and the Hollander joining with them, some party of this nation might be assistant to them. Just at this time, when all the fears and jealousies were upon the nation, and many every where committed, comes my brother's servant with a letter, and tells us of the near approach of the Swedes. The governor of the castle looked very strangely upon the business, and all my fellow-prisoners began to wonder, to see a man come over to me at that time from thence; and I was as much, and more than any, troubled at it, but could not help it. Yet to do the best I could to avoid all suspicion, as soon as I had read

the letters, I gave them to the governor to read, one of which being in French, I Englished it to him, not knowing but that he might suspect something of privacy; I let him know that I was sorry the messenger came to me at such a time. The money I could not furnish him with, being a prisoner, and had not but for my own expences; and I told the man I neither would, nor durst let him have it, if I did know where to get it, and therefore wished him to return again as soon as he could, for I knew there would be jealousies upon me as long as he was here. I desired him not to come to me, or to speak to me in private. I knew there was nothing yet to charge me with, but should I now be sending money over-sea, they might then pretend to enough. Therefore I wished the messenger to return to my brother, and in a letter which I sent then to him, desired to be excused, if I had some care of my own safety. So I sent the messenger away, having paid for his lodging and diet, and given him some money in his purse. And, to my sense, I did in that juncture of time what was fittest to be done, blame it who will."

The Minister's Reply.

"Sir," said they, "you have given us most satisfactory and Christian answers to all these things you seemed to be charged with: we see how easy a thing it is for foul tongues to slander honest men behind their backs. We only wish that these your answers were made more public, to satisfy the world."

"Gentlemen, (said I) there is one thing more I am charged with, which, though it come not from you, but from another hand, yet may possibly be in your thoughts. I will give some answer to that, and then I have done.

To the Charge of being a Royalist.

"Some there are who seem to wonder why Sir George Sondes should be so great a royalist, having all along been so virtuously bred, and made such profession of religion."

The Answer.

"I confess I was trained up in religion from my childhood; and when I was sent to Cambridge, had Dr. Preston, a very eminent and godly man, for my tutor, of whom I thank God, I learned much good: and by my familiarity with him, I became acquainted with those who were most esteemed; but I never to my knowledge, heard from him or them, but that a good Christian and a royalist might stand together. As they taught us in the first place to fear God, so the next was to honour the king. And I am sure, nothing is more frequent in scripture, than the requiring us to perform our vows, both to God and man. And I am as sure, I was bound by many several oaths to my king, which I did not so readily know how to dispense with. Yet I never was so great a royalist as to forget I was a free-born subject. Our king I was willing to have him; but not our tyrant, or we his slaves. I was ever for reformation in church and state, but not for extirpation. I was never against reducing of bishops to their pristine function of taking care of the churches, nor of the rest of the clergy, to take them off from secular employments; but to unbishop them, and take away all orders and degrees, and a certainty of maintenance from them, that I understand not. I was ever for order and government, both in church and state. Parity speaks nothing but confusion and ruin. God is the God of order, and therefore of his own courtiers he hath degrees, angels and archangels; and so is his court also composed. The spheres all differ in their magnitudes, and move one within another: his lights vary in their bigness, greater and lesser. The choristers of heaven have their varieties, and do not all sing the same note: and if in the choirs here the organs should have pipes all of one size, the music would be but dull.

If the bells were all tenors, there would be little pleasure in ringing; and it would be a bad concert where there is not as well a treble, as a bass viol. I can cast my eyes on nothing in the whole universe, but hath, and invites to degrees: only religion must have its parity. That which is the rule and order to all other things, must that be out of order? What is the reason? It is, say they, because our great Master so commanded it, saying, 'among you it shall not be so.' What is it he says shall not be so? Why, you shall not tyrannize over, and enslave those that are under you, as the rulers of the Gentiles do; but he that will be chief among you, let him be your servant. And so he is, and ought to be, who governs aright. The greatest chieftain is the greatest servant, and hath the greatest care of those that belong to him. 'Ye call me Lord and Master, (says Christ,) and it is true, so I am; and if your Lord do such mean offices, think not much for you to do the like.' He forbids not mastery, but enjoins humility and brotherly love: this learned divines make to be the true meaning; and those that give it another sense are certainly mistaken: but that is no wonder in these times. Paul, who was bred at the feet of Gamaliel, and abounded in revelations, and was full of the spirit, yet at the difficulty of the work, said, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' Who is able to wade into these depths? And yet now our illiterate mechanics, who must have seven years to learn their own trade, will at seven days, or less, undertake to teach this. Oh divinity! thou that art the apex, and chief of all sciences, thou to whom all others are but handmaids, that art *ars artium, et scientia scientiarum*, art made too cheap thus to be humbled.

"Nor was I ever against taking away monopolies, and arbitrary impositions, and imprisonment of the free subject; nor against lessening the exorbitancy of favourites, who, like drones, sucked and devoured all the honey which the commonwealth's bees, with much toil, gathered. I went with them so long as it was for king and parliament, and I think did them as faithful service as any; but when it came to parliament and no king, and parliament against king, then I bogled, I knew not what to do. I was contented to sit still, and not do: against my conscience I could not, nor would not do: and though I have suffered enough, yet I never acted any thing against the state, never was in any plot or petition against them. Not so great a royalist then.

"For my religion, I am what I ever professed, and I hope better than ever I was; for I know that *non progedi, est regredi*. I ever loved solidities. Formalities, and outward shews of a leafy religion, never took with me. I ever suspected those, who to seem more holy and religious to the world, had their congregations apart, crying 'stand off' to their brethren, 'I am holier than thou,' and talk like the proud Pharisee, 'God, I thank thee, I am not as other men,' and brag of new lights sprung from old heresies; and will not be contented with those ancient, apostolical, and holy practices of the church, but will have the sacrament after a new way and time too, and are angry if the scripture be not taken in their sense, when, God knows, they understand not one word of the original to expound it by: that care not how foul their heart be within, so they can but with their eyes and hands make a shew of holiness, and seem to be very strict in keeping the Sabbath, though they break all the other commandments; as if he that said, 'thou shalt keep holy the Sabbath day,' had not likewise said, 'thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal,' &c. I remember it is written, that God was not in the fire, or the boisterous wind, but in the soft and gentle voice. And Christ says, 'Learn of me, for I am lowly and meek.' These boisterous and fiery-spirited men, I much doubt whether the Spirit of God be in them or no. I am, and ever was, far from deriding or scoffing at any of them. I only wish that they were what they seem to be. I meddle not with them, but leave them to stand or fall to their own master. The way that I profess and propose to myself to walk in is quite different, but I think a sure one; it is short but full, Christ his own way; and this it is: 'To love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and thy neighbour as thyself.' I thank heaven I have endeavoured these things in the whole course of my life. I never feared any thing in the world more than sin, because it offended my God; nor ever was much troubled with any outward losses or crosses, so long as I found I had peace within myself and with my God. And I praise God, in the midst of this deluge of troubles,

which might have sunk an ordinary ship, I have hardly taken in any water, but that of tears of repentance, and tears of natural love and affection, which could not but be abundant in my condition, yet I have not been overwhelmed with them. The good hand of God still sustained me, and his comforts ever refreshed my soul; so that through the thickest darkness of this black and fearful cloud, I could see the sun of comfort. I knew my God was all-sufficient, and that he both could and would, in his good time, totally dispel it, and restore me the like comforts again. For that other branch of love to my neighbour, this I can say: That to the poor I have ever been charitable, and relieved their necessities as occasion was offered, and so shall do as long as I live; and at my death not forget to do them good, as the members of my Saviour Christ. My other neighbours, of what quality soever, I have treated as brethren. I never to my knowledge, or with my good will, wronged or defrauded any. In all my dealings with them I have still made it my rule 'to do as I would be done by.' To my best remembrance I never did that to another but I was contented should be done to me in the same case: and he that walks by that rule cannot err; it is our Saviour's, and as himself says, it is the fulfilling of all righteousness."

THE LAST CHARGE.

"Some are of opinion that I can hardly forget or forgive an injury done to me."

THE ANSWER.

"I desire no more to be forgiven of heaven, than I am ready to forgive all the world. Heaven itself doth not promise pardon and forgiveness but to the penitent sinner: you must acknowledge your offence, you must be sorry for your sin, you must promise and endeavour amendment, before you can expect forgiveness of God. I have been as foully injured, and as deeply wounded, and that by those of near relation from whom I have highly deserved, as possibly could be: yet let them perform to me the condition God himself requires, and I both can and will forgive them. More than this, I conceive, God requires not. Our daily prayer is, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.' Otherwise than thus to forgive, is to seem as though you slighted, or did not understand the injury. And what would the effect of this be, but an encouraging the same parties, or others, to do the like again, or worse? We all offend God and our neighbour: and our Saviour's rule is, to forgive, not to seven times, but to seventy times seven times; that is to a numberless number. If the injuries and affronts done to me be not too notorious and wilful, I can and do daily forgive them undesired: I never mind them: but if they be great and speak loud, even then, if the party will but acknowledge them, and profess hearty sorrow for them, be the offence never so foul and great, I have a charity to forgive them. More than this I think is not required of man, or begged of God.

"Now that I can and have thus forgiven, is evident by that short prayer I composed, and was used in my family for my son, morning and evening, as long as he lived, and recommended to the churches about me. I am sure a greater injury could not be done to me than he did."

The Prayer.

Lord, we beseech thee, look down in mercy on that most miserable and unhappy creature of thine, (if thou be not the more merciful³) Freeman Sondes. Lord, soften his hard and stubborn heart, and give him a true sight of his most heinous and bloody sin, and an hearty sorrow for the same. Lord, give him grace to turn to thee by true and unfeigned

³ [Altered in the Evesham reprint to 'if not beyond the reach of mercy.' The sense in the original seems very obscure.]

repentance, that so thou mayest have mercy upon his poor soul. Thou art the fountain of mercy, and all flows from thee. His father, at his earnest desire, though he killed, oh! foully killed his dear son, and ruined him in all his hopes, hath pardoned him. Oh! do thou then, oh Father of mercies, in that sad hour of his death, receive him into thy arms of mercy, that his mournful father may yet have this comfort, that though thou hast made him childless, and left him not one son alive on earth, yet, (which is much better) they may live with thee in eternal bliss in heaven. Dear Father, grant us this our request, and that only for thy beloved Son Jesus Christ's sake, our Lord and only Saviour. Amen.

"In his examination at Maidstone before the justices, when he was asked what provoked him to commit so foul an act, it is strange to see how he seems to make my hard using of him to be the motive and provocation; whereas it is well known to all, that never son was treated more tenderly by a father. I will set down the effect of his examination, and my answer to himself by a letter, when I came to the knowledge of it; and the true story of the doublet he so much complained of, attested by divers who were then by. And when at last he asked forgiveness of me, and desired to hear from me, you shall see my bowels towards him in my last letter.

THE EFFECT OF HIS EXAMINATION.

"The fact of murdering his brother he freely confessed before the justices: it is already in print, and it is my grief to repeat it. But being asked why he did it, he answered, it was because upon a difference between him and his brother, about a week before May day last, concerning a doublet, his father threatened that he would ruin him; never look on him more; keep him short while he lived; and at his death make him a servant to his brother: that whereas it was said by some that he had a thousand pounds a year, I would not leave him a thousand groats, and that I would make him as poor as his uncle Nicholas; and that for the space of four years last past he hath not had of his father forty pounds, he believeth not twenty; and that his father's displeasure against him still continued. These, if truths, might have been ground of discontent, but no provocations to so wicked an act. But he who is the father of murders, is also the father of lies, and taught man this lesson from the beginning. We are all apt to lay our faults on others; our father Adam did it in paradise: 'The woman whom thou gavest me, (said he,) she gave me of the fruit, and I did eat:' as if he had said, if thou hadst not given her to me, I had never eaten of the forbidden fruit. Oh ungrateful Adam, to upbraid thy Maker who gave thee a woman, the best of creatures, for an help, and not for thy ruin! O, wicked son, so to pervert thy father's words, which were spoken to thee for thy amendment, but not for thy hurt! My letter to him will declare the truth, and in what manner the words were spoken to him. Can it be imagined if any thing had past that had troubled him about that doublet, that it should provoke him to commit that foul fact a quarter of a year after, especially since he had the same, if not greater, opportunity all along; and all manner of respect and kindness, both from his brother and me, passing still to him to the very night before, and all former quarrels quite forgot? I had been from them seven weeks a prisoner in Upnor castle, and did not see them but as they came sometimes to me, passing between London and my house. I came home not many days before; and the very day before, I and both my sons were at Fever-sham, to see a match at running, a sport they delighted in; we were as pleasant as ever, and so went to our chambers and bed, without the least shew of any discontent. But I will shew you my son's letter to me, and my answer to him, which will discover the truth of these things.

Freeman's Letter.

Most dear and loving father,

Although through the heinousness of my offence, I am become unworthy to see your face more in this world, yet I hope such is your fatherly goodness, that you will

vouchsafe to accept and read these few and last lines of your dead son. Dead to yourself, dead to all this world, and I hope, through God's grace, 'dead to sin; but alive to God through Jesus Christ our Lord.' Sir, I praise God, I am come to a sight and sense of my sin; I begin to feel the weight of my burden, but I hope the Lord Jesus will very shortly ease me: in full assurance whereof, 'I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.' Sir, I desire you may have comfort by my death, although you have had little in my life: for, 'I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.' The Lord make me worthy to be one of his. Sir, all I beg at your hands is your pardon, your blessing, and your prayers, which I doubt not to obtain. I am now near my journey's end, and I hope in a very short time to rest in Abraham's bosom, whither my brother is gone before me. Is gone! *hinc illæ lachrymæ!* And you, my dear father, shall in God's good time follow after. Comfort yourself with these words. Sir, I hope through the strength of God's grace to look death in the face courageously, and depart this world penitently; not doubting but that when I shall petition, 'Lord, remember me now thou art in thy kingdom!' I shall, to my unspeakable comfort, receive that gracious answer from the mouth of my triumphant Saviour, 'This day shalt thou be with me in paradise.' In prayer for which, and assurance whereof, through faith in the Lord Jesus, with my humble thanks for your tender love and fatherly care, from my very cradle to this day, although undeserved, my humble duty presented to yourself, praying to God to make you happier without us than you were with us, I humbly take leave.

Your son for a few days,

But I hope the son of God for ever,

FREEMAN SONDES.

To his letter I returned this answer:

Son Freeman,

I have received your letter, and like well of the words and desires you use therein, and wish with all my soul you were as that speaks you: that you were heartily sorry for that most high and crying sin committed against your heavenly and earthly Father, in so foully murdering your most innocent brother. Upon these hopes (though never greater injury was done to man) I do really and fully forgive you. And do, and have, and shall, as long as you have being here, most heartily and earnestly, every moment of time, beg of God that he would give you a true sight of this, and all other your sins, and receive you to his mercy and forgiveness. But let me tell you, that will never be but upon a true repentance of all your sins, and an acknowledgment of them, and that (let me be plain with you) I yet see not in you. For this most detestable fact, you confess indeed that you did it, but, as much as in you lies, lay the provocation of it upon your father, by charging him with the most false and devilish untruths, as I find in your examination. As first, upon the falling out between you and your brother about wearing one another's doublets, (wherein you had and would have your will) you tax your father that he said he would ruin you; whereas your uncle Nicholas, and the servants who were then by, know that I only said, These stubborn and wilful courses of yours, if you continued in them, would ruin you. And so I fear they have, for to the last you continued in them. And in the least trivial things, of riding abroad to my park and town, (things you liked in themselves) yet because I desired it of you, you refused it, and said, If your father had not asked you to go, you should have done it: and this you did the Thursday and Saturday before this foul fact. I mind you only of this, being so lately done; hundreds more you know there are; as your perpetual running to Lingsted against my mind, and staying out until ten and twelve at night: and this you would do three or four times every week, and make me wait those late hours for you, both for supper and bed. And when I told you the danger of riding those late hours, the amends that followed upon it was, the next day to do the same again, or worse; and never could I prevail with you to stay any one time from going there, though you knew it was extremely against my mind, you receiving no good from thence: but you continued it the rather, and that to the last.

Next, you tax me that I would make you servant to your brother. Never such word fell from me; it is most false, as all then by can testify, and I protest to God it was never in my thoughts, nor did my actions ever tend the least that way, which all the world saw. For, you were ever habited and clothed alike; and I never made difference between you in any thing, but have been taxed for shewing you more kindness, and bearing more with you than with your brother. But possibly I might say, you need not carry yourself so doggedly toward him, for you must be beholden to your brother; and so you must have been, had he lived.

Next, you tax me, that whereas some friends had told you that you had a thousand pounds a year given you, that I could not keep from you; I said you had not a thousand groats, and that I would make you as poor as your uncle Nicholas. It is true, I did tell you that you had not a thousand pounds a year, neither do I know that you have one foot of land, or one groat of money given you by any friend in the world. But I did not say that I would make you as poor as your uncle Nicholas: I might, and I think did say, that let not your flatterers soothe you up, and maintain you in your stubbornness and disobedience to your father, for you must be beholden to him for what you have, and he could make it more or less, according as you behaved yourself, and that it was in his power to make you as poor, and give you as little as your uncle Nicholas. But both you and all the world know, my care was to make you a good fortune; and that for that end only I have been as good a husband as I could, and have near these twenty years kept myself a single man, and barred myself the comfort of a wife, only because I would not burden myself with more children, that you might have the more; for your brother had his fortune ascertained before. And thus you have requited me; to make me childless, and to ruin my family, (and that in an instant) which I all my life have been labouring to support.

Next you complain, that for these last four years you have had none, or very little money from me, not forty or twenty pounds. I suppose this is from the time you came from Cambridge, for then I am sure I allowed you a certainty of forty pounds a year, besides clothes and extraordinaries, and that was not small, for at one time I paid a bill of forty pounds for you, when you had the small pox: and I am confident, and you know it, you have spent me in clothes and otherwise, above an hundred pounds a year, beside your diet, ever since you came from thence. You had of all things that you would, and as costly as you pleased, and as often, and all paid by me without the least check: though sometimes your vanity carried you to lay out threescore pounds or more upon one suit. I am sure no man's younger son in England went better, nor had more care taken for his education than you had. The best masters in London for the mathematics, and divers exercises, came to you, to my great expence. And often have I been earnest with you to go to the inns of court, or undertake some other employment, and offered to allow you for your expences what you could desire, but you would not. For money to spend, you had still equal with your elder brother, and as much as I thought you could any ways need, (being always with me,) or any ways seem to desire. You never asked any sum that ever was denied you; you knew where my spending money was, and you did go to it, and take what you pleased, I never checked you for it. Ten pounds at a time I have offered you, and that lately, and you would have none of it, you needed it not, you had money enough, you said; and so indeed I think you had, to your great hurt: for that made you play at such great games, and bet so high at cocking, as none higher; and to lose, and that at my lodging, near an hundred pounds at a time. To play with your father you scorned, though he often desired it: he played at too small a game for you. These are no signs that you wanted money, or that your father carried a strait hand towards you.

Oh, Freeman! thou knowest thy father loved thee but too well, and that he could deny thee nothing. From thy cradle to this day, I know not that ever I struck thee, saving that once, when through thy unsufferable sawciness in the parlour, I pulled off thy hat, and gave thee a little pat on the head. And much good came thereby: for you presently took it up and put it on again, cocking of it, and in scorn sat in your chair by me, in a discontented posture, and so continued for four or five hours, not speaking one word. Nor

ed I remember that ever I did chide thee in anger ; though thy dogged humour of hiding thyself for a long time, and running to London without my knowledge, and the janglings with thy brother upon the least trivial occasions, would have provoked any father living : but say I did it at any time, thou knowest it was as soon over as spoken, and therefore you need not suggest my displeasure continued against you. To that very night you did this bloody fact, how have I courted thee as my mistress, not my son ? Ever since I came from Upnor, how have I every day sought new ways and journeys to have thy company ? Surely these are no arguments of a father's displeasure. But say I was displeased. Why then didst thou not kill me, and spare that innocent lamb ? O youth ! I believe thou mightest be offended at me ; but certainly the main thing that provoked thee, was thy envy at thy brother's virtues and growing goodness, and that he was the elder, and that I and the world began to look on him, and love him. Oh, hellish wickedness ! Heaven give thee grace to repent thee heartily of it, and God be merciful to thy most foul soul, and wash it clean in the blood of his dear Son Jesus Christ, that when thou comest to die, it may be a guest fitting to be received into his pure mansions : and that it may there ever live with him, in eternal bliss, is the constant prayer of

Thy most sad and disconsolate father,
GEORGE SONDES.

After this my son sent me another letter, which was as follows :

Dear and ever honoured father,

In the midst of all the distresses of my sad soul, the sweetness of your love and fatherly indulgence, brings with it much comfort to my disconsolate spirit, which is a little revived by your loving letter to the high sheriff, whereby I have this liberty to present the most dutiful affection of a penitent son. Good father ! let me upon my humble request obtain your gracious pardon and forgiveness of all my former disobedient actions ; and admit me, I beseech you, into your prayers, that I may be thankful to my heavenly Father for this respite of life, and employ the short remainder of my days in repentance, prayer, and other holy duties ; that so thereby I may win comfort to my poor soul here, and through the mercies of Christ my Saviour, enjoy everlasting bliss hereafter. Which God of his infinite mercy vouchsafe unto you, dear father, and to me,

Your most affectionate and obedient son,
FREEMAN SONDES.

After this I sent him this following letter :

Son Freeman,

The time of your leaving this world (for ought I know) draws near ; and I hope, as you have had sufficient time, so you have made good use of it, and are prepared to go to your God. If you have (as you tell me) a true sight and hearty sorrow for your foul sin, then I doubt not but when you are dissolved, you shall be with Christ : and if I could be once thoroughly assured of that, I confess (as you say) I should have comfort in your death, although I have had but little in your life. But let me beg of thee, my son, do not deceive thy own soul ; God is not mocked, he sees not as man seeth, there is no dissembling with him. Now is the time of thy making or undoing for ever. As the tree falls here, so it lies. If thou goest out a true penitent here, thou shalt undoubtedly be a glorious saint in heaven hereafter. But know, it is not all the prayers and tears, and cries of all the godly ministers about you, who I hear (and heartily thank them for it) have plentifully afforded you their assistance, nor the earnest beggings of your father, or of the churches, can do that work : it must come from thy own self ; thy own heart must beg it, or all will be in vain. The hottest sun cannot make a dead tree live, nor the strongest blowings kindle fire in a dead coal. If there be no sap in the root, the sun doth but dry, and not enliven the tree ; if no spark of fire lie hidden under the ashes, all the blowings will never make it to burn. I hope thou hast some sparks of grace in thee, though deeply buried under a world of rubbish ; and I hope all those godly bellows that are used will blow that

away, and make thy fire of true repentance and godly sorrow burn clear, and make thee able truly to say with the prodigal, 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son;' and then thou mayest be assured of the like reception from him: he will embrace thee in the arms of his mercy, and feast thee in his heavenly mansions. For thou wert lost, but now thou art found; thou wast dead to sin, but now thou art alive in Christ, and shalt for ever live in him. Oh, happy sadness, if it produce this joy! Oh, happy death, if it produce thee that blessed life! happy change, to leave a world of misery, to go to an heaven of bliss. Oh, Freeman! rouse up thyself like a man, mind the work you are about, stir up the graces which I hope are in thee. Certainly thou canst not be so barren of knowledge and goodness as I hear you make yourself to be. Thou hast been instructed in the ways of godliness from a child. Thou hadst masters and tutors to keep thee in them when thou wast abroad, and at home thou hadst thy father's counsel and example. He never failed to cause you and your brother to read the scriptures, and constantly himself prayed with you, and called on you to betake yourselves to your private devotions, and still had you to church to hear the best men, and the most godly sermons, and discoursed to you of what was preached. Is all this lost? Hath this foul sin so deaded thy soul, that no spark of true grace can appear? Take this comfort, man's sin cannot be so great, but God's mercy is greater. Hell is only full of impenitent souls. If thou canst but truly repent God will forgive. Say but with David heartily, "I have sinned," and God will say to thy soul, as Nathan to him, "the Lord hath forgiven thy sin." The thief on the cross no sooner said, 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom,' but Christ said, 'this day shalt thou be with me in paradise.' And do you but deal plainly and clearly with heaven, and I doubt not but you will find the same answer to your own soul. Do not palliate, or shift off thy sin: I tell thee, neither thy father or thy brother, I am sure, ever gave thee the least occasion which might provoke thee to commit this foul fact. Too much softness and gentleness, old Eli's fault, was mine more than any other. I could but reprove thee with this, "Do so no more, my son." I have often checked myself for it; I know I ought to have gone higher, but thy dogged and stubborn nature was such, that I feared to do it; and I could not see that any reproofs did work good upon thee. No, I tell you, you have none to accuse in this but your own wicked and envious disposition, and the devil, who had got so much power over thee as to make thee do his will. And thanks be to heaven that restrained both his and your power from acting further mischief on me: will and opportunity were not wanting, only heaven forbade it, and preserved me: that I only thank, and beg of the Father of heaven to be merciful to thy soul; and rest

Your sad and ruined father,
GEORGE SONDES.

There is much discourse abroad about a doublet, and a falling out between my sons in that business: I will set down the true and plain story of it.

The Story of the Doublet.

My son George coming to me to London in Candlemas term last, out of Sussex, sent his grey cloth doublet that he rid up in, to his taylor Banks, to face the sleeves: Banks seeing it, told his man that he was sure that was not his master's, for I (said he) never made it. Possibly said my son's servant, the doublets being both alike, it might be mistaken; but this is it my master rid his journey in, therefore pray mend it; and so he did, and it was brought home, and his man told George what the taylor said: "I thought so, (said he,) for it is too little for me;" yet he wore it a day or two in London: but coming down into the country, one night he spoke to his brother to let him have his own doublet. Freeman said, "he would keep the doublet he had." Then I being in the next chamber, and hearing them loud and wrangling, came out to them, and asked what was the matter?

Freeman said, "his brother would have his doublet." Then I said to George, "why do you go about to get his doublet from him? Let him alone with it." "No father, (said George,) it is my own doublet I would have, only it was mistaken when I went into Sussex, and they gave me his instead of mine, and now I wish to have my own again, his being too little for me:" but Freeman said he should not have it. "Come, (said I,) what ado is here about a foolish doublet? Get you to bed." "I know not what to do with it, says George, I cannot wear it;" and so flinging it on the bed, bid his uncle Nicholas (who was then by) take it. "Do so, (said I,) and then we shall have no more janglings about it," and so went to my chamber to bed.

The next morning, fearing there might be more wranglings about it, to prevent it, I went as soon as I was up to Freeman's bed-side, and used all the fair words I could to persuade him to let his brother have his doublet, and earnestly desired him to do it, but could not prevail with him. "Now, (says he,) my brother hath worn the doublet in Sussex, he would have me have it again; I will never take it." "Do you hear, (said I to George) what your brother says?" "Why (says he,) if I have worn his, he hath likewise worn mine, and the doublet is as fresh and as good as mine every jot; it is not for that I would have my own again, but because it fits me better." Upon this I went into George's chamber, and said to him, "you see the wilfulness of your brother, make shift to wear his doublet for a while, you will not wear it much longer." "Father, (says he) I desire to wear it but two or three days, till I get to London, and I have tried this, it is so little I cannot wear it." By this time Freeman had put on his clothes, and was come into his brother's chamber, when I said to him, "fetch the doublet, and let your brother wear it." "No, (says he,) he shall have none of my doublet, let him wear that he hath had all this while." "It is, (said I,) too little for him." "Father, (said George,) if he will but let me have it to London, (which will not be above three or four days) that I may spare my other suits, when I come there he shall have doublet and breeches too; I am sure the lace will be worth four or five pounds, but I regard it not, only for my present use I would have it." "Nay then, (said I,) Freeman you cannot deny this offer." "I care not, (says he,) I will keep my own." Then I said to him, "Nay, now I see it is nothing but wilfulness, only to cross your brother;" and said to George, "Let him alone, it shall do him no good;" and to Freeman I said, "These cross and dogged humours of yours, if you continue in them, will ruin you: you need not be so dogged to your brother, for I tell you, if I die you must be beholding to him, and whatever your flatterers tell you of an estate of a thousand pounds a year, or more, that you have, which your father cannot keep from you, I who know better than they, tell you, that you have not a groat but what you must be beholding to your father for, and that it is in his power to leave you as little as your uncle Nicholas had left him: and therefore you need not carry yourself so stubbornly and doggedly towards him, as if all were your own already. I tell you, if you mend not your manners it will be the worse for you." This was all the reproof I gave him, and to my best remembrance the very words: and I think to such an obstinacy, there being no reason for it, but only his own humour, a father could not say less. Well, his will he had and would have, and still kept his brother's doublet: I desired George to let him alone, and give the other doublet to his uncle Nicholas, that there might be no more words about it, which he did: for his uncle Nicholas was by when all these words were spoken, and remembers them well. This was in April last, now near four months since. And that this wicked wretch should make these words the occasion that provoked him to murder his brother, is a most desperate wickedness, and, I believe, a most devilish untruth. God forgive him.

Mr. Boreham, a reverend divine, who took much pains with my son before his suffering, hath since in print related many passages of that business.⁴ I was then, and still am, a

⁴ [In allusion to the tract which precedes the present.]

mere stranger to him, having yet never seen him. In that regard, it was hard for him so fully to clear many things that I am aspersed with. This consideration, together with the persuasion of others, hath occasioned my silly pen thus rudely to speak to the captious world, and even enforced me to say something more.

In the first part of his book he brings in these words, with a parenthesis, 'He being in love with a fair gentlewoman;' intimating that to be one of the things which might provoke my son. Truly this is more than ever he would confess to me, or any friend or servant about me, that I know of: and when he hath been asked about it, he would deny it with much slighting, and profess the contrary: and this he did, not above two or three days before the fact. Indeed I think they loved one another's company very well, meeting often, and gaming together. If they intended marriage, it never received hindrance or dislike from me: I always liked very well of it; and when such a thing was spoken of to me, I so much encouraged it that I presently said, "They tell me that she hath three or four hundred pounds a year; whatever it be, I will give my son as much at present, besides his future expectancies, and they are not small." Thus much I proffered of myself. I know not, then, why any thing concerning that gentlewoman should trouble him.

Next I find in that relation, that I am taxed for neglect of family duties, and for not reproving my son as I ought to have done, in the letters I wrote to him. To the first of these you may see an answer in my charges before: and the second the letters themselves will confute, and evidence the contrary. I sent an able divine to be continually with him, and instruct him: and this was as much as the exigence of the time would suffer me to do.

To that of my son's advice to the world, of reading the scriptures frequently, and praying to God daily; and of parents not to suffer their children to live in idleness, but employ them in some calling, I think it concerns me to say something, though in my charges I have sufficiently spoken of those things. I am sure no man ever endeavoured or laboured more to persuade a son to take to something, than I did him. Very lately I was earnest with him to study the law, or be a merchant, or any thing, so he would be something; but he was so averse, that neither my own, or the persuasion of his most intimate friends, could prevail with him. No longer since than Easter term last, this was earnestly recommended to him by us, but to no purpose.

To the advice of prayer, and reading the scriptures, I can say it truly, that he was sufficiently admonished by me to do it. He knew that I never failed daily to do it myself. And I shall not only advise the world to read the scriptures, but also to endeavour the true knowledge of them: and the way to do that, is not only to exercise ourselves in praying and reading, but to make use of the most godly, able, orthodox divines, such as are skilled in the original tongues, and can rightly interpret and give the true sense. If this were done, we should not have so many strange religions, and so many odd conceits and opinions broached every day. The Sadducees read the scriptures, and were as ready and well versed in them as any, yet Christ tells them, 'They err, not knowing the scriptures.'

If I could have prevented it, nothing at all should have been printed concerning these sad passages; but since I could not hinder others, I have suffered myself to be persuaded that I was necessitated to publish something in my own vindication, and to undeceive the world. I like not Pharisaical boasting; but when so many calumnies and false aspersions are laid upon me, I have St. Paul's rule and practice, to right myself in publishing the plain truth.

It is believed by many that I am very covetous: I am sure if I had been a lover of money, I might have had many thousands in my purse more than I have. I do not know but what in building and other ways I have expended as much as I had come in. If at any time I had any money by me, (which was never much) I did not put out to use, but pleased friends with it. I have paid many a thousand pound for the use of money, but never in all my life received one hundred for all the money I ever lent.

It is said I have much improved my estate: I thank heaven I have not wasted it, but

indifferently freed it of incumbrances, and charges that lay upon it: yet I have added but little to it by my purchases. Had I but the lands that my father and grandfather have sold from it, it would be double what it is. I repine not, but am well content, and thank God for what I now have.

Perhaps I may be censured for some things here, as not fit to be published to the critical world: but this I can say, Though it be plain, yet it is true and honest; and for my part, as long as I live I will endeavour honestly, not only in my words, but in all my actions, and as much as in me lies, labour to have peace with all men. If I cannot obtain it, it shall not trouble me, so long as I have peace of conscience, and peace with my God.

The Parallel.

No man's sorrow like to my sorrow! No affliction to be compared to mine in all the divine writ! Nor any wickedness like unto that of my son.

Adam could not but be much grieved when Cain slew his brother Abel; but they did not both then die. God the judge did not at that time execute Cain for it, but only banished him from his presence, and suffered him afterwards to grow numerous, and to build cities. Mine are both dead, and no remembrance left of them.

Abraham surely was much perplexed when God commanded him to sacrifice his son Isaac; but it was not done, an angel from heaven stayed his hand in the very act. It was only for trial, and required by him to whom the first born was due; and if it had been done, yet Ishmael whom he loved, had still been left to him. 'Oh, that Ishmael might live in thy sight!'

I have lost both my Isaac and my Ishmael, both really slain, and that by no express command from heaven, to afford me the least comfort.

Isaac certainly was much troubled that Esau hated Jacob, and threatened his death; yet his resolution was not to kill him till his father was dead. 'The days of mourning for my father are at hand, (says he,) then will I slay my brother.'—But when he met his brother with armed troops, his heart relented, and he did it not. My son acted what he intended, and that most foully. He stayed not till his father's death; but as soon as he had done it, came to his father and acquainted him with it, and brought him to the bed-side to see his brother lie weltering in his blood, not then quite dead. Oh, unparalleled villany! Oh, most sad spectacle!

Job (it is true) lost seven sons and three daughters, all at one time: God's hand was so heavy on him, that he became a map of misery. He lost but all the children he had, and so did I. His children were killed by the fall of a house which the wind blew down; it might seem a casualty: but mine, one murdered in his bed by his brother, and the other deservedly hanged for it. A sadder end!

But Job lost beside a number of oxen, sheep, camels, and asses, for he was the richest man in all the East. I confess I cannot say during all my troubles, I have lost so great a stock of cattle; but can say it confidently, that the goods and revenue that I have been deprived of, were worth near forty thousand pounds, which would have purchased a great stock in Job's time and country. I had three fair houses then in my own hands, all well furnished; and at least two thousand pounds a year about them. My lands were all well stocked: I had at least one hundred head of great cattle, half a hundred horses, and those none of the worst, some of them being worth forty or fifty pounds apiece. I had five hundred sheep, besides other stock: about a thousand quarters of wheat and malt, in granaries, and ten barns, (none of the least) all full of good corn, and great quantities of flax and hops. All this was seized and taken away at one time, with plate and jewels, for I removed nothing, concluding myself and estate secure enough as long as I acted for them. Besides all this, they had the rents and profits of my estate for seven years together; and the two first years allowed neither me nor my children any thing out of it. They had not only the profits of my own estate, but what they could get of alderman Freeman's, to whom I was administrator,

and of my mother-in-law, to whom (she being a lunatic) I was guardian. By that means she and her children were damnified at least a thousand pounds: and no return was made of it, though they knew it to be so. At last I was forced to pay three thousand five hundred pounds for composition; or else (for ought I know) they would have kept my estate till this time, or sold it.

But perhaps it may be said to me, Job was a righteous man; but these punishments were inflicted upon you for your delinquency, for being in arms, and siding against the parliament.

To this I boldly say, I never was in arms against the parliament, or ever sided or assisted any against them, or ever had any charge of delinquency laid against me, or ever was called before the parliament or any committee, (though I always sought it, and laboured it) for any offence: neither could I ever learn to this day why I was sequestered or imprisoned. Indeed some Kentish men have told me I was put down to set up others; and set up they were, but did not long continue. When I was to compound for my estate, neither the committee before whom I appeared, or myself, could find out how I might be made a delinquent, that so I might be capable to compound. There was a tax for my park then unpaid, because it was over-rated, and it was agreed (I being willing to enjoy my estate, and be at liberty) that I should be entered (and so it stands in their books) a delinquent, for not paying of taxes. This was all my delinquency, and hath long since been satisfied, so that now I am no delinquent, nor indeed ever was; and therefore I hope for that matter, I may stand clear with Job. But in this I am sure I go beyond him: his afflictions were but for a short time, about a year at most, and then he was at quiet: mine have been for these twelve years, ever since 1643, and still continue: I am now a prisoner. And the last year, upon a suit of the trustees in the exchequer, for arrears of rent due to the church, I was there denied the benefit of the general pardon, which, as I conceived, took off those arrears. And it was likewise decreed, that I should pay to them one hundred and five pounds, as rent for the parsonage of Eastry, for that year 1643, when the parliament farmed it out for four hundred and ten pounds, and received all the money for it: I had not one penny benefit by it, they had it all, and yet I must pay that rent.

It was decreed also that I should pay to them forty-nine pounds ten shillings, and seventy-two pounds, which I proved I had paid to Mr. Brett and Mr. Flote, by order from the committee of plundered ministers, by way of augmentation. I produced their acquittances for it, and Mr. Sherman, the receiver, knew and allowed of Mr. Brett's payment; and yet it was decreed that I should repay those sums to them again, which I conceive to be very hard measure, and strange justice, that all this should befall me only for that mark of delinquency.

This caused me to petition the lord protector for relief; and if he be not pleased to relieve me, or recommend me back to the court, where possibly I may now find more equal justice, the two barons who then sate being removed, I must pay those sums: and I stand now in contempt of that court for not doing it. So then my miseries are not yet ended: and were the same power that ruled then to continue still, I should never hope to end them but with my life. But I hope more righteous things from the present protector.

But Job had a wife and kindred that vexed him. She gave him counsel to curse God and die.

Indeed in all the time of my troubles I have not had a wife, either to comfort or vex me; nor did I desire one: now I do, and shall endeavour to get one; God send me a good and fruitful one, who may help to sweeten all my miseries. Kindred I had, but they come not now to me; they know they were too much concerned: but at a distance they drank wine in bowls, and ranted high, saying, 'The heirs are now killed, the inheritance shall be ours.' But perhaps they may be deceived. And for my neighbours, see how some of them have all along reproached me. Job had not greater, nor more false things charged against him than I have had. For my son's wickedness I must needs say, Cain's was not greater; for he did it in the field, and first talked with his brother, and possibly did it

with a sword, and had some pretence of reason for it, because Abel and his offering was more respected : but thou didst murder thy brother basely and inhumanly, not in the field, but in his bed. Thou didst not talk or dispute it with him, but didst kill him sleeping, and couldst hear nothing but sad groans from him. Nor didst thou do it with a sword, or manly weapon, but with a butcherly cleaver beat out his brains : and as if that had been too little, with a most cowardly stiletto didst stab him seven or eight times in and about the heart : nor for this thy so doing couldst thou have any such pretence as Cain had, for thou wert ever equally respected with thy brother. Even profane Esau came far short of thee : he did but resolve to kill his brother, and when he came to him he repented of his purpose, and embraced him : but thou didst go through with thy work in the height of malice : and when thou hadst brought me to him, after thou hadst slain him, I saw not any relenting in thee, or one tear drop from thine eyes for that foul fact.

But certainly Judas went beyond thee, none so wicked as he.

Yet perhaps it may be said that he did not know Christ to be the Lord of Life, and then he did but betray his innocent master. Thou didst more, for thou didst kill thy innocent brother. Judas did but deliver his master up to the judge for his trial ; thou wert judge and executioner thyself. He might plead, that after he took the sop the devil entered into him, and that his master bade him, ' What thou doest, do quickly ; ' and that he was hired for thirty pieces of silver : thou hadst no devil entered into thee, nor any command or hire, but thy own malicious nature. He did it in the dark of the night, ashamed that the light should behold so foul a fact ; thou in the fair morning, when the sun arose and shined clear. He gave his master time to pray before he took him ; thou didst kill thy brother sleeping, not suffering him to wake or speak, only to sigh and groan, and that most sadly ; but all moved not thee.

Oh, heaven ! whither doth the remembrance of thy wickedness transport me ? Can Judas's sin find any to contest with it ? Thine comes too near it. Yet in this thou hadst much the better of him : he, when he considered what he had done, despairing hanged himself, and so went to hell, that place of torment prepared for the son of perdition ; thou hadst many days after thy foul fact to consider on what thou hadst done. And I thank Heaven thou didst heartily and sincerely repent thee of thy sins, (as I am well assured by those godly ministers who were with thee to the last) and so art gone to heaven, the place of thy bliss, prepared for all truly penitent souls.

DESCENSUS ASTRÆÆ.

The Device of a Pageant, borne before M. William Web, Lord Maior of the Citie of London, on the day he tooke his oath; being the 29 of October, 1591. Whereunto is annexed a Speech delivered by one, clad like a Sea Nymph; who presented a Pinesse on the Water, bravely rigd and mand, to the Lord Maior, at the time he tooke Barge to go to Westminster.

Done by G. Peele, Maister of Arts in Oxford.

Printed for William Wright.

For notices of George Peele, the reader is referred to the new editions of Theatrum Poetarum, Biographia Dramatica, and England's Helicon. Peele's productions are all of rare occurrence; this pageant is preserved in Mr. Bindley's choice library, and was transcribed literatim by the friendly hand of Mr. Haslewood.

The Presenter's Speech.

SEE, lovely Lords, and you, my Lord, behold
 How Time hath turn'd his restles wheele about
 And made the silver moone: and heaven's bright eie
 Gallop the zodiacke, and end the yere
 Whose revolution now begets a new
 The daies that have created and confirm'd
 A worthie governor, for London's good,
 To underbeare, under his soveraigne's swaie,
 Unpartiall justice beame, and weav'd a Web¹
 For your content, and her command in all,
 You citizens of this metropolis,²
 Whose honor and whose oath to gratulate,
 Lordings, behold what emblem I present.
 Astræa, daughter of the immortal Jove;
 Great Jove, defender of this antient towne,
 Descended of the Trojan Brutus' line:
 Ofspring of couragious conquering king,
 Whose pure renown, hath pierc'd the world's large ears,
 In golden scrolls, rowling about the heavens
 Celestiall sacred nymph, that tendes her flocke
 With watchfull eyes, and keep this fount in peace:
 Garded with Graces, and with gracious traines,
 Vertues divine, and giftes incomparable,
 Nor lets blind superstitious ignorance,

¹ [A puerile pun upon the name of the city's magistrate.]

² [Metapolis, in orig.]

Corrupt so pure a spring: O happie times!
That do beget such calme and quiet daies,
Where sheep and shepheard breath in such content.

Honor attendes hir throne, in hir bright eies
Sits majestie: Vertue and stedfastnesse
Possesse hir hart, sweete mercy swaies hir sword.
Her champion armed with resolution,
Sits at her feete to chastise malecontentes,
That threat hir honor's wracke. And time and kinde
Produce hir yeares to make them numberlesse,
While Fortune for hir service and hir sake,
With golden hands doth strengthen and enrich
The Web that they for faire Astræa weave.
Long may she live, long may she governe us
In peace triumphant, fortunate in warres,
Our faire Astræa, our Pandora faire,
Our faire Eliza, or Zabeta faire.

Sweet Cynthia's darling, beauteous Cypria's peere,
As deere to England and true English heartes,
As Pompey to the citizens of Rome;
As mercifull as Cæsar in his might;
As mightie as the Macedonian king,
Or Trojan Hector, terror to the Gree[k]es.

Goddesse! live long, whose honors we advance,
Strengthen thy neighbours, propagate thine owne:
Guide well thy helme, lay thine annointed hand
To build the temple of triumphant Trueth,
That while thy subjects draw their peace from thee,
Thy friends with ayd of armes may succor'd be.

Astræa with hir sheephook on the top of the pageant.

Feed on, my flocke, among the gladsome greene,
Where heavenly nectar flowes above the banckes.
Such pastures are not common to be seene;
Pay to immortall Jove immortall thanks:
For what is good from heavens hie throne doth fall.
And heaven's great Architect be praised for all.

Superstition. A Friar sitting by the fountaine.

Stirre Priest, and with thy beades poyson this spring,
I tell thee all is banefull that I bring.

Ignorance. A Priest.

It is in vainè hir eye keepes me in awe,
Whose heart is purely fixed on the law:
The holy law, and bootlesse we contend,
While this chast nimph this fountain doth defend.

Euphrosyne.

Whilom, when Saturne's golden raigne did cease,
and yron age had kindled cruel warres:
Envie in wrath, perturbing common peace,
engendring cancred hate and bloudy jarres:

Peele's Descensus Astrææ.

Lo then Olympus king, the thundring Jove,
 raught hence this gracious nymph Astræa faire,
 Now once againe he sends hir from above,
 descended through the sweet transparent aire:
 And heere she sits in beautie fresh and sheene
 Shadowing the person of a peerelesse queene.

Aglaia.

A peerelesse Queene, a royall princely dame,
 Enrold in register of eternall fame.

Thalia.

The Graces through their balme about hir sacred head,
 Whose government hir realms true happines hath bred.

Charitie.

That happinesse continue in her land,
 Great Israel's God, spiing³ of all heavenly peace:
 And let thine angels in her reskew⁴ stand,
 With hir lives wane done England's joyes decrease
 O let hir princely daies never have fine,⁵
 Whose virtues are immortall and devine.

Hope.

Such vertues as her throne do beautifie,
 And make hir honors mount, and skale the skie.

Faith.

Where hope of hir eternall blisse doth rest,
 Conceaued in hir sweete and sacred brest.

Honor.

With radiant beames, reflecting on the earth,
 Even from the snowie browes of Albion,
 Beyond the utmost verge of Christendome,
 As bright as is the burning lampe of heaven,
 Shineth my mistresse' honor, in whose fame
 The heathen carrols sing and all admire,
 From icy Tanais to the sevenfold Nyle,
 Her glorie that commands this westerne ile.

Champion.

In whose defence my colours I advaunce,
 And girt me with my sword, and shake my lance:
 These Brittish lions rampant in this field,
 That never learned in battails rage to yeeld:
 Breath terror to the proud aspiring foe,
 Ranging the world commanding where they go,
 Therefore in vaine this misproud malecontent,
 Threatens hir state whose harms the heavens prevent
 Sit safe sweet nymph among thy harmlesse sheep,
 Thy sacred person angels have in keep.⁶

³ [Qu. Spring?]⁴ [Rescue.]⁵ [End.]⁶ [In care or custody.]

1. *Malecontent.*

What meaneth this, I strive and cannot strike,
She is preserved by myracle, belike :
If so then, wherefore threaten we in vaine,
That Queene, whose cause the gracious heavens maintain.

2. *Malecontent.*

No marvell then, although we faint and quaille,
For mightie is the truth and will prevaile.

In the hinder part of the Pageant did sit a Child, representing Nature, holding in her hand a distaffe, and spinning a Web, which passed through the hand of Fortune and was wheeled up by Time, who spake as followeth.

Time.

Thus while my wheele with ever turning gyres,
At Heaven's hie heast serves earthly men's desires,
I wind the Web that kinde so well beginnes :
While Fortune doth enrich what Nature spinnes.

A Speech on the Water, delivered in the Morning at my Lord Maior's going to Westminster.

LIST, gentle Lords, and bubling streame be still,
And whistling windes your angrie murmur cease,
Let Thetis Nymph unfold the goddesse' hest :
Behold imbarckt thus bravely as you see,
Laden with treasure and with precious ore,
From where in Tellus' veynes the parching sunne,
Doth gold, and glittering minerals,⁷ create,
Are come these strangers lovingly inflamde
To gratulate to you my lovely Lord,
This gladsome day wherein your honors spring.
And by the barre that thwarts this silver streame,
Even to the beauteous verge of Troynovant
That deckes this Thamesis on eyther side ;
Thus farre these friendes have pierced, and all by me,
Salute your honour, and your companie.
Thrice worthy Prætor of this auntient towne.
The mortar of these walles, tempered in peace,
Yet holdes the building sure, as are the sprigges
Woven from the spreading roote in knottie boxe.
Labour, fayre Lord, as other Maiors of yore,
To beautifie this citie with desertes.
So wish these friendly strangers, man by man
Passe with advisement to receive thy oth :
Keepe it inviolate for thy soveraigne's hope,
Vertue's pure mirror, London's great mistresse,
Unsheathe the sword committed to thy swaie,
With mercifull regard of every cause.
So go in peace, happie by sea and land,
Guided by grace, and Heaven's immortall hand.

⁷ [Munerals, orig.]

A Chaine of Pearle; or, A Memoriall of the peerles Graces and
heroick Vertues of Queene Elizabeth, of glorious memory.
Composed by the noble Lady Diana Primrose.

Dat ROSA mel apibus qua sugit ARANEA virus.

London: Printed for Thomas Paine, and are to be sold by Philip Waterhouse,
at his shop at the Signe of St. Paul's-Head, in Canning-street, neere Lon-
don-stone, 1630.

[Quarto, Ten Leaves.]

*This is one of the numerous, and perhaps most rare, adulatory offerings to the virtues of the
Virgin-Queen. The copy of it here used may possibly be the only one now known, and was
imparted to Mr. Nichols for insertion in vol. iii. of the Elizabethan Progresses; which
volume unfortunately perished, with other valuable publications, in the fire that happened
near Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, in 1808. Of the Lady-authoress, I cannot impart
any information.*

To all noble Ladies and Gentlewomen.

To you, the honour of our noble sex,
I send this CHAIN, with all my best respects;
Which, if you please to wear for her sweet sake,
For whom I did this slender Poem make:
You shall erect a trophy to her name,
And crown yourselves with never-fading fame.

Devoted to your virtues,
DIANA P.

To the excellent Lady, the Composer of this Work.

SHINE forth, (Diana !) dart thy golden rays,
On her blest life and reign, whose noble praise
Deserves a quill pluckt from an angel's wing,
And none to write it but a crowned king.¹
She, she, it was, that gave us golden days,
And did the English name to Heaven raise:
Blest be her name ! blest be her memory !
That England crown'd with such felicity.
And thou, the Prime-Rose of the Muses nine
(In whose sweet verse ELIZA'S fame doth shine,
Like some resplendent star in frosty night),
Hast made thy native splendour far more bright.

¹ [A poetical hint to our James the First, which he was not very likely to take. Constable had before said, that the king's pen was "made of a quill pluckt from an angel's wing." See the preceding vol. of Harleian Miscell. p. 501.]

Since all thy Pearls are peerless-orient,
And to thyself a precious ornament.
This is my censure of thy Royal Chain
Which a far better censure well may claim.

DOROTHY BERRY.

The Induction.

As golden Phœbus, with his radiant face,
Enthron'd in his triumphant chair of state;
The twinkling stars and asterismes doth chase,
With his imperial sceptre; and doth hate
All consorts in his starry monarchy,
As prejudicial to his Sovereignty;
So great ELIZA, England's brightest Sun,
The world's renown and everlasting lamp;
Admits not here the least comparison,
Whose glories, do the greatest princes damp
That ever sceptre sway'd or crown did wear,
Within the verge of either hemisphere.
Thou English Goddess, Empress of our Sex,
O thou whose name still reigns in all our hearts,
To whom are due, our ever-vow'd respects!
How shall I blazon thy most Royal parts?
Which in all parts did so divinely shine,
As they deserve Apollo's quill (not mine.)
Yet since the Gods accept the humble vows
Of mortals; deign (O thou star-crowned Queen)
T' accept these ill-composed pearly rows,
Wherein thy glory chiefly shall be seen:
For by these lines, so black and impolite,
Thy swan-like lustre shall appear more white.

Thy Imperial Majesty's
Eternal votary,

DIANA.

A Chain of Pearl,
Or a Memorial of Q. Elizabeth.

THE FIRST PEARL.

RELIGION.

THE goodliest Pearl in fair Eliza's Chain
Is true Religion, which did chiefly gain
A royal lustre to the rest, and tied
The hearts of all to her, when Mary died.
And though she found the realm infected much
With Superstition, and abuses, such
As (in all human judgment) could not be
Reformed without domestic mutiny.
And great Hostility from Spain and France;
Yet she, undaunted, bravely did advance

Lady Diana Primrose's Chain of Pearle.

Christ's glorious ensign, maugre all the fears
 Of dangers which appear'd: and, for ten years
 She sway'd the sceptre with a lady's hand;
 Nor urging any Romist in the land,
 By sharp edicts, the temple to frequent;
 Or to partake the Holy Sacrament.
 But factious Romanists, not thus content,
 Their agents to their Holy Father sent,
 Desiring him, by solemn bull proclaim
 Elizabeth an Heretic, and name
 Some other Sovereign, which might erect
 Their masking mass, and hence forthwith reject
 The Evangelical profession,
 Which flourish'd under her protection.
 The Pope to this petition condescends,
 And soon his leaden bull to England sends,
 Which, by one Felton, on the Bishop's gate
 Of London was affixed; but the state,
 For that high treason, punish'd him with death,
 That would dethrone his Queen, Elizabeth.
 Yet was this Ball of wild-fire working still,
 In many Romanists which had a will;
 The present state and government to change,
 That they in all idolatry might range;
 And hence it came that great Northumberland
 Associate with Earl of Westmoreland;
 And many more, their banners did display
 In open field; hoping to win the day.
 Against these rebels, noble Sussex went
 And soon their bloody purpose did prevent;
 Westmoreland fled, Northumberland did die,
 For that foul crime, and deep disloyalty;
 Having engaged thousands in that cause:
 After which time, the Queen made stricter laws,
 Against recusants; and with lyon's heart
 She bang'd the Pope, and took the Gospel's part.
 The Pope, perceiving that his Bull was baited,
 In such rude sort, and all his hopes defeated;
 Cries out to Spain for help; who takes occasion
 Thereby t'attempt the conquest of this nation.
 But such sage counsellors Eliza had,
 As, though both Spain² and Rome were almost mad
 For grief and anger, yet they still did fail,
 And against England never could prevail.

THE SECOND PEARL.

CHASTITY.

THE next fair Pearl that comes in order here
 Is Chastity, wherein she had no peer
 'Mongst all the noble Princesses which then
 In Europe wore the Royal Anadem.

² *In ultimam rabiem furoremque conversi.*

And though for beauty she an angel was,
And all our sex did therein far surpass ;
Yet did her pure unspotted chastity
Her heavenly beauty rarely beautify.
How many kings and princes did aspire,
To win her love? in whom that vestal fire
Still flaming, never would she condescend
To Hymen's rites, though much she did commend,
That brave French Monsieur who did hope to carry
The golden fleece, and fair Eliza marry.
Yea Spanish Philip, husband to her sister,
Was her first suiter, and the first that miss'd her :
And though he promis'd that the Pope by bull
Should license it, she held it but a gull :
For how can Pope³ with God's own law dispense ?
Was it not time such Popes to cudgel hence ?
Thus her impregnable virginity,
Throughout the world her fame did dignify.
And this may be a document to all,
The Pearl of Chastity not to let fall
Into the filthy dirt of foul desires,
Which Satan kindles with his hell-bred fires :
For whether it be termed virginal
In virgins, or in wives styl'd conjugal,
Or vidual in widows, God respects
All equally, and all alike affects.
And here I may not silent overpass
That noble Lady of the court, which was
Solicited by Taxis that great Don,
Ambassador for Spain⁴ (when she was gone)
Who to obtain his will, gave her a chain
Of most rare orient pearl, hoping to gain
That worthy lady to his lust ; but she
That well perceiv'd his Spanish policy,
His fair chain kept, but his foul offer scorn'd
That sought (thereby) her husband to have horn'd.
Taxis repulst, sent to her for his chain,
But (as a trophy) she did it retain ;
Which noble precedent may all excite
To keep this pearl, which is so orient bright.

THE THIRD PEARL.

PRUDENCE.

How prudent was her government, appear'd
By her wise counsels, by the which she steer'd
In the most dangerous times that ever were,
Since king or queen did crown in England wear,
Her choice of famous counsellors did shew,
That she did all the rules of prudence know.

³ [Yet his canonists say,—*Benè dispensat Dominus papa contra Apostolum extra. de renunci. ca. post translationem.*]

⁴ [*Primo Jacobi.* Related by the honourable kt. and baronet, Sir Richard Houghton of Houghton Tower.]

Lady Diana Primrose's Chain of Pearle.

For though her wit and spirit were divine,
 Counsels (she knew) were best, where more combine :
 That for experience and deep policy
 Are well approved ; whose fidelity
 Retains them in the bonds of loyal love,
 And no great pensions from their Prince can move.
 Thus rul'd she prudently, with all her pow'r,
 With Argus eyes foreseeing every hour,
 All dangers imminent, lest any harms
 Should us befall, by Spanish arts or arms.
 This gift in her was much more eminent,
 In that it is so rarely incident
 To our weak sex : and, as a precious stone,
 Deep set in gold, shines fairer than alone,
 Or set in lead ; so did all graces shine
 In her more gloriously, because divine :
 For Kings are Gods, and Queens are Goddesses
 On earth, whose sacred virtues best expresses
 Their true divinity : wherein, if we
 Them imitate, 'tis our felicity.
 This Pearl of Prudence then we all should prize
 Most highly, for it doth indeed comprise
 All moral virtues, which are resident
 In that blest soul, where this is president.

THE FOURTH PEARL.

TEMPERANCE.

THE golden bridle of Bellerephon
 Is Temperance, by which our passion,
 And appetite, we conquer and subdue
 To Reason's regimen : else we may rue
 Our yielding to men's syren-blandishments
 Which are attended with so foul events.
 This Pearl in her was so conspicuous,
 As that the King⁵ her brother still did use,
 To style her his sweet sister Temperance ;
 By which her much admir'd self-governance,
 Her passions still she check'd, and still she made
 The world astonish'd, that so undismay'd,
 She did with equal tenor⁶ still proceed
 In one fair course, not shaken as a reed,
 But built upon the Rock of Temperance ;
 Not dar'd with Fear, not maz'd with any chance,
 Not with vain Hope (as with an empty spoon)
 Fed or allur'd to cast beyond the moon ;
 Not with rash anger to precipitate,
 Not fond to love, nor too too prone to hate ;
 Not charm'd with parasites, or syrens songs,
 Whose hearts are poison'd, though their sugar'd tongues
 Swear, vow, and promise all fidelity,
 When they are brewing deepest villany.

⁵ [Edward.]⁶ [Semper eadem.]

Not led to vain or too profuse expence,
Pretending thereby State Magnificence :
Not spending on these momentary pleasures
Her precious time : but deeming her best treasures
Her subjects' love, which she so well preserv'd,
By sweet and mild demeanor⁷, as it serv'd
To guard her surer than an army royal ;
So true their loves were to her, and so loyal :
O golden age ! O blest and happy years !
O music sweeter than that of the spheres !
When prince and people mutually agree,
In sacred concord, and sweet symphony !

THE FIFTH PEARL.

CLEMENCY.

HER royal Clemency comes next in view,
The virtue, which in her did most renew
The image of her maker, who in that
Exceeds himself, and doth commiserate
His very rebels, lending them the light
Of sun and moon, and all those diamonds bright,
So did Eliza cast her golden rays
Of Clemency on those which many ways
Transgress'd her laws, and sought to undermine
The church and state, and did with Spain combine.⁸
And though by rigour of the law she might,
Not wronging them, have taken all her right,
Yet her innate and princely Clemency
Mov'd her to pardon their delinquency,
Which sought her gracious mercy and repented
Their misdemeanors, and their crimes lamented.
So doth the kingly lion with his foe,
Which once prostrate, he scorns to work his woe.
So did this Virtue's sacred auri-flame,
Immortalize our great Eliza's name.

THE SIXTH PEARL.

JUSTICE.

HER Justice next appears, which did support
Her crown, and was her kingdom's strongest fort,
For should not laws be executed well,
And malefactors curb'd, a very hell,
Of all confusion and disorder, would
Among all states ensue. Here to unfold
The exemplary penalties of those,
Which to the realm were known, and mortal foes.
And as some putrid members par'd away,
Lest their transcendent villainy should sway

⁷ [*Omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem.*]

⁸ [*Monstra, teterrima monstra.*]

Lady Diana Primrose's Chain of Pearle.

Others to like disloyalty ; would ask
 A larger volume, and would be a task
 Unfit for feminine hands, which rather love
 To write of pleasing subjects, than approve
 The most deserved slaughtering of any ;
 Which justly cannot argue tyranny.
 For though the Pope have lately sent from Rome,
 Strange books and pictures painting out the doom
 Of his pretended martyrs : as that they
 Were baited in bears skins, and made a prey
 To wild beasts, and had boots with boiling lead
 Drawn to their legs, and horns nail'd to their head ;
 Yet all our British world knows these are fables,
 Chimæras, phantasms, dreams, and very bables
 For fools to play with : and right Goblin sprites,
 Wherewith our nurses oft their babes affright.
 His holiness these martyrdoms may add
 To the Golden Legend ; for they are as mad,
 That first invented them, as he that writ
 That brainless book⁹ : and yet some credit it.
 For cruelty and fond credulity,
 Are the main pillars of Rome's hierarchy.

THE SEVENTH PEARL.

FORTITUDE.

THIS goodly Pearl, is that rare Fortitude
 Wherewith this sacred Princess was endu'd.
 Witness her brave undaunted looks, when Parry
 Was fully bent she should by him miscarry :
 The wretch confess'd, that her great Majesty
 With strange amazement did him terrify.
 So heavenly-graceful, and so full of awe,
 Was that majestic Queen, which when some saw,
 They thought an angel did appear : she shone
 So bright, as none else could her paragon.
 But that which doth beyond all admiration
 Illustrate her, and in her, this whole nation ;
 Is that heroic march of hers, and speech
 At Tilbury, where she did all beseech
 Bravely to fight for England ; telling them
 That what their fortune was, should hers be then.
 And that with full resolve she thither came
 Ready to win, or quite to lose the game.
 Which words deliver'd in most princely sort,
 Did animate the army, and report
 To all the world her magnanimity,
 Whose haughty courage nought could terrify.
 Well did she show, great Henry was her sire,
 Whom Europe did for valour most admire,

⁹ Vappa Voraginosæ.

'Mongst all the warlike princes which were then
Enthronized with regal diadem.

THE EIGHTH PEARL.

SCIENCE.

AMONG the virtues intellectual,
The van is led by that we Science call;
A Pearl more precious than the Egyptian Queen,
Quaff'd off to Anthony; of more esteem
Than Indian gold, or most resplendent gems,
Which ravish us with their translucent beams.
How many arts and sciences did deck
This Heroine? Who still had at beck
The Muses and the Graces, when that she
Gave audience in state and majesty:
Then did the goddess Eloquence inspire
Her royal breast: Apollo with his lyre,
Ne'er made such music; on her sacred lips
Angels enthron'd most heavenly manna sips
Then might you see her nectar-flowing vein
Surround the hearers; in which sugar'd stream
She able was to drown a world of men,
And drown, with sweetness to revive again.
Alasco, the ambassador Polonian,
Who perorated like a mere Sclavonian,
And in rude rambling rhetoric did roll,
She did with Attic eloquence controul.
Her speeches to our academians,
Well shew'd she knew among Athenians,
How to deliver such well-tuned words,
As with such places punctually accords.
But with what oratory-ravishments,
Did she imparadise her parliaments!
Her last most princely speech doth verify
How highly she did England dignify.
Her loyal commons how did she embrace!
And entertain with a most royal grace!

THE NINTH PEARL.

PATIENCE.

Now come we her rare Patience to display;
Which, as with purest gold, did pave her way
To England's crown; for, when her sister rul'd,
She was with many great afflictions school'd:
Yet all the while her mot, was *tanquam ovis*,
Nor could her enemies prove aught amiss
In her, although they thirsted for her blood,
Reputing it once shed, their sovereign good.
Sometime, in prison this sweet saint was pent,
Then hastily away she then was sent

Lady Diana Primrose's Chain of Pearle.

To places more remote; and all her friends
 Debar'd access, and none but such attends,
 As ready were with poison or with knife,
 To sacrifice this sacred Princess' life,
 At bloody Bonner's beck, or Gardiner's nod;
 Had they not been prevented by that God,
 Who did Susanna from the Elders free,
 And at the last, gave her, her liberty.
 Thus by her patient bearing of the cross
 She reaped greatest gain from greatest loss,
 (For he that loseth his blest liberty,
 Hath found a very hell of misery :)
 By many crosses thus she got the crown;
 To England's glory, and Her great renown.

THE TENTH PEARL.

BOUNTY.

AS rose and lilly challenge chiefest place,
 For milk-white lustre, and for purple grace;
 So England's rose and lilly had no peer,
 For princely Bounty shining every-where:
 This made her fame with golden wings to fly
 About the world above the starry sky.
 Witness France, Portugal, Virginia,
 Germany, Scotland, Ireland, Belgia,
 Whose provinces and princes found her aid
 On all occasions, which sore dismay'd
 Spain's king, whose European monarchy
 Could never thrive during her sovereignty;
 So did she beat him with her distaff, so
 By¹⁰ sea and land she him did overthrow;
 Yea, so that tyrant on his knees she brought,
 That of brave England peace he beg'd, and thought
 Himself most happy, that by begging so
 Preserv'd all Spain from beggary and woe.
 Here all amaz'd my Muse sets up her rest,
 Adoring HER was so divinely blest.

*At nos horrifico cinefactam TE propè busto,
 Insatiabiliter deflebimus, æternumquè.*

FINIS.

¹⁰ *Elisabetha fuit terræ Regina marisque. Primo Jacobi.*

Three Diatribes or Discourses. First of Travel, or a Guide for Travellers into Forein Parts. Secondly, of Money or Coyns. Thirdly, of Measuring of the Distance betwixt Place and Place. By Edward Leigh Esq; and Mr. of Arts of Magdalene-Hall in Oxford.

Teucris vox apud Ciceronem Tuscul. quæst. 1. 5.

Socrates, cum rogaretur, Cujatem se esse diceret, Mundanum, inquit, totius enim mundi se incolam, et civem arbitrabatur. Cicero, ibid.

London, printed for William Whitwood, at the Sign of the Golden Bell in Duck-Lane, near Smithfield, 1671.

[Small Octavo, Eighty-seven Pages.]

Edward Leigh is recorded, in the Athenæ Oxonienses, as a commoner of Magdalen college, under the tuition of William Pemble, anno 1616; having proceeded in arts 1623, he left the university to study the common law in the Middle-Temple, where he made considerable progress; but being driven thence within two years by the raging of the plague, went to France and spent there half a year, with great improvement to himself and his studies. Returning to the Temple he resumed the study of the laws, together with divinity and history, in both of which he attained to some eminence in his elder years. On the withdrawing of several members of the Long Parliament to the king at Oxford, Mr. Leigh was chosen burgess for Stafford, and afterwards had a seat in the assembly of divines. But these were not his sole vocations: he commanded one of the parliamentary regiments, and was Custos Rotulorum for the county of Stafford. Upon the ejectment of the presbyterian members from the House of Commons, 6 Dec. 1648, Leigh was numbered among them, and imprisoned at the King's-head inn, in the Strand. From which time (says Wood) till towards the king's restoration, (when he, with the rest of the ejected members then living, were restored by General Monk to their places in parliament) he had little else to do but to write books. See their titles in Athenæ Oxon. ii. 483. He died at his house in Staffordshire, an. 1671.

The Three Diatribes were reprinted in 1680, as The Gentleman's Guide, in three Discourses.

[The Epistle Dedicatory. To his deservedly honoured Friend
Francis Willoughby, Esq.]

SIR, since I have had the happiness to be known to you, (my habitation being not far distant from yours) I have found so much candour and civility in you, that I thought I needed not to seek further for a person, to whom I should dedicate this little tract of Travel and Coins; you having travelled into the most famous countries of Europe, and (being inquisitive after all curiosities) also improved your travel both to the acquiring and knowledge of coins, and many other rarities,¹ some of which you were pleased formerly

¹ Mr. Firth in his Sts. Monument, reports of my Lord Willoughby's eldest son, that he had seen Rome, though he was not at all tainted with her errors: he brought over many of the rarities of other nations, but none of their sins.

to shew me and others, and have (for the better completing of this treatise) communicated to me several observations, about foreign coins especially. I would, our gentry generally were more studious, and would spend their time as profitably as you and some others do. That would confirm what Mr. Burton in his *Melancholy*² observes of some of our English gentry, 'that they are excellently well learned, like those Fuggeri in Germany, Du Bartas, Duplessis; Sadael in France; Picus Mirandula, Scottus, Barottus in Italy.' There is an honourable gentleman³ now of the Royal Society, (whereof you are likewise a worthy member) who hath travelled abroad to good purpose, and by his philosophical⁴ experiments and other useful treatises, hath much honoured the nation. I may here relate, what I have heard from a very worthy divine; that he never knew a family, wherein the men and women both, were of so obliging a carriage, and of such great abilities. There is also a learned knight and baronet⁵ of this parliament (mentioned among the benefactors to the Polyglot Bible) who hath written critical notes in Latin on the New Testament. I shall only add this, that it may seem strange for me to publish a 'Discourse of Money,' who (when I had the honour to be a member of the house of commons) was always silent when that subject came into debate.

Sir,

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

EDWARD LEIGH.

To the Candid Reader.

READER, it is said of Ulysses, *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, et urbes*; (Horat. de Arte Poetica.) Yet I would not have thee read my Discourse of Travel, *peregrinante animo*. The commodity which comes to human societies, by the travels of prudent, pious, and well governed persons, is very great. The apostles, the disciples of Christ, and also their disciples, and many others, have gone through a great part of the world to convert the Gentiles. So, if a voyage be undertaken, to know the rites and customs of several places, and the forms of cities; as the Roman Decemviri were sent to Greece, that they might know the laws of that country, and especially Solon's: Pythagoras, Plato, Apollonius, did go into divers countries to increase their knowledge: Diodorus Siculus and Strabo travelled into several parts of the world, that they might be acquainted with the history and situation of those places: Pausanias⁶ compassed Greece; Arrianus, the Euxine Sea; and Cluverius travelled into many countries of Europe, that they might more exactly describe those parts. The knowledge of languages hath incited many to travel: Vossius⁷ instanceth in Jacobus Golius (that famous Arabist) who not satisfied with the instruction of Thomas Erpinus in the Arabic language, went first into Mauritania, and being chosen successor to Erpenius in his place after his death, he took a long voyage into Syria, and there staid till he had perfected his skill in that language. I may very well here mention our worthy professor of the Hebrew and Arabic tongues in Oxford, Dr. Edward Pocock, who was long abroad at Aleppo, and other places on the same account. Where he so demeaned himself, that he was very much respected by the natives, and chosen for an umpire amongst them, to compromise such differences as fell out there. The learned works he hath published, give ample testimony of

² Part 1, sect. 2, subsect. 15.

⁴ *Experimenta Fructifera et Lucifera*.

³ Robert Boyle, Esq.

⁵ Sir Norton Knatchball.

⁶ He hath written that excellent book of the Monuments and Antiquities of Greece, remaining in his time.

⁷ De Orig. & Prog. Idololat. l. iii. c. 37. *In Æthiopis operam impendebat suam. D. M. Wanslebius, qui ad perpoliendum ejus in iisdem ingenium, in varias orientis oras longa atque periculosa suscepit itinera. D. Cast. Prælat. ad Lexic. Heptaglot. Christianus Rarius Clenard, and Warner travelled far for the same purpose. Dr. Casaubon (Of Credulity and Incredulity, part 1) saith, that Jo. Ernestus Burgavius professeth to have travelled the greatest part of Europe to satisfy his curiosity. Erasmus in his Colloquia entitles one of them Peregrinatio Religionis ergo.*

the skill he attained in the Arabic, especially by that long voyage. The Jesuits themselves, and others, write much, how industrious the Jesuits were in the propagation of the Christian faith, and how they have sown the seed of saving truth in China or elsewhere.

Mr. Baxter in the 2d part of his last book of Christianity, (c. xiv. p. 488,) saith, The attempts of the Jesuits in Congo, Japan and China were a vere noble work, and so were the Portugal king's encouragements: but two things spoiled their success.

First, that when they took down the heathens' images, they set them up others in their stead; and made them think that the main difference was, but, whose image they should worship.

Secondly, but especially, that they made them see, that while they pretended to promote religion, and to save their souls, they came to promote their own wealth, or the pope's dominion, and to bring their kings under a foreign power.

The honest attempts of Mr. Eliots in New England, is much more agreeable to the apostles' way, and maketh more serious spiritual Christians.⁸

Justus Heurnius, son to John Heurnius the learned physician, left the study of physick, and wholly gave himself to the study of divinity, that thereby he might be the better enabled to promote the conversion of the Indians; and taking an evangelical embassy to the Indies, he there abode above fourteen years, preaching to the Indians in their mother tongue, catechising them, and admonishing them privately, and by his singular innocency, humility, and modesty, and daily fervent devotion, and great charity to the poor; he endeavoured to propagate the kingdom of Christ among them.⁹

The pilgrimages¹⁰ of the Turks to Mecca, and of the Papists to Loretto are vain, we need not to travel far to find God.

I have joined these three discourses together, since in that of money and measuring, I write of the foreign coins and measures, and so hoping, that they may be all useful to the traveller, I remain

Thy hearty well-willer,

EDWARD LEIGH.

A DIATRIBE OF TRAVEL.

Psal. cvii. 23, 24. 'They that go down to the Sea in Ships, that do business in great waters:

'These see the works of the Lord: and his wonders in the deep.'

Patri est, ubicunque est bene.

TRAVEL in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. (Sir Francis Bacon's *Essays*.)

There is no map like the view of the country; one journey will shew a man more than any description can. He that searcheth foreign nations is becoming a gentleman of the world. (Feltham's *Resolves of Travel*.)

Many travellers returning to their own home, bring back only some vain garbs and fashions, and are leavened with the ill customs and manners of the countries they passed through. *Vagari, lustrare, disquirere qui vis potest, pauci indigare, discere, id est, vere perigrinari.* (Lipsii *Epistola ad Lanoium, de Peregrinatione Italica.* The Marchioness of Newcastle's *Orations*, part iii.) I think it most requisite and fit, that none should travel without leave of the state, or public council; and at their return should be accountable to the state and public council, of their travels, and the advantages they have made: Dr.

⁸ *Videsis Voretii Disputat. Select. Theol. partem secundam. De Gentilismo, pag. 650.*

⁹ He hath published a book (which I have seen) *De Legatione Evangelica ad Indos capessenda.*

¹⁰ See Cartwright, *Confutat. of the Rhemists.* Translat. on Mat. ii. 2; and Du Moulin *De Peregrinationibus Superstit.*

Hall in his *First Decade of Epistles*, (Epistle viii.) giving advice to the Earl of Essex for his travel, saith, "There is nothing can quit the labour and cost of travel, but the gain of wisdom; when young nobles came to take their leaves of our late King Charles, before they travelled into foreign parts; he thus counselled them, 'My lord, keep always the best company, and be sure never to be idle.'"

Alsted, in his *Systema Mnemonicum*, l. iv. *De Geographia*; Zeilerus, before his *Itinerary of Spain and Portugal*; Monsieur de Sorbriere, in his *Lettres et Discours*, Lettre 85; Mr. Palmer, in his *Traveller*, part second; and Sir Francis Bacon, in his *Essays*, give directions to travellers, and shew what things are fit to be observed by them.

Neugebavarus and Loyzius have written in Latin *De Peregrinatione*. Erpenius hath put out a little treatise, *De Peregrinatione Gallica*. Lipsius, another, *De Peregrinatione Italica*. Gasper Ens hath published *Deliciae Apodemicae*.

Dr. Hall hath written in English of travelling, his tract is styled, *Quo vadis*. Sir Balthasar Gerbier hath *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*. Mr. Howell hath put out *Instructions for Foreign Travel*. Mr. Palmer also hath written an essay of the means how to make our travels into foreign countries profitable and honourable; he dedicated it to Prince Henry. Jones hath put out instructions for travellers.

The merchant proposeth to himself *bonum utile* in his travel, and brings home exotic commodities, as wine, fruit, spices, metals, precious stones, silk, and such like, serving both for use and luxury.

Impiger extremos currit mercatas ad Indos; Horat. Epist. i. lib. 1.

The dissolute rich young gentleman, *bonum jucundum*; the well bred gentleman, *bonum honestum*, or honour, that he may accomplish himself for the service of his country.

Travelling is an honourable or honest action of men into foreign states, chiefly for a public good to the country of which such are. (Ca. l. mes.) *Est Peregrinatio profectio quædam, occupiditate ac desiderio, Extra loca perlustrandi, in vicendi et cognoscendi instituta, ad bonum aliquod inde acquirendum, quod vel patriæ et amicis, vel nobis ipsis privatim prodesse possit.* Newgebaverus de Peregrinatione. *Est Peregrinatio nihil aliud quam studium perlustrandi terras exoticas et insulas ab homine idoneo suscipiendum ad artem vel ea acquirenda quæ usui et emollimento patriæ vel rei esse publicæ possunt.* Loysius de Peregrinatione, c. 1. *Venit peregrinus a peregre aut pereger quod dicitur quasi per agrum, unde et peragrarare quasi multos agros pererrare.* Vossii Etymol. Linguæ Latinæ.

In such a one going to travel, there is required,

First, A competent age, that he be above eighteen or twenty years old, although the years of fourteen or fifteen are more proper for learning the true accent of any language, and all exercises belonging to the body.

Secondly, That he hath the Latin tongue, and some skill in the liberal sciences.

Thirdly, That he be skilful in architecture, able so well to limn or paint, as to take in paper the situation of a castle or city; or the platform of a fortification. See Mr. Evelyn's *Account of Architecture*, and Junius's *Art of Painting*, l. ii. c. 8. Painting and sculpture are the politest, and noblest of ancient arts; what art can be more helpful or pleasing, to a philosophical traveller? *Philos. Transact.* vol. iii. p. 785.

Fourthly, That he be well grounded in the true religion, lest he be seduced and perverted. Gal. iv. 1. 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth?' *Galli a peregrinando nomen habent*; for Vuallen in the Teutonic tongue, signifies *peregrinari*, alluding therefore to this etymology: he chides the Galatians for their wandering in religion; *q. d.* 'You, like travellers, often change your opinions about the doctrine of truth.' I know a noble person, who being in France well acquainted with a popish gentleman, once when the other left him, he wished that he were as good a Huguenot as himself; the other immediately after sent him a defence of their religion, to which he replied, and shewed the same unto me. I more disliked the popish religion when I was in France than before, and more esteemed the protestants; since at Nantz, and some places, there were scarce any French protestants.

Fifthly, He should be first well acquainted with his own country, before he go abroad;

as to the places and government. If any came heretofore to the lords of the council for a license to travel, the old lord treasurer Burleigh would first examine him of England; if he found him ignorant, he would bid him stay at home, and know his own country first.

Sixthly, It were of use to inform himself before he undertakes his voyage, by the best chorographical and geographical map of the situation of the country he goes to, both in itself and relatively to the universe, to compare the *vetus et hodierna regio*, and to carry with him the republics of the nations to which he goes; and a map of every country he intends to travel through.

Seventhly, Before his voyage, he should make his peace with God; receive the Lord's supper; satisfy his creditors, if he be in debt; pray earnestly to God to prosper him in his voyage, and to keep him from danger; and if he be *sui juris*, he should make his last will, and wisely order all his affairs, since many that go far abroad, return not home. This good and Christian counsel is given by Martinus Zeilerus in his Apodemical Canons before his Itinerary of Spain and Portugal.

In the survey of a country, these things are observable.

First, ¹¹ The name and its derivation, the latitude and longitude of the place, the temperature of the climate, the goodness or barrenness of the ground, the populousness or scarcity of the people, the limits of the country, how it is bounded by sea or land, or both; the commodities, natural, artificial; the discommodities, either imperfections or wants; the manners, shape, language, and attire of the people, their building, their havens and harbours, the religion and government, the history of the country and families.

Secondly, The courts of princes are to be seen and observed, especially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice whilst they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches, and monuments therein; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns; antiquities and ruins; libraries; colleges; disputations and lectures where they are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure near great cities; armories; arsenals; magazines; exchanges; burses; warehouses; exercises of horsemanship; fencing; training of soldiers; and the like; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rare inventions.

Jones in his instructions to travellers mentions twelve generals. 1. Cosmography. 2. Astronomy. 3. Geography. 4. Chorography. 5. Topography. 6. Husbandry. 7. Navigation. 8. The political state. 9. The ecclesiastical state. 10. Literature. 11. Histories. 12. Chronicles: and under every one of these heads, hath several particulars.

Aubertus Miræus, in the *Life of Lipsius*, saith, that when he came first to Rome, he spent all his time (when he was at leisure) in viewing the stones and ancient places, and other rarities there, and spent his time in the pope's Vatican library, in comparing together the manuscripts of Seneca, Tacitus, Plautus, Propertius, and other ancients. He viewed also other famous libraries public and private.

Thirdly, The choice herbs and plants, beasts, birds, fishes, and insects, proper to that country, are to be taken notice of; minerals, metals, stones, and earths; their proverbs also should be observed, in which much of the wisdom of a nation is found. The gardens, sorts of herbs, flowers, arbours, knots, mounts. The orchards, sorts of trees, apples, pears, plumbs, berries, spices, oranges, lemons, figs; the vines, vine-yards; sorts of wine and drinks. Jones.

Fourthly, Learned men, and such as have abilities in any kind, are worthy to be known, and the best books there are to be inquired after. Men that travel must be very cautious both of their speech and demeanour; the Italian proverb saith, For a man to travel safely through the world, 'It behoveth him to have a falcon's eye, an ass's ears, a monkey's face, merchant's words, a camel's back, a hog's mouth, and deer's feet.' Sir Henry

¹¹ *Finis peregrinationis sit notitia sextuplex: Linguae regionis, religionis, rerum gestarum, morum, et clarorum virorum. Erpenius de Peregrinatione Gallica.*

Wotton in his letters, mentions twice the answer that was given him by Alberto Scipioni, when he begged his advice, how he might carry himself securely at Rome; *Signor Arrigomio*, (says he,) *pensieri stretti, et il viso sciolto*, 'Your thoughts close, and your countenance loose, will go safely over the whole world.'

The Æthiopians say, when thou shalt go into another country, *Ne sis sicut tu, esto sicut illi in Italiâ tota tria hæc mihi serva, frons tibi aperta, lingua parca, mens, clausam.* *Lipsii Epistola ad Lanoyum.* In peregrinatione vitam agentibus hoc evenit, ut multa hospitia habeant nulla amicitias. *Seneca Epist. ad Lucilium Epist. ii.* Peregrini autem et incolæ officium est, nihil præter suum negotium agere, nihil de alio inquirere, minimèque in aliendâ esse republica curiosum. *Tull. Offic. l. i.*

Fifthly, Make choice of the best places for attaining of the language; as Valladolid for the Spanish, Orleans, or Blois, for the French, Florence, or Sienna, for the Italian; Leipsic or Heidelberg, for the High-Dutch tongues: in these places the best language is spoken.

The prime Italian dialect is *lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*, the Tuscan tongue in a Roman mouth. *Howel's Instructions for Foreign Travels.*

Abraham Ortelius in his *Itinerarium Belgicæ*, persuades travellers to note, and observe what they see most memorable; *Peregrinationes nostræ futuræ nobis erunt longe gratiores, si una cum itineribus animadvertamus, et annotemus in chartis, si quid observatione dignum occurrerit.*

What profit travelling brings to an architect, Vitruvius shews; what to a soldier, Vegetius; what to a limner or statuary, the horses of Phidias¹² and Praxiteles made by art, witness; merchandise is almost maintained by travel; how much are cosmography, topography and astronomy, improved and furthered by travel.

Change of air by travelling, after one is used unto it, is good: And therefore great travellers have been long lived; the countries which have been observed to produce long livers, are these; Arcadia, Ætolia, India, on this side Ganges, Brasil, Topropane, Britain, Ireland, with the Islands of the Arcades, and Hebrides. (Sir Francis Bacon's *History of Life and Death.*)

Rem profecto fastigio suo dignam principes fecerint, si sasseis non ad divitias indagandas, quæ hodie sola fere periculosarum et longinquarum navigationem illecebra est, sed ad verbi dominici promulgationem inter illos populos adhuc veri luce destitutos, missis ad hoc theologis propagandam instruerent, si quid inde utilitatis postea ex commercii libertate in publico rediret, in lucro ponentes et accessionis loco accipientes, nam ex eo esset ut Dei gratia, sine qua nihil possumus, expeditionibus illis aspiraret, et aspirante illa citra sanguinem et indigenarum vexationem res in his regionibus, quantum ad religionem et civilem administrationem felicioribus auspiciis, administrarentur, quam ab Hispanis factum est, qui avaritia Cæci xxx. annos mutuis lanienis miseros indigenas in Indiis et ad extremum seipsos grassante inter eos divina ultione confecerunt. (Thuan. Hist. lib. lxiv.)

How much may the art of navigation further the spreading of the Gospel! Dan. xii. 4. 'Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased,' that is, say some expositors, by travelling to and fro (as the Waldenses) to learn and propagate the truth, knowledge shall be multiplied in the earth in the last time. The same word is used, Numb. xi. 8. of the children of Israel going about to gather manna, and of the devils going to and fro, Job. i. and vi. Manifestly intimating, saith Sir Francis Bacon, (*De Augmentis Scientiarum*, l. ii. c. 10. *Et Nov. Org.* l. i. Aphor. 93.) that God would so order it by his providence, that the passing through the world (which is now fulfilled by so many far navigations) and the increasing of sciences should fall into the same age.

Orbis terrarum factus est hac nostra ætate, mirum in modum fænestratus atque patens (Baconus de Augmentis Scientiarum, l. ii. c. 10.) *Nostris temporibus et novi orbis partes complures, et veteris orbis extrema undique innotescunt.* (Baconus, Nov. Org. l. i. Aphor. 72.) *Imperetam anima homo, qui circumscribitur natalis soli fine.* Seneca.

¹² These with other collossi statues and pictures are yet at Rome.

In the Philosophical Conferences of the Virtuosi of France, (Conference 87,) it is determined whether travel be necessary to an ingenious man. He saith there, if you except embassies, in which the good of the state drowns all other considerations, those that would travel must be young and strong, rich and well born, to get any good by their travels.

La Moth le Vair in his *Opuscles*, *Lettre* vi. speaks of the profit of voyages, and *Lettre* vii. of the unprofitableness of them; he saith in the sixth letter, that travelling is the best school for life in several respects: the French say, ‘*Un honeste homme est un homme mesle*,’ an honest or wise man is a mixt man; that is, one who hath something in him, in point of knowledge of all nations.

Humiles istæ et plebeæ animæ domi resident et affixæ sunt suæ terræ: illa diviniore est quæ cælum imitatur et gaudet motu. (*Lipsii Epistola de Peregrinatione Italica.*)

Hodie magnum dedecus est Germanis patrios tantum nosse mores; præcipua vero pars laudis exterarum regiones, ad minimum, Italiam, Gallias, Hispaniam, Belgiam, Angliam ve per lustralle. (*Balduini Oratio Panegyrica.*)

Charles the Fifth made nine voyages into Germany, six into Spain, seven into Italy, four into France, ten into the Low-Countries, two into England, as many into Africa; he also passed the Ocean and Mediterranean Seas eleven times.¹³

Linguetus non minus doctrinâ quàm diuturna totius Europæ peragratione clarus Bodini methodus ad facilem Historiarum Cognitionem. Polybius nequid falsi scribe-ret imprudens, in longe semotas profectus est oras, easque suis lustravit oculis. Diodor. Sicul. ex testimonia Justini martyris, annos triginta Europam atque aliam lustravit. Pauli Poet. Not. in Marc. et Com. Imperat. Vitam. Prosper Alpinus olim Ægyptum magno cum fructu studiosæ juventutis peragravit. Pignorii mensæ Isiacæ expositio Pythagoras quidem inter barbaros discendi causa peregrinatus est, atque ut nonnulli tradiderunt, prophetam Ezechielem vidit. Douneæus in Chrysost. Vide Selden. de Jure, &c. lib. i. cap. 2.

The Emperor Hadrian travelled over a great part of the world, and with his head bare, though it was cold and wet, and so fell into a deadly disease; whence the verses of Florus the poet, whom Salmasius (in his notes on Ælius Spartianus) thinks to be the historian, who elegantly wrote the epitome of the Roman affairs and lived under Hadrian.

*Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.*

I will in no wise Cæsar be,
To walk along in Britany,
The Scythic frosts to feel and see.

To which the Emperor answered in the like strain:

*Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundos.*

And I will never Florus be,
To walk from shop to shop, as he,
To lurk in taverns secretly,
And there to feel the Rome-wine fly.

But (saith Stuckius¹⁴) how many Christian princes and nobles are now to be found, more like Florus than the Emperor Adrian?

¹³ The States of the Empire. Dial. 1.

¹⁴ In his *Scholia in Arriani Periplum Ponti Euxini*. William Postel a Frenchman, was a great traveller and mathematician.

They that have written the itineraries of the apostles, have observed that St. Paul travelled much farther than either St. Peter or St. John, as they have described the circuit;¹⁵ and Purchas both divines; of which last, Dr. Casaubon (*of Credulity and Incredulity*, part first) saith, a book of very good worth with them that know the right use, and more valued abroad than it is at home by many. Of the navigation of the French into America, Johannes Lerus hath written well; of the¹⁶ navigations of the Portugals and Spaniards, see Guicciardine's *History of Italy*, lib. vi. Of those of the English, Hackluyt speaks sufficiently. Of the profit which comes to men by navigations, see Fournier's *Hydrography*, l. iv. c. 9. and of the faith enlarged and amplified by means of navigation, see the same book, chap. 6. There are also the navigations and voyages of Leyis Vertomanus, and *Cadamusti Navigatio ad Terras Ignotas*; of whom Peter Martyr saith, (in the seventh chapter of his second Decade,) that he stole certain annotations out of the three first chapters of his first Decade, written to Cardinal Ascanius and Acimboldus, supposing that he would never have published the same.

Dr. Casaubon (in his first part of *Credulity and Incredulity, in Things Natural, Civil and Divine*) saith, I have (as all men, I think have, that are any thing curious) read several relations of all the known parts of the world, written by men of several nations and professions, learned and unlearned, in divers languages; by men of several ages, ancient and late.

There are divers *Hodæporica* voyages and itineraries, ancient, modern, in prose, verse, in Latin, French, English.

¹⁷ Benjamin Tidelensis, his *Itinerary*. He was a Jew, and travelled over a great part of the world. Ecchellensis in his preface to his *Historia Arabum* seems to slight him: Constantine l'Empereur (who published notes upon him) saith, in his *Dissertat. ad Lectorem, Cum judicio legendum hoc itinerarium, nec auctori in omnibus habenda fides, præsertim ubi suorum conditionem ac statum extollit: plurima tamen notatu digna passim occurrunt, ut quæ de locorum distantis aliisque annotat.*

There is *Cotovici Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*. *Busbequii*¹⁸ *Itinerarium Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum*. *Douza de Itinere Constantinopolitano*. *Furerii Itinerarium Ægypti, Arabiæ, &c.* Antoninus's *Itinerary*, (if it be his) for both Thuanus and Vossius (*De Historicis Latinis*, l. iii. c. 2.) and others, seem to question it, with Mr. Burton's *Commentary*.

There are *Les Fameux Voyages De Pietro De le Valle surnommé Illustre Voyageur* in three quartos. His travels into East-India, and *Arabia Deserta*, are translated into English by Havers; and so I think are the other, in three quartos.

Voyage d'Orient du Philippe Carme Dechausse Sieur de Loyer, his relation *de Voyage de Levant*, De la Haye of the *Levant*, and also Blunt's *Voyage into the Levant*. Divers *Voyages du P. Alexandre De Rhodes*. *Voyages du Seigneur de Villamont* in three books. *Voyage de la Terre Sainte*. *Voyage du Duc de Rohan en Italie, Alemagne, Pays bas uni, Angleterre et Escosse*. Jo. Hugenvans Linschotens *Discourse of Voyages into the East and West Indies*; whom Mr. Boyle, in his *Sceptical Chymist*, styles the sober relater of his voyages.

Sir Francis Drake's *Voyages*. Thuanus calls our Drake, *Celeberrimus universi orbis lustrator*. He was the next after Magellanus, that sailed round about the world. (See Camden's *Britannia in Devonshire*.) Paulus Venetus hath written both an *Itinerary*, and three books, *de Religionibus Orientalibus*.

¹⁵ See 2 Cor. xi. 25.

¹⁶ Probabile est ideo poetas fixisse Æneam, Herculem, Theseum, Pyriouthum, Ulyssem et Orpheum, ad inferos descendisse, propter longinquas eorum navigationes quibus a conspectu hominum diu separati, mox reduces, existimati sunt eo pervenisse si animæ post mortem degunt Morysoti Orbis. *Maritimi Hist.* l. i. c. 33.

¹⁷ Vixit Benjamin ut ejus interpres benedictus Arias testatur, anno ab orbe condito 4033. *Drus. Observat. Sac.* l. xiii. c. 2.

¹⁸ Augerius Gislenus Busbequius multis legationibus clarus. *Aubertimiræ Vita Justi Lipsii*.

¹⁹ Seu Antonii, seu Antonini, seu Æthici, *Itinerarium Zeileri Historici, Chronologi, &c. Geographi, Antonini Itinerarium sive Æthici potius Vossii notæ in Fragmentum Periplus Ponti Euxini*.

Some think him somewhat fabulous for what he reports of Quinsay. Dr. Heylin in his *Cosmography in Madagascar one of the African Iles*, for what he relates of the bird called Ruck, of such incredible strength and bigness, that it could snatch up an elephant, as easily as a kite doth a chicken.

Dolendum est Marci Pauli Veneti Itinerari totum mendaciis ab impostore quodam contaminatum. Quis enim credit illa quæ de Quinsai scribit, pontes in ea lapideos duodecim mille altissimos sub nixos fornicibus fuisse ita ut naves erectis malis ea per-navigare potuerint. Hornius de Orig. Gent. Amerba. c. iii.

Mr. Burton in his *Melancholy*, (part. ii. sect. ii. member 3. p. 244) saith, I would censure all Pliny's, Solinus', Strabo's, Sir John Mandevil's, Olaus Magnus', Marcus Polus' lies.

Apollo said to the author of the *China History*, that he should reduce the immense metropolitan city of so many kingdoms, inhabited by many millions of men to some credible measure; and particularly, that he should bring the palace of that king, (which he had affirmed to be many miles long,) to such a form, as Vitruvius should not laugh at him for it; saying, that if that building were so great as he had described it to be, the halls must needs be half a mile long, and the chambers little less; which if it were true, the whole academy of architects had reason to say, that to bring the meat but to the table, the servants of so great a king must ride post. Boccalini his *Advertisements from Parnassus*, century ii. 16th advertisement. A very ingenious piece much prized by Mr. Selden, and which cost him his life.

Yet Mr. Boyle in his *Experiments touching Cold*, (title xix.) saith of him, 'a writer not always half so fabulous as many think him' and Scickard in his *Tarich*. p. 185, saith, *Marcus Polus Venetus, minime vanus author, cujus narrata pridem increbibilia, quotidie magis magisque verificantur.*

There is *Relation du Voyage de Muscovie, Tartarie et de Perse du Sieur Olearius Secrétaire de Duc de Holstein*. Both the author and book are commended by Bochart in his late learned treatise *De Animalibus Scripturæ*. It is now translated into English. Mr. Boyle styles him the applauded writer Olearius. In his *Experimental History of Colours*, (experiment 9.) he styles him the judicious Olearius, who was twice employed as a public minister.

Mr. Terrie's *Voyage into the East-Indies*, and the *History of the Caribee Islands*, which I have seen in French, and is translated into English by J. Davis.

There is the *World surveyed*, or Vincent le Blanc's *Travels*; he spent fifty years making ten or twelve voyages almost through all the parts of the world. Mr. Boyle calls him 'that rambler about the world.'

There are also Moryson's *Travels*, George Sandys's *Travels*, and Sir Edwin Sandes his *Relation of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World*, both very good. Biddulph's *Travels*. Herbet's *Travels*. Monsieur de Monfart's *Travels*. The Preacher's *Travels*. Coriat's *Crudities*. Lithgow's *Travels*. Ferdinand Mendeza Pinto's *Travels*; who five times suffered shipwreck, was sixteen times sold, and thirteen times made a slave, and spent one and twenty years in travelling.

Sir John Mandevil's *Travels*. He travelled thirty-three, thirty-four years, say some. He was in Scythia, the Greater and Less, Armenia, Egypt, both Lybias, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chaldæa, Greece, Illyricum, Tartary, and divers other kingdoms of the world. He committed his whole travel of thirty-three years to writing, in three divers tongues, English, French and Latin. Purchas his *Pilgrimage*, part iii. l. iii. c. 6, out of Baleus.

Joannes Mandevile, non minimam consecutus est laudem describendo regiones, vel opere de re medica. Vossius de Hist. Lat. l. iii. ca. 2.

B. Vsher,²⁰ speaking of Cloughte Kilti in Cork, saith, 'In quo fundamenta conspiciuntur

²⁰ *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum primordiis, c. xiii.*

' *amplissimæ domus, quam nobilis illius Johannes Magnavillani (sive de Mandevile 34 annorum peregrinatione notissimi) fuisse tradunt accolæ.*
' *Quibus relationibus olim fides nullatenus fuit adhibita.* Spizelius de Re iteraria Sinen-
' sium,' sect. 2.

Yet Sir Walter Raleigh in his *History of the World*, (part iv. l. iv. c. 2. sect. 21.) and Dr. Heylin in his *Cosmography* (as he somewhat improperly²¹ styles his great folio) speaking of India, (p. 882.) shew how he was honoured abroad, and how many of his relations, (though esteemed fabulous by some) were since confirmed by the Portugals.

Daviti in his book entitled, *Le Monde*, mentions Malherbe for a great traveller, spending twenty-seven years in divers voyages almost through all the parts of the world. Purchas in his second part of his *Pilgrims*, l. x. c. 1. speaks of Damiana Goes, a Portugal, who did see, speak, and was conversant with all the kings, princes, nobles, and chief cities of all christendom, in the space of twenty-two years.

Mr. Greaves in his *Pyramidographia*, mentions the travels of Monsieur de Breves ambassador at Constantinople, '*les Voyages de Monsieur de Breves*,' which I have purchased from France.

Alexandre de Rhodes, in the third part of his *Voyages*, (ch. 13.) speaks of Monsieur de Boulaye, which hath published, *Un tres beau livre de ses voyages, ou il faut voir et autant de fidelité, que de nettete d'esprit, la conduite qu' il a monstrée dans des royaumes si differents.* He hath travelled over (saith he) the greatest part of Europe, Asia, and Africa. I have that French book also.

Tanaquillus Faber in his notes on the sixth book of Lucretius, c. i. saith, Lambertus Massiliensis, hath left a little book, *De Peregrinatione Ægyptiaca*, printed at Paris, which he undertook 1626.

There is *Alex. Geraldini Itinerarium ad regiones sub Æquinotiali*, in sixteen books. There are also the Republicks of several nations in little portable books.

There are also relations of divers curious voyages by Monsieur Thevenot, in three tomes, and *Relation du Voyage de l'Eveque de Breyte, par la Turquie, la Perse, les Indes, &c. jusques au Royaume de Siam, et autres Lieux, par M. de Bourges, Prestre, &c.* Both mentioned in the Philosophical Transactions. I have mustered up these several Itineraries and Voyages, both because I have perused most, if not all of them, (except the two last) when I was about my great book of geography, though it be not yet printed. And because I suppose travellers may hereby furnish themselves with the best writers of those parts of the world, whither they intend to go; either to instruct them about those places before they go; or to carry with them: Who ever since the beginning of things and men, hath been so often by royal employment sent ambassador to so many princes so distant in place, so different in rites, as Sir Robert Sherley!²² Two emperors, Rodolph and Ferdinand; two popes, Clement and Paul; twice the king of Spain, twice the Polonian, the Muscovite also, have given him audience. And twice also (though not the least for a born subject to be ambassador to his sovereign) his Majesty hath heard his embassy from the remote Persian. (Purchas his *Pilgrims*, part ii. l. x. c. 10.)

Dr. Nicholas Wotton (uncle to Sir Henry Wotton) was privy counsellor to four successive sovereigns, viz. King Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth. He was nine times ambassador for the crown of England to the Emperor, the kings of France and Spain, and other princes. (Camden's *Hist. of Q. Elizabeth.*)

Some have instanced in several English ambassadors, how well they have acquitted themselves; but I shall single out one as very deserving.²³

²¹ *Non parvum errorem commisisse mihi videnturi, qui globi terræ et aquæ descriptionem, proprium, particulareque geographiæ nomen habentem communi, generalique nomine cosmographiam appellant.* Barocii Præfatio ad Cosmographiam.

²² There are the *Three English Brothers*, and Sir Robert Sherley his *Embassy into Poland*, both printed. See Finet's *Observat.* p. 136, 137, 172, 173, 174, to 177.

²³ The Appendix to the *History of Mr. Mede's Life.*

Sir Thomas Row, after many embassages to almost all the princes, and states in christendom; (all which were managed with admirable dexterity, success and satisfaction) was last of all ambassador extraordinary to Ferdinand the Third, Emperor of Germany; who gave him this character, "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an ambassador till now." Bishop Bedell was chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton at Venice. Dr. Featly, to Sir Thomas Edmondes in France. Dr. John Burgesse, to Sir Horatio Vere, in Germany.

Mr. Boyle in his preface to his *Experiments touching Cold*, commends Captain James his *Voyages*, it being scarce, and not to be met with in Purchas's tomes, (having been written some years after they were finished,) ²⁴ and his *Voyages* published by the last king's command; he being bred in the university, and acquainted with the mathematics.

He commends also Mr. Ligon of the *Barbadoes* and styles him ingenious Mr. Ligon. ²⁵ But enough (if not too much) of this.

Geographers, who write of the four parts of the earth, are as large in Europe, as in the other three, Asia, Africa, and America, to which one part, all learning seemeth now to be in a manner confined; which within this hundred, or two hundred years, hath produced so many able men of all professions; divines, lawyers, physicians, and philosophers; papists and protestants.

Bolton in his *Nero Cæsar* (c. xxix. sect. 1.) speaking of ancient Rome, saith, the wonder of the seat did not grow from the greatness only, but from the innumerable ornaments of public, and private works, erected for use, delight, and glory, dispersed over all the fourteen wards, or regions thereof. Temples, forums, libraries, therms, aqueducts, theatres, amphitheatres, circi, porticos, arches, columns, statues, palaces, and the rest, whose bare names scarce remaining, do fill up volumes with their inventories.

The best circuit a traveller can take, is to go through Holland towards Germany, thereby to satisfy his curiosity by degrees; for Germany will afford more satisfaction than the Low Countries; France more than Germany, Italy more than France, (Gerbier's *Subsidium Peregrinantibus*.)

Paris, Rome, and Constantinople, are the court of the world; Venice, Geneva, and Lisbon, the city; Provence, Andalusia, and Italy the garden; Afric, and America, the desert and wilderness. (Flecknoe's *Relation of twenty Years Travels*, Letter 22.)

Johnson in his *Relation of the most famous Kingdoms*, (l. i. of Travel,) adviseth a traveller to take heed of the pride of Spain, the poison of Italy, the treason of France, and the drink of Flanders.

Dr. Hall thinks Italy a dangerous place for youth. Ursin, in a gratulatory epistle to a friend returned out of Italy, adds, *Ex cloaca diabolorum. Necesse est peregrinaturam habere duos saccos, patientia unum, pecuniæ alterum.* (Commenii Praxis Senicæ, par. v. actus iv. scena 1.)

Those who have a desire to travel to Jerusalem should take heed to themselves, that they make no shipwreck of conscience; for if they come not well commended, or well monied, or both; there is no being for them, except they partake with them in their idolatrous services. (Purchas his *Pilgrimage*, part ii. l. viii. ch. 9.)

Lud. Bartema relates, that they that travel over the deserts of Arabia, (which are all covered with light and fleeting sands, so that no tract can ever be found,) do make certain boxes of wood, which they place on camels backs, and shut themselves in them, to keep them from the sands; and by the help of the load-stone, like the mariner's compass, they steer their course over the vast and uncouth deserts.

The Latin, the French, the Sclavonic, and the Arabian tongue, are known in many places. For Africa, Leo ²⁶ is the best; for the Levant, Blunt is a good book to take with thee

²⁴ He styles him in his book, that ingenious navigator.

²⁵ Neither of these two have I seen.

²⁶ *Leo Afer in rebus Africanis fere instar omnium esse potest Hosmanni mantica.* Leo Africanus a man of no small credit among them who are well versed in the history of the world. (Dr. Casaubon of *Credulity and Incredulity*, part i.) Some say Golnitz is the best Itinerary for France, *et le Voyageur François*; Jodocus Sincerus his *Itinerarium Galliæ* is well liked.

thither, and some others I have before named; for Italy, *Scotti et Capugnani Itinerarium Italiae*, and Raimund's *Mercurio Italico*, will be useful; for France, Dallington's *View of France*, and Mr. Evelyn's little book, for the polity or government; for Holland, Colnizius; for Germany, Zeiler.

Sir Benjamin Ruddierd (whose discourse and speeches were full of apothegms) was wont to say, France was a good country to ride through, Italy a good country to look upon, Spain a good country to understand, but England a good country to live in.

Let Italy glory in this, that it is, for pleasure, the garden of the world. It may be truly said of Great Britain, that it is the court and presence chamber of the great King, Isa. viii. 8. Ezek. xlviii. 35. Surely few parts of all the earth are like England, for the showers of heaven, and the riches of the precious ordinances of God. (Mr. Baxter's *Direct. to the converted*, for their establishment.)

So wishing the traveller a prosperous voyage, I here cast anchor.

A DIATRIBE OF MONEY, OR COIN.

COIN seemeth to come from the French, *Coin*, 'a corner;' because the ancientest sort of coin, was cornered and not round. Cowell's *Interpreter*.

Coining of money is a special right and prerogative of sovereign majesty: money is as the sinews and strength of a state, so the life and soul of commerce.

Freherus in his *Diatribes or Exposition of Constantine's Silver Coin*, saith, the Roman princes, *in cunenda moneta non minimam majestatis suae partem posuerunt*, and that Constantine the Emperor first engraved the cross upon his coin, which his successors after observed, as we may see among antiquaries.

Money, commonly, is the mean for all commodities, and answereth to all; (Eccles. x. 19.) Yet the Spaniards coming into the West-Indies, had many commodities of the country which they needed, brought unto them by the inhabitants; to whom, when they offered them money, goodly pieces of gold coin, the Indians taking the money, would put it into their mouths, and spit it out to the Spaniards again; signifying, that they could not eat it, or make use of it; and therefore would not part with their commodities for money, unless they had such other commodities as would serve their use.

That money hath been anciently used in a way of commerce, we may see (Gen. xxxiii. 19.) And the most ancient was the purest gold. Medals are certain pieces of money dispersed at the coronation of kings. They call them commonly *Medallias*, in the Italian, Spanish, and French languages, (saith Antoninus Augustinus, *De veterum Numismatum Antiquitate*) from the Latin word *Metalla*, since those three languages had their original from the Latin.

Pope Gregory XIII. after he had received tidings in the consistory of the massacres in France, one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, went to the church that night to give thanks, made bonfires, and gloried in the bloody feats of those emissaries, having a coin with his own face on one side, and an angel on the other; with a cross in one hand, and a sword in the other, with this motto, '*Hugonothorum Strages*.'

So in France, medals were made in remembrance of the massacres; the image of Charles the Ninth, sitting in his royal throne, and in one side, *Virtus in Rebelles*, and on the reverse of it, the arms of France, and *Pietas excitavit Justitiam Horæ subcesivæ*. On some of Vespasian's coin, the state of Judea is deciphered in form of a captive woman, with a rueful aspect, sitting under a palm-tree.

Lewis XII. of France, a moderate prince, when his realm was interdicted by Pope Julius the Second, caused coin to be stamped with his own image, with this superscription, '*Perdam Nomen Babylonis*.'²⁷

²⁷ See the Expositors on Acts xix. 24.

In Athens the tower excelled, in which there was a temple to Minerva. Julius Pollux writes, that the Attic tetradrachm was stamped with the face of Minerva, and he might have added with the *Noctua* on the reverse. (Mr. Greaves of the *Denarius*.) Hugh Broughton said, it was portended by his arms, that he should be a Grecian, for he gave the house Athens.

Mr. Selden before the English Historians printed by Mr. Bee, citeth Ludovicus Paruta his *Originale de*. Yet Mr. Selden in his notes on Eadmerus, saith, *Cæterum ad vetustum archiepiscoparum in Cantuaria jus spectat etiam forsitan priscunumisma cujus pars altera Plegmundi archiepiscopi, altera Eicmundi cusoris nomine signata est vide plura.* (Ibid.)

Goltzius is the most copious and best writer about medals.

There is a medal in Oxford, made upon the sinking of the Spanish ships in 1588, with a navy on one side, and a rock on the other. (See Camden's *Annals*.)

The Lydians first invented gold and silver money; Janus, brass money.

Gutherius²⁸ out of Isidore, saith three things are required in money; the metal, the figure, and the weight; gold is the most excellent of all metals; saith Georgius Agricola. Gold hath greatness of weight, closeness of parts, fixation, pliantness, or softness, immunity from rust, colour, or tincture of yellow. (Sir Francis Bacon's *Natural History*, century iv. experiment 328.)

Martial calls gold, yellow money. *Has nisi de flaxa loculos implere moneta. Non decet, argentum vilia ligna ferant.* Silver is next to it, it is not consumed in the fire. It is more ductile than any other metal except gold. Its white colour is delightful.

The pureness and fineness of the coins, and the weight for the intrinsic, and the outward form or character, and inscription of the prince or state for the extrinsic of coins, is observed by knowing bankers. (Mr. Greaves of the *Denarius*.)

Yet Budæus de *Contemptu Rerum Fortuitorum*, (l. 3.) saith well, *At usu sublato quid tandem aurum et argentum aliis præstat metallis.*

Diligent inquiring into coins, is one great piece of antiquity; by the knowledge of which (as other ways) we may come to understand the right writing of several words.

Felix sine diphthongo. Consensus librorum et nummorum. Fecundus sine diphthongo? Eadem monumenta antiqua Dilherri Apparatus Philologiæ. (Vide Vossii Etymologicon Linguae Latinæ.) Melius scribitur hoc nomen cum aspiratione Hadrianus, nam ita nummi et lapides constanter. (Casaub. notæ in Ælii Spartiani Hadrianum.) Scilicet ex statuis numismatibusque cognoscere licet qualis fuerit vultus habitusque clarorum virorum feminarumque illustrium, quorum nos actiones auditæ delectant; qua forma fuerint dii de æque, et heroes prisci cum suis illis insignibus; cujusmodi fuerint sive ornamenta, sive instrumenta religionum, bellorum, magistratum, coronæ, curras, triumphus, sed ilia innumeraque id genus alia. (Vide Gassendii Vitam Leireskii, l. vi. p. 552, 553.)

Heliogabalus, or Algebalus rather, as he was styled of old, as Egnatius (*Notis ad Cæsares*) proves out of some old coins.

Leonardus Aretinus, in the fourth book of his *Epistles*, describing his journey from Rome to Constance, saith, when he inquired of some citizens there, of the antiquity and original of Constance, *nemo adhuc mihi occurrit, qui vel avi sui nomen et memoriam ne dum urbi tenere videretur.* Yet by diligent searching, he found a marble table containing ancient letters, by which it appears, that this city took its name from Constantius the father of Constantine, being called Vitudura.

There is much learned pleasure in the contemplation of the several figures stamped on each side of these antique coins. Would you see the true and undoubted models of their temples, altars, deities, columns, gates, arches, aqueducts, bridges, sacrifices, vessels, *sellæ curules*, ensigns and standards, naval and mural crowns, amphitheatres, *circi*, baths,

²⁸ De Officio Domus Augustæ, l. iii. c. 1. Bonitas monetæ est intrinseca vel extrinseca. Intrinseca consistit in preciositate materiæ et in pondere. Extrinseca bonitas consistit in æstimatione publica vel voluntariam contrahentium. Angelocrator de Monetis, c. ii.

chariots, trophies, *ancilia*, and a thousand things more, repair to the old coins, and you shall find them. (Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, ch. xii.)

There is a twofold inscription of coins, *obversa* and *aversa*. (*Vide Seldenum de Jure Naturali*. l. vi. c. 17.)

I have heard of some men, (but heard it only) who by the bare handling and smelling, would judge better of old coins (which is a great trade beyond the seas, and concerning which, many books are written) than others, not altogether strangers unto them, could by the sight. Dr. Casaubon of *Credulity and Incredulity in Things Natural, Civil and Divine*, part 2.)

The general names for money among the Romans are three, *Moneta*, *Numus*, *Pecunia*. *Apud Romanos quidem res nummaria tria habet generalia vocabula, quibus nominatur, Moneta, Pecunia, Nummus.* (Georg. Agricola De Veteribus et Novis Metallis, l. i.)

First, *Moneta* (whence the French *Monnoye*) à *monendo*, because it sheweth us the author, the value and the time. *Numisma, quasi Nomisma à nominibus scilicet et effigiebus principum quæ ei imprimebantur, Isidorus dici putat.* (Waserus De Antiquis Hebræorum, Chaldæorum et Syrorum, c. 11.)

Secondly, *Numus*, or *Nummus* rather, saith Vossius; a *Numa*, saith Angelo Cretor; it hath rather a Greek original, ἀπὸ τῆ νόμῳ, from the law; because it is a legitimate and public price. *Nomisma* and *Numus* (saith Martinius) seem to be of the same original.

Thirdly, *Pecunia*, either from the images of cattle stamped upon it or from their skin out of which money was coined. *Pecuniam à pecum dictam esse constat, sed quæ sit causa originis parum convenit inter auctores.* (Vossii Etymologicum Linguae Latinæ.)

Gen. xxxiii. 19. 'For an hundred pieces of money,' the Greek and Chaldee translate it, 'a hundred lambs.' Others think they were pieces of money, on which the images of lambs were stamped. (So in Jos. xxiv. 32. Job. xlii. 11. Ainsworth, *Vide Meneru in loc. et Brerewood de Ponderibus*, &c.)

The money current in Attica was commonly stamped with an ox, whence came the by-word, *Bos in lingua*, applied to such lawyers as were bribed to say nothing in their client's cause; not much unlike to which was the proverb rising from the coin of Ægina, (an isle adjoining) stamped with the figure of a snail, viz. *Virtutem et sapientiam vincant testudines.*²⁹

The names of the brass money among the Romans were, AS, QUADRANS, SEXTANS, TRIENS.

Of the silver, DENARIUS, QUINARIUS, SESTERTIUS.

Of the gold, AUREUS sive SOLIDUS; it was valued with the Romans at 25 denaries. *Ut aureus viginti quinque denarias complectebatur, ita totidem annos aureum vitæ appellabant.* Mearsi Mantissa ad Luxum Romanum, c. 19.

As or assis, is a little piece of money, whose baseness grew into a proverb. *Omnes unius æstimemus assis.* Æs is also used for money, because the first money amongst the Romans was made of brass; whence *ærarium* also for 'a treasury.' *Tam æris quam argenti nominibus in sermone Latino pecunia indicatur.* (Camerarius.)

Servius Tullius first coined money at Rome, as Pliny witnesseth, (l. xxxiii. c. 3.) This was of brass. They used this till the fifth year before the first Punic war. Then silver money was first coined, which is called Denarius, *quia valeret decem libras æris.* The golden money was coined at Rome, forty-two years after the silver money was used; (as Pliny shews in the place before named, 62 saith Lipsius.) The price and esteem of gold was different among the Grecians and Romans; among the Grecians golden money was changed for ten of silver, among the Romans for twelve and a half; often it was much more esteemed. (Vossius De Philologia Christianæ, l. vi. c. 35.) Meursius hath put out *Denarius Pythagoricus opusculum pereruditum, ac mihi eo gratius quod inscripserit nomini nostro Vossius.* (Ibid. l. viii. c. 3.)

Romani primum usi fuerunt quæ duplici moneta, nempe, plumbea, ærea, argentea,

²⁹ Dr. Heylin's *Cosm. in Greece*, p. 588.

Aurea. Plumbeæ usus quando caperit, incertum. Æs initio habuerunt rude, pondere distinctum, non nota Lipsius quasi forma et exemplum, ad quos nummos alios omnes expenderent. (Serarius in Josh. c. vii. quæst. 5.)

Amongst the ancient Hebrews, Chaldeans, and Syrians, the most usual money was the *Siclus* or *Shekel*, among the Latins the chief and usual kinds of silver money were *Denarius* and³⁰ *Sestertius*, among the Grecians, *Drachma*, *Mina*, *Talentum*.

A shekel (coming from *shakal*, he weighed, from whence our English *skole* and *skale*, to weigh with, is derived) is by interpretation a weight, as being the most common in payments, in which they used to weigh their money, Gen. xxiii. 16. Jer. xxxii. 9. The Chaldee calleth a shekel *silgna*, and *selang* (from whence our English shilling seemeth to be borrowed) and the quantity of the common shekel differed not much from our shilling, as the shekel of the sanctuary was about two shillings. Ainsw. on Gen. xx. 16. See him on Exod. xxxiii. 13.

A shekel is about the weight of an English half crown, *Valet proinde shekel de nostro 2s. 6d.* Brerewood *de Ponderibus et Pretiis veterum Nummorum*, c. i.³¹

Exod. xxx. 13. The Gerah is held to have been about a penny half-penny, and by that estimate, the shekel was two shillings six pence, and half the shekel fifteen pence.³²

It is the ancientest of all the moneys the scripture mentions, the weight of it is almost four Spanish reals, or four Roman Julii.³³

A Roman Julio,³⁴ or a Spanish royal, is about seven pence English, a piece of eight called so, because equal to eight royals is about 4s. 6d. English; so that Ainsworth seems to be mistaken.

Græci pecuniarum summas numerabant drachmis, ut Judæa siclis, et Romani sestertiis. Brerewood *de Ponderibus et Pretiis veterum Nummorum*.

Mr. Greaves in his *Denarius*, would have the thirty pieces of silver, which were given to Judas, as the reward of his treason, to be thirty shekels, that being less than fifteen of our ordinary crowns.³⁵ We find in Exodus (saith he) the price of a servant to have been thirty shekels. (*Gassendus de Vitâ Peireskii*, saith as much, and so doth Dr. Hamon on Matth. xxvi. 15.) Mr. Greaves, there also saith, the distinction of a double shekel, the one sacred equal to the tetradrachm, the other profane weighing the didrachm: that used in the sanctuary, this in civil commerce, is without any solid foundation in the writ, and without any probability of reason, that in any wise state, the prince and people should have one sort of coin, and the priests should have another; and that this of the sanctuary should be in a double proportion to the other, and yet that both should concur in the same name. Rivet. on Exod. xxx. 13. goes the same way, and gives four reasons to prove that the shekel was but one.

Matth. xxii. 20. 'The tribute money,' or *Denarius*, that was to be paid to Cæsar by way of tribute, had on it, (saith Occo,) the picture or image of Cæsar; and in it these letters written, *Cæsar Augustus*, such a year after the taking of Judæa, (Dr. Hammond in loc. *Denarius*³⁶ may be considered in a double respect, either as *nummus*, or as *pondus*. In the first acceptation, the valuation of it in civil affairs is remarkable; in the latter,

³⁰ *Waserus de Antiquis Numis Hebræorum* l. ii. c. 2. Sriverius on Martial adds, *Victoriatu consentiunt omnes Sicli nomen esse prorsus ab Hebræo שקל shekel, hoc vero esse à verbo שקל shakal quod apponderare significat, partim quia, ut in multis hodie locis ponderari enim solebat argentea moneta, partim, quia apud Hebræos hoc nummi genus erat.*

³¹ Nehem. v. 14, 15. Forty shekels of silver, that is, five pounds sterling; a shekel is a half an ounce, which makes 2s. 6d.

³² Mr. Jackson on that place.

³³ *Ar. Montanus, de Mensuris Sacris.*

³⁴ *In Italia Romana scorta in singulas æbdomadas Julium pendent pontifici, qui census annuus nonnunquam viginti millia ducato excedet.* Cornelius Agrippa *de Vanita. Scient.*

³⁵ Shekel is usually understood where the coin or weight is not expressed, as Isai. vii. 23. 2 Sam. xviii. 11, 12. Mat. xxvi. 15. Exodus xxx. 13. 'The shekel of the sanctuary,' either because the shekel of the sanctuary was twice as much as the common shekel, which is indeed the common opinion; or rather because the standard of all weights and measures was kept in the sanctuary, a shekel of the full weight and value, after the standard of the sanctuary. (Mr. Jackson.)

³⁶ Mr. Greaves of the *Denarius*.

the gravity and ponderousness. The denarius was a silver coin in use amongst the Romans, passing at the first institution for *dena æra* or ten *asses*, whence the name. The Dutch esteem it at six stivers, or a shilling.

The *assis* was a brass coin weighing a pound. The denarius had an impress upon it of the figure X. denoting the *decussis*, or number of the asses.

The *assis* is taken for the whole, according to the usual phrase of civilians, *ex asse hæres*, when one is heir to the whole inheritance.

Denarius, as *pondus*, was either *consularis*, made under the government of the city by the consuls; or *Cæsareus*, under the Cæsars; sometimes there is the effigies of the consul, and sometimes of the emperor on it. Denarius is of as great moment for the discovery of weights, as the Roman foot for the measures.

Argenteus nummus Romanorum denarius est, Atticorum drachma. Scaliger de Re Nummaria. Denarii drachmæ ferè pondus et æstimationem habebant. Salmassii notæ in Vopiscii. A drachma natum nostrum dram, which in gold is six shillings three pence, in silver seven pence halfpenny.

It weigheth of our money seven pence, or seven pence halfpenny; and was the pay of the Roman soldiers, and the wages of a day labourer, (Matth. xx. 9.)

The Athenian drachma (the pay of their soldiers,) by account both of merchants and physicians weighed alike, and was of one value.

Sestertius signifies two and a half, as the vulgar note also importeth, II s. or joined H s. that is, *duo et semis*, 'two and a half;' it is meant always of so many *asses*, four *sestertii* are equivalent to a denarius. (Sir Henry Savil on Tacitus, and Mr. Greaves of the *Denarius*.)

Sestertius, quasi semissis tertius, ut in lege duodecim tabularum pes sestertius, sunt pedes duo et semis. Snellius de Re Nummaria. Olim edoctus sum sestertium valere duobus assibus et semisse quando scilicet dicitur sestertius genere masculino sestertium autem neutro genere valere mille sestertios. Ratio est quia neutro genere subintelligitur pondus, ut in masculino nummus cum simpliciter dicitur sestertius. Sarravii Epistolæ videsis, Vossii Etymologicon Linguae Latinæ, et Lips. de Pecun. Denariorum tot sunt genera quot populorum, Spelmanni Glossarium.

Every *sestertium* was valued at seven pound, sixteen shillings, three pence. As the *sestertius* according to Aruntius, was *olim dupondius et semis*, 'anciently two pounds of brass and an half;' so the *sestertius pes*, was two foot and an half. (Mr. Greaves's *Discourse of the Roman Foot*.)

As the unity in respect of numbers, or the *sestertius* in discourses *de re nummaria*, so is the denarius for weights, a fit rise or beginning, from whence the rest may be deduced. (Mr. Greaves of the *Denarius*.)

The drachma, as *nummus*, was a silver coin in use amongst the Athenians, and so it was the measure of things vendible, as all coins are; and as *pondus*, it was the measure of their gravity and weight. (Mr. Greaves of the *Denarius*.)

Dilher, in the first tome of his Academical Disputations, reckons up eight kinds of drachmæ; (See Beza Schmidius, and Dr. Hammond on Matth. xvii. 27.)

Gellius, (*Noct. Attic. lib. i. chap. 8.*) saith, that Demosthenes went privately unto Lais, and desired to lie with her; but she demanding 10,000 drachmæ of him for one night's lodging with her; he refused, saying, "He would not buy repentance at so dear a rate." This was Lais the daughter; for there were two of that name, the mother and ³⁷ daughter; both beautiful and infamous strumpets, as Palmerius *ad Pausaniæ Corinthiaca* sheweth.

The Attic *μνᾶ* or *mina*, containing a hundred drachms in weight, as it is clear out of Pliny, Pollux, and others; some derive it from the Hebrew מנה, to number; the word is used Ezek. xlv. 12. and rendered *maneh*. From *maneh*, in Hebrew, *mna* in Greek, and *mina* in Latin, for a pound, hath its name. Mr. Gataker on Isa. lxx. 11.

³⁷ *Sive naturalis, sive adoptiva.*

Snellius *de Re Nummaria* saith, it is manifest by the testimonies of comedians, that there was a double talent in use among the Athenians, a greater and a lesser. A talent is the greatest weight which was in use; every talent was a twelve pounds weight; it weighed three thousand shekels, and every shekel three hundred and twenty grains of barley. An Hebrew talent in silver, is of our money three hundred seventy and five pounds: in gold, four thousand five hundred pounds.

Attica talentum et mina sunt numerus, et collectio pecuniæ, non species nummi, (Scaliger *de Re Nummaria*.) The talent was manifold, the Attic talent is much celebrated. (Ainsworth.)

1 Chron. xxii. 14. 'Now behold in my poverty I have prepared for the house of the Lord an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver.'³⁸ Some compute it to be above thirty-three thousand cart loads of silver, allowing six thousand pound sterling to every cart load; and seventy millions of French crowns of gold. (See Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, part ii. ch. 17. § 9.)

1 Kings ix. 14. The Jews had two talents; the one sacred, the other common. The sacred was in weight and worth, as much more as the common. The sacred in gold was reputed to be three thousand seven hundred and fifty pound in value; the common, one thousand eight hundred seventy and five pounds sterling. (Dr. Gouge *in loc.*) The talent contained three hundred shekels, as may be collected from Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26. The Hebrews valued gold at ten times the rate of silver.

Edward Brerewood (heretofore professor of astronomy in Gresham College in London,) hath published a learned book, *De Ponderibus et Pretiis veterum Nummorum, eorumque cum recentioribus Collatione*; which is in the apparatus of the Polyglot Bible.

Waserus hath written so fully and exactly of the ancient coins of the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Syrians, that there needs not to be said more of that argument.

Budæus in his books *de Asse*, or the breviary collected out of him, with the annotations of Philip Melanchthon, and Joachim Camerarius, are the best for the Greek and Latin coins. *Sed de istoc et cæteris ad rem monetariam pertinentibus, consuli malo Budæum, Vortium, Hottomannum, Car. Molinæum, Covarruviam, et intelligentissimum hujus argumenti, Reinerium Budelium Ruremundanum Ictum, Electori Coloniensi, dum viveret, monetarum tam Rhenensium, quam West-falicarum præfectum: Cujus geminus exstat, liber: unus de arte cudendæ monetæ; alter de questionibus monetariis.* Vossius *de Physiol. Christ.* l. vi. c. 36. *Inter antiquos Orismius Lexoniensis Episcopus, et Caroli sexti Gallorum regis præceptor curiosa de re Nummaria volumine, et inter recentiores Gulielm. Budæus libris de Asse, Joachim Camerarius de Nummismat. Græc. et Lat. Demps. in Rosin. Antiq. Rom. l. vii. c. 31. Vide plura ibid.*

Antonius Augustinus a man very accurate in coins, as appears by his *Dialogues*. (Mr. Greaves *of the Denarius*.)

Marquardus Freherus, hath put forth a learned discourse of paying tribute, where he speaks somewhat of Roman coins. Mr. Selden *de Jure Naturali ac Gentium* (l. ii. c. 8.) calls it *Eruditissima ac gravissima de numismate census a Phariseis inquisitionem vocato dissertatio*. Mr. Greaves hath written learnedly of this subject in his *discourse of the Denarius*.

The Roman emperors' gold, silver, and copper coin, (with their images and inscriptions) are in the custody of that learned knight, and my worthy friend, Sir John Cotton; as I have heard.

It's pity that Sir Simonds D' Ewes, my great friend, had not published something this way, he having spent so much time in this study, and having purchased so many several coins of all sorts.

There are some other gentlemen that have a good collection of coins; there are coins with Lazius, l. iii. *Commen. Reipub. Romanæ*, c. 12. whose inscription is³⁹ *Salus Publica*. Demps. *in Rosin. Antiquit. Rom. lib. i.*

³⁸ See Brerewood *de Ponderibus et Pret. Heb. &c.* c. vi.

³⁹ *Omnium ad remp. pertinentium suprema lex est salus populi, sive felicitas publica. Tam in nummo*
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There are two requisites (saith Dempster) that money pass, *proba materia, et vultus imperatoris ei impressus*. False money (saith he in Rosin *Antiq. Rom.* l. vii. c. 31.) was forbidden by the Roman laws, and the crime is called *peculatus*. Charles the Great had a shop in his palace for the coining of money, that it might be more diligently coined.

Camden, in his *Britain* saith, Nicolaus Fabricius de Peiresc. of France, was very skilful in antiquities, and old medals or pieces of money. He saith there also that many pieces of Roman money are every where found among us in the ruins of cities and towns subverted; in treasure coffers, or vaults hidden in that age; as also in funeral-pots and pitchers: as in Lancashire, at Lancaster; Ribble; Chester; in Westmorland; at Brougham, Cumberland.

One that writes the History of England, saith of the Britains: Some of their money was in brass, other in iron rings; one especial sort, had the figure of a shield embossed, and on that side a certain image the device was within.

About thirty-five years since, not far from Dunstable many pieces of silver were taken up, which the plough had thrown upon the edge of the furrow: being examined, they were found to be silver, with the impression of Cæsar on them. Mr. Selden much valued them for their antiquity; some of them having been stamped (as he said) above nine hundred, and some a thousand years. (Mr. Peacham's *Worth of a Penny*.)

I have been informed, that some medals have been digged up at Shawell in Leicestershire, the town where I was born; and also at Braunston. It is a great question, saith Georgius Agricola, whether pure or mixed money be more profitable for countries and states. Peacham in his *Complete Gentleman*, (c. 19. of *Travels*.) saith, the Spanish coins are the best of Europe. Terry in his *Voyage to the East Indies*, saith that the Spanish royal is the purest money of Europe. There is *pezzi di quatro*, which is equal to four reals; there are also pieces of two reals, one real, and half a real.

Howell in his *Dodona's Grove, or Vocal Forrest*, (part ii. walk 4. p. 44.) saith *Druina* (by which I suppose he means England) is renowned abroad to have her king's face and arms drawn in the purest sort of minerals, and the generally best current coins in the world.

Queen Elizabeth⁴⁰ caused all such base moneys as were coined by any of her predecessors, to be reduced to a lesser value, and to be brought into her Majesty's mint: for which she gave them money of the purest silver, such as passed commonly by the name of Easterling or Sterling money; since which time, no base money hath been coined in England, but only of pure gold and silver, to pass for current in the same; save that of late times, in relation to the necessity of poor people, a permission hath been given to the coining of farthings, which no man can be forced to accept in satisfaction of a rent or debt. *Esterlingus et sterlingus apud Matthæum Parisium, atque alios, præcipue Anglicanos scriptores legas. Nec tamen eo rejiciendum, quando hoc nihilo deterius est quam vulgata, illa vocabula, daleri, ducati, floreni, ac similia. Nam pecuniæ novitas nova exigebat vocabula. Notat ea vox Anglis denarium vox sterling est ex eo inquit Watsius quia stellæ figura in ea compareret.* (Vossius de Vitiis Sermonis, l. 2. c. 5.)

In all other states of the christian world, there are several sorts of copper money, as current with them for public uses, as the purest metal.

Queen Elizabeth supplied the king of Navarre in his straits, with twenty-two thousand pounds of English money in gold; (a sum of gold coin so great, as he professed he had never seen together before,) and sent him arms and four thousand men, under the command of Peregrine Lord Willoughby. (Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, 4th book, anno 1589, the 32d of her reign.)

Sterlings are used in England, Scotland, and Ireland. That name of sterling began in time of Hen. II. and had its original of name from some esterling, making that kind of

Julia Mammæ Augustæ videre est formâ matronæ solio insidentis, quæ dextra gerit caduceum, sinistrâ copiæ cornu Inscriptio autem est Felicitas Publica. Vossius in Physiologiâ Christiani et Theologia Gentili, l. x. c. 38.

⁴⁰ Dr. Heylin's *Ecclesia Restaurata*, p. 135.

money, which hath its essence in particular weight and fineness; not of the starling bird, as some; nor of Sterling in Scotland under Edw. 1. as others absurdly: for in records, much more ancient, I have read the express name *sterlingorum*. (Mr. Selden on the 17th song, of Drayton's *Poly olbion*.)

Sterling is a proper epithet for money current within the realm. A certain pure coin stamped first of all by the esterlings here in England. (Cowell's *Interpreter*.)

Occurrit esterlingus interdum simpliciter pro ipso denario, interdum ad distinguendam monetam probam a re proba, et pro numo legali ingenere. Spelmanni Glossarium vide plura ibid.

Esterling money, now called sterling, not from Striveling in Scotland, nor from a star, which some dreamed to be coined thereon. (Camden's *Remains*.)

That denomination came from the Germans, of their easterly dwelling termed by Englishmen esterlings; whom John, king of England, first sent to reduce the silver to the due fineness and purity. (Camden's *Britain*, in Scotland.)

There is one Thomas Hylles, that put out *the Art of Vulgar Arithmetick*, 1600, who hath (p. 262.) a table of the names and values of the most usual gold coins in Christendom, and begins with our own country gold. He mentions the rose noble, or royal, half rose noble, old noble, half old noble, George noble, half George noble, angel, half angel, old crown. K. H. base crown. K. H. half crown. Sovereign of K. H. other sov. of all sorts, double sovereign, great sovereign, half sovereign. Unicorn of Scotland. Scottish crown.

There is for gold, the carolus or piece, 20s. and the guinea pieces, 22s.; the angel, 10 and 11s. and crown, 5s. and 5s. 6d. and 2s. 9d.

The English gold being at a higher value beyond the seas, then in our own nation, it is a great cause of the transportation of it. (Peacham's *Worth of a Penny*.)

For silver, the crown, 5s.; half crown, 2s. 6d.; thirteen pence halfpenny; half and quarter that; and 4d. *ob.*; and shilling, 12d.; 9d.; 6d.; groat, 4d.; three pence, 3d.; two pence, 2d.; penny, 1d.; halfpenny, *ob.*

There are so many kinds of pence, as there are several countries or nations. Our English penny is a Scottish shilling. (See more there, *ibid.*)

Here in England, that which was sold about an hundred years ago for ten groats, which then weighed an ounce; now, since the discovery of the Indies, can hardly be bought for ten shillings of our current money, or two ounces of the same goodness and weight. (Sir Henry Savill on a place in Polybius.)

In the Low Countries and Germany, the usual coins in gold are ducats, and double ducats; the ducats are called hungars at Venice, and are worth nine shillings English. In the Low Countries the usual silver pieces are ducatoons, equal to ten Dutch shillings, or sixty stivers; patacoons equal forty-eight stivers, or eight Dutch shillings; shillings equal to six stivers. But the States' money is a little under this value, stiver, in brass, the fourth part of stivers pieces.

In Germany the most common pieces in silver are dollars, copsticks, and half copsticks, equal just to our shillings and six-pences; and there is abundance of our shillings and six-pences, which pass under that name. Tafielta, the great Emperor of Barbary, allows to every horseman sixteen dollars a month, and to every footman eight; so that his men are not chargeable to the country. *Relation of some Part of his Life.*

This word copstick comes from *caput*, as the Italian teston from *testa*. Kreutzers, so called from the mark of the cross. Weiss-penny equal to two kreutzers. Grasse, equal to three kreutzers; ten weiss-pennies are equal to five copsticks, guilders equal to three copsticks, and half guilders, a weiss-penny a white penny in Dutch; these lesser pieces are of a mixed metal.

The German dollars furnished all the mints of Europe, before the mines of Mexico and Potosi were discovered in America. The German silver dollar, called rix-dollar in England, is worth 4s. 6d. or, as some say, 4s. 8d.

There were the Latin, Attic, and Greek pounds.

Libra numaria, or pound, took its name from the weight, because it weighed in times past a Trojan pound; that is, twelve ounces. Thence the Saxon *punde*, and the English *pound*.⁴¹ The pound sterling in Britain (saith Angelo Crator, *De Monetis*, c. 1.) is esteemed ten Brabantine florins, or four Spanish dollars.

In Spain for gold, pistoles, and half pistoles, and double pistoles. In silver, the common pieces there, are a piece of eight, a half piece of eight, a quarter piece of eight, a half-quarter piece of eight, and a piece that is but the sixteenth part of a piece of the royal eight. The Spanish pistole is about seven-pence better than the Italian. The value of money in Spain is very often varied according to the wills and interests of the princes.

In France for gold, the common pieces are the Louis, equal, (not many years since) to eleven livres; the half louis half so much. The escudor now about six livres. For silver, the escu equal to three livres; the thirty, fifteen, and five sous pieces. The quart d'escu (because the fourth part of the escudor) equal to one livre. Mixed metal, the sous, and the sous marque. For brass, the denier and the lyard, equal to two deniers, at first stamped for three deniers. Johnson adviseth travellers, if they carry over money with them, that it be in double pistolets, or French crowns of weight; by these (saith he) he is sure to sustain loss in no place, and in Italy to gain above twelve-pence in the pound.

Bizantines, or bezants, as coined at Constantinople, (sometimes called Bizantium,) and not at Besanson in Burgundy, plates of gold are called bezantes; and in the court of England, where a great piece of gold, valued at fifteen pound, which the king offereth upon high festival days, is yet called a bizantine, which anciently was a piece of gold coined by the emperors of Constantinople. (Camden's *Remains*, of Money. In his *Britannia*, in Middlesex, he speaks of bizantines of silver, valued at two shillings anciently. *Constantinopolis primum Bizantium dicta formam antiqui vocabuli præferunt Imperatorii nummi Bizantini vocati. Spelmanii Glossarium. Vide Corgrave Dictionar. Gallico-Anglic. verbo Besant.*)

Lar is a coin much used in the east, both in Persia and the East Indies. There is one of them to be seen within the gallery above the public library in Oxford. The asper in Turkey is worth a penny, and often mentioned; one of which I have seen.

In Italy, at Venice, for gold there is the chequen, equal to seventeen livres; the ducat for silver, a scudo, which by a Bando (*anno* 1663) was rated at nine livres six sous; one half, one quarter, and the eighth part of a scudo, a ducaton.

For brass, soldo, and half soldo, and soldino, also a denier. Genoa, for gold, double pistoles, pistoles. The pistole is called doppio, or dobla, the double pistole, doblone.

The silver pieces there, are a croison or scudo. For brass, d'otto pieces, equal to eight deniers; de quatro, equal to four deniers, and the deniers. At Florence, for silver, the scudo, equal to ten julios; the teston, equal to three julios, (so called from having a head upon it, which is in Italian *testa*) julios, half julios, and quarto julio pieces, the grats equal to five quatrins. In brass the quattrin equal to the third part of a soldo.

In the pope's territories, in silver, a scudo, equal to ten julios; a teston, julio, half a julio, and a quarter of a julio.

At Banonia, bajocks, and two bajocks pieces of a mixed metal. The pope, who hath six and twenty thousand crowns a-day to spend; on the day of his coronation scattereth among the people *baiocchi*, and *bagatini*, half-pence and farthings: saying with St. Peter, Act. iii. 6. "Silver and gold I have none, but such as I have I give thee." (Peter du Moulin's *Confutat. of Lurgat*. ch. 5.)

Naples, in silver, carolines, equal to julios, but not altogether so good, two caroline pieces. In brass, granos, publicas equal to one and a half of a grano.

There are pieces of gold called Florentini, or Floreni florens, because first coined in the city of Florence, and having the shape of the flower of the lilly on one side, and of John Baptist on the other; it is called in Italian, *florino*. Vossius *de Vitiis Sermonis* (l. iii. c. 12.) saith, that the French had also in times past its florene, thence called Franc saith he, A franc is one shilling and sixpence in England, so is a livre saith he; and the English also

⁴¹ [Spelmanii Glossarium. See Ezra ii. 69.]

of the best gold, thence called noble. *Auri nummis apud Anglos genus ante nostram memoriam exoletum.* (*Spelmani Glossarium.*)

There were also the Rhenish florins, first coined by the four electors at Rhene, that of Mentz, Trevers, Colen, and the Palatine; after used by others, something inferior to those first.

The pieces of gold, called ducats, were first coined by the Venetians, and those of Genoa. There are (saith Georgius Agricola) the Hungarian, Venetian, Spanish, and Turkish ducats. The Polonians gold ducats are of the same value with the Hungarian.

Artiabalipa, king of Peru, paid for his ransom ten millions, three hundred twenty-six thousand ducats in gold. (*Du Miroir des Francois Livre premier.*) The Turkish sultanie is of the same standard, firmness, and value, with the Hungarian ducat.

The Venetian chequin, in England, 9s. 6d. the Barbary ducat, the Egyptian and Turkish erif, are almost all of the same pureness in respect of the gold, and not differing above a grain in the weight.⁴²

The old denarius, drachma, Dutch shilling, Spanish real, Roman julios or paulos, are near of an equal value; the French escu, or silver crown, the Spanish piece of eight, the German dollar, the Low Dutch patacon, are of an equal value. The Giulii or Pauli are two names of the same price, from two popes.

Mr. Broughton saith, he asked a simple mariner, which had been in the West Indies, what they called gold there; he said Cethem, just the scripture term. (Broughton's *Epistle to the Require or Consent to the grounds of Divinity Studies.*)

Their current money in the West Indies is of the fruits of certain trees like our almonds, which they call cachoas. (Pet. Mart. 1st Decade, ch. 4.)

The coins of the West Indies are wampon peague, (the sixth part of a penny with us) which goes by number, and ronokco, which goes by weight. In the East Indies the rupees of Ropees, of divers values, and mah mudies.

They have in the West Indies also a golden coin, which they call a castellan, it exceedeth a ducat, it is commonly a third part, called pesus. The coin or bullion brought to the East Indies from any place, is presently melted and refined, and the Mogul's stamp which is his name and titles in Persian characters) put upon it. The coin there is much more pure than any other part of the world, being made of pure silver, without any allay. (Sir Thomas Roe's *Voyage into the East Indies.*)

Madines are the small silver money current in Egypt. The Arabic useth to express the least piece of money that is by phals, for two mites, (Mark xii. 42.) they read phalsain.

Mr. Greaves, in his *Denarius*, saith at his being in Egypt, five madines passed for a dollar: Sands, in his *Travels*, saith forty. Most countries (saith Mr. Greaves) use the same weights for silks, gold, and silver.

The Persians loved shooting so well, that they set an archer on the reverse of their coin of gold, which was of great value. The king of Persia being offended at Agesilaus, gave the Athenians ten thousand pieces of this great coin of gold of theirs, and so corrupted them; which thing, when Agesilaus understood, he said merrily, but yet truly, "That he was driven away with ten thousand bowmen, (meaning their coin of gold with an archer on it) and how should he a poor man, be able to withstand so many archers." See Plutarch in Agesilaus.) Pliny, l. vii. c. 5. writeth that Perses, the son of Persius, of whom the Persians had their surname, should be the first deviser of shafts. Yet the Scripture, (which is ancients than any kind of learning) mentions archers. (Gen. xxi. 20. 1 Sam. xxxi. 3. 2 Chron. xxxv. 23.)

The Muscovites have but one kind of money, which they call copeca; fifty of which make a crown; 'tis of silver, of an oval figure, and so small, that the value of two crowns will scarce bear the bulk of four-pence in French deniers; that which they call muscofske is the fourth part of a copeca, poluske is the half, an alim is three-pence, a grifna is ten,

⁴² Mr. Greaves of the *Denarius*.

a rouble a hundred, but these are not to be had of one piece. (*Relation of three Embassies* by the Earl of Carlisle, p. 68.) Many coins resemble the dragon, with the title of Health. This most vigilant creature is a type of Æsculapius. Vigilance is necessary for a physician.

It were worthy the inquiry of some studious persons, how the custom came up of dividing money into pounds, shillings, and pence, which is used in most places of Europe. A livre, or pound, say some, is every where equal to twenty *solidi*, *soldi sous*, or shillings; a shilling is equal to twelve of the modern *denarii*, or pence; but the value of the livres is very different in France. A livre is about 1s. 6d. English; in Flanders, a livre is equal to 11s. 3d. English; in Venice a livre is about seven-pence halfpenny; at Genoa, a livre is about 1s. English; at Turin, a livre is about 1s. 3d.; at Leghorn, a livre is 9d.; at Milan, a livre is 10d.; in the pope's country, a livre is 13d.; at Naples, 12d.; in the pope's territories in Catalonia, a livre is about 3s. 6d.; in Valentia, a livre is about 5s.; in Castile and Grenada, not long since, a livre was 2s. 6d.; in Scotland a pound is equal to 1s. 8d.

A DIATRIBE OF MEASURING OF THE DISTANCE BETWIXT PLACE AND PLACE.

GEOMETRY is an art of measuring well.

The several nations of the world do not more differ in their languages, than in the various kinds and proportions of their measures. (Dr. Wilkins his *Essay toward a real Character*, part ii. ch. 7.)

That the foot was the most received and usual measure amongst the Romans, as the cubit amongst the Jews, is a thing not controverted by any. (Mr. Greaves of the *Roman Foot*.) As the denarius contained sixteen *asses*, so the foot contained sixteen *digiti*. *Mensurant Talmudici, aliquando per milliaria aliquando per paras, aliquando per dietas. Unamquamque harum comperies apud eos frequentissime.* (D. Lightf. *Decas Chorographica*, c. 8.)

The Roman *milliare* contains *mille passus*, as the very name imports; and every *passus* consists also of five feet, as Columella and Isidorus expressly tell us. (Mr. Greaves of the *Roman Foot*.) *Quem admodum Persæ parasangis, Egyptii schenis, Galli leucis, ita Latini millibus passuum lapidum mensuras designaverunt.* *Suritæ* Prefat. ad Comment. in *Antoni August. Itin.*

The sun, according to the mathematical computation, every hour, and that in respect of the earth only, by this course absolves 225 miles, in the day and night; and in respect of the earth, it runs over 5400 miles. How great, then, will its course be in respect of its orb.

The philosophers are of opinion that the earth, together with the sea, do contain in compass, or circuit, 6300 Dutch miles. *Totius globi terreni ambitus est milliarium Germanicorum communium, 5400.* (Keck. *System. Geog.* lib. i. ch. 4.)

The Romans used to measure out the distance betwixt one place and another, by thousands of paces, which they call *milliaria*, miles; and whereas there was placed at each mile's end, a stone or pillar, the word *lapis* came to be used to signify a mile, as, *ad decimum lapidem posita urbs*, a city ten miles off. *A mille est milliare ac milliary, mille passuum spatium.* *Vossii Etymolgicon Linguae Latinæ.* *Notissimum lapides veteribus dictos pro milliariis, quæ singulæ singulis lapidibus denotabantur.* (Barth. ad *Rutil.* l. ii. *Animadvers.*)

Ad lapidem Torquatus habet prætoria quartum, (Mart. *Epig.* l. x. *Epig.* 79.) Whence grew also the usual phrase, *Ad tertium quartum quintum ab urbe lapidem*, for three, four, or five miles from the city. Sir Henry Saville, in his notes on the first book of Tacitus his History, where he also observes; that as there were *milliaria lapidea*, little pillars of stone, erected by order from C. Gracchus, at the end of every mile; so there was mil-

iarium aureum, a golden pillar set up by Augustus; so called, because from thence began the account of miles. There are still in the Appian-way several *columnæ* or *lapides milliarii*, standing, whereby the Romans divided and distinguished their miles, which occasioned those phrases, *ad primum*, *ad quartum*, *ad centesimum lapidem*. *Columna quædam in capite Romani fori, in quam omnes Italiæ viæ terminabantur.* (Salmuth in Pancirolli Nova Reperta, tit. 16.) The *columna milliaria*, from which they began to measure, is still in the court before the capitol at Rome.

Mr. Greaves.⁴³ Among the divers measures which geographers use to shew the dimension of the earth, the most usual are these.

First, a geometrical pace, which is five feet.

Secondly, a furlong, which is 125 paces, or 625 feet.

Thirdly, a mile, which is eight furlongs, or 1000 paces.

Fourthly, a league, which is two miles in the quantity of measures, we go from a barley-corn to a finger-breadth, from a finger-breadth to an inch; from an inch to a hand-breadth, from an hand-breadth to a span, from a span to a foot, from a foot to a pace, and so forth to a perch, a furlong, a league, a mile.

Keckerman, in his *System of Geography*, (l. i. c. 4.) saith, the general instruments of measure are either lesser, a barley-corn, a finger, a palm, a foot; or greater, a pace, a furlong, a mile. He saith, the pace is either simple two feet and a half, or geometrical, five feet.

The Sabbath-day's journey, (Acts i. 12.) was the space of two thousand paces, that is, half a German mile. (Victorinus Strigelius in loc.) There are *mensuræ applicationis*, as a span, a cubit, a yard. *Et mensuræ capacitatis*, either of things liquid, a pint, quart, pottle, gallon, firkin, barrel, hogshead, pipe, tun, or things dry; a peck, bushel, quarters.

The Greeks did mete out the distances of places by *stadia* or furlongs; one stadium doth contain 125 paces; hence, eight stadia make one Roman mile, that is 1000 paces. Mr. Greaves saith, seven Greek stadia and a half, make a Roman mile. *Stadium apud Romanos DCXXV. pedes Romanos facit, apud Græcos DC. pedes Græcos.* Dilh. Disputat. Academ. tomus 1. *Stadium quod Latine curriculum dicitur, locus erat, in quo homines et equi cursitabant, et athletæ certabant, a statione, quod Hercules eo spatio uno spiritu confecto constitisset.* Onuphrius Panvinus de Ludis Circensibus, l. ii. c. 1.

Furlong, quasi a furrow long, a furrow, *hoc est quod longitudinem sulci determinatur*, a 125 paces. *Sulcum nostri dicunt agricolæ id quod uno progressu aratrum describit antequam regreditur.* Spelmanni Glossarium.

An acre mentioned, 1 Sam. xiv. 14. and Isa. i. 10. *Jugerum est quantum jugum bonum uno die potest exarare.* (Peter Martyr, in 1 Sam. xiv.) An acre is so much land as a couple of oxen are able to plough in one day. Among the Romans it was esteemed to be 240 feet in length, and 120 in breadth. See *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. xviii. c. 3.

The Persians made use of their kind of measure called *parasanga*, and by them at this day *farsach*, whereof each did contain thirty stadia, four miles, saith L'Empereur, in his notes on *Benjamin's Itinerary*. *Est vox parasangæ Persica, ac socero meo Fr. Junio in Elogio Linguae Hebrææ videtur corrupta ex parasch, hoc est, eques et aggarus, hoc est, tabellio. Quia nempe sic vocaretur intervallum inter duo loca, quibus equum mutaret tabellio.* Vossii Etymologicon Linguae Latinæ.

See of it in Mr. Greaves's Epistle to Mr. Selden, before his discourse of the *Roman Foot and Denarius*. Musladinus Sadus calls them *parseng*, the Arabians *fersach*, and the Latins *parasanga*. Gentius. Whence the Latins use that phrase, *multis parasangis superare*.

Among the Greeks and Romans for measuring, the perch was in use, as in these times

⁴³ *Intervalla locorum certis signis distinguere publico quasi gentium consensu receptum est: ut puta in Italiâ millibus passuum in Græcia stadiis; in Perside parasangis, quod nomen hodie in ea gente remanet, in Syria schanis in Gallia et Hispania leucis, quod adhuc retinetur: in Germania rustis, ut est apud Hieronymum.* Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. l. 5.

in Europe, among the Egyptians, Arabians, and Persians, the *parasanga* and *schœnus*. Among the Hebrews, the *kane* or *reed*, *Angelo Crator*.

Now a days the name of *mile* is most used by the Italians, Germans, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, English, Scots.

Keckerman, in the book and chapter before quoted; saith, a mile is either proper, containing 1000 paces; which being always used in Italy is called Italian; or improper, either a league or a German mile: A league (saith he) is either old, that is, a proper mile and a half, or new, (which they call a French mile) two proper miles. Four German miles is either common, 4000 paces, or great, 5000 paces.

The Spaniards and French mete out their distance of places by leagues, *leuca* or *leuga*, which are of a different length, as the miles in other nations. Peter Martyr in his *Decades* saith, a league contains four miles by sea, and but three by land. From Spain to Hispaniola is 1200 leagues. *Leuca perperam, ut puta, vulgo nuncupatur, cum leuva sit genuinum nomen, quod cursum et destinatum certum spatium cursus denotat.* Barthi. ad Rutil. l. 2. *Animadvers. vide Spelmanni Glossarium. Leuca recentioris mensuræ nomen. Massæus, Hist. Ind. lib. 1.*

The Russians or Muscovites reckon their distances of places by a certain space, which they in their native tongue call *vorest*.

Purchas, in his *Pilgrims*, speaks of the *cose* among the Chinois and East-Indians. The *course* or *cose*, saith he, is a mile and a half, sometimes two miles. Most English mathematicians accord with the Italians, and reckon sixty miles to a degree. The Gothic and Swedish mile is five or six Italian miles, sometimes eight. The common English mile makes one and a half Italian; Villamont saith, that a French league contains two Italian miles. An English mile containeth 5280 foot.

The common German mile, being for the most part in plain, makes more than three English, or five Italian miles; but in some places the solitude, and the ascent of mountains make the miles of Germany seem much longer; one Dutch mile and a half makes a mile of Switzerland. The miles of Switzerland being over continual mountains are so long, as the passengers distinguish their journey more by the spaces of hours, than by the distances or number of miles. The miles of Bohemia and Moravia are no less tedious, and though the length of the Switzers and Bohemian miles, may in part be attributed to the climbing of the mountains and bad way, yet no such reason can be given for the miles of Moravia, which country is either a plain, or full of little pleasant hills, and the ways fair, and the country well inhabited.

The Low-Country miles are of a middle length, between the German and French miles, among which the miles of Holland and Friezeland are longer than the rest. The mile of Denmark is somewhat longer than three English miles, and answereth to the common German mile. The miles of Poland generally are like the miles of Denmark. The Turks at this day have no distinction of their ways by miles, nor days by hours. Ychan is a kind of measure among those of China, the journey of one day. A cubit is the length of a man's arm, from his elbow to the top of his middle finger; it contains six hand breadths, or a foot and an half. It was the most common measure in dimensions of length, breadth, height, and depth, among the Jews, Gen. vi. 15. Exod. xxv. 10. *Massæus, Hist. Ind. l. vi. Cubitus dictus plerisque videtur à cubando. Vossii Etymologicon Linguae Latinæ. Jos. iii. 4. John xxi. 8.*

Some say the cubits were of two sorts, the civil or common cubit, consisting of one foot and an half, six hand breadths, twenty-four finger-breadths, and eighteen thumb breadths, and the sacred, or holy cubit, that consisted of an hand-breadth, or four fingers more than that other. (Ezek. xl. 5. and xliii. 13. *Vide l'Empereur præfat. ad Cod. Middoth.*) *Plerique tam Ebræorum, quam nostrorum qui eos sequuntur, duplicem in illo populo fuisse mensuram velunt ejusdem nominis, unam communem, quæ minor fuerit; alteram sacram, quæ major: itaque communem cubitum fuisse quinque palmorum, sacrum autem sex. Rivetus in Exod. xxv. 10. Vide plura ibid.*

Mr. Ley, on Gen. v. 15. mentions three sorts of cubits.

1. The common cubit containing five palms of four fingers breadth.
2. The cubit of the sanctuary one palm more, Ezek. xl. 5.
3. The geometrical cubit, six times as great as the common cubit. See him on Gen. xx. 16. and on Deut. iii. 11. and *Dutch Annotat.* on Gen. vi. 15.

Epiphanius has written *De Mensuris*. And Casper Wolphius hath put out an alphabetical enumeration of the famous men, who have written of the doctrine of weights and measures.

Quæstio Quodlibetica; or a Discourse, whether it may be lawful to take Use¹ for Money.

In omni ardua dubietate censeo faciendum; ut primo omnium quæramus et sequamur quid super hoc lex divina præscripsit, quæ si nihil certum exprimit recurratur ad Canones et exempla Sanctorum, ubi si nihil certum occurrit tandem explorentur ingenia et consilia sapientum in timore Domini.

JOHAN. SARISBURIENSIS, Epist. 198.

London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Prince's Arms in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1653.

[Duodecimo, One Hundred and Ninety Pages.]

Sir Robert Filmer, to whom this tract is ascribed, was a man who deserves to be better known than has yet been his fate. The slight notice of him in the Biographical Dictionary, says little more than that he was the son of Edward Filmer of East Sutton in Kent, was born in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and educated in Trinity-college Cambridge. But, (as has been elsewhere observed) he seems well intitled to a niche in the Temple of Fame, as a man of great learning, and as a very various writer; however warped he may occasionally be by prejudice, and bigotry of opinion. He wrote, amongst other things, Observations upon Aristotle's Politics, which are extremely well worth the perusal of those who are fond of speculations upon government. He wrote, too, a very singular treatise upon the difference between an Italian witch and an English witch. His celebrated work The Patriarcha, in which he derives all power from paternal authority, and from Adam, is better known in general by the Answers to it, than by itself. Some account of the Author is prefixed to the edition of 1680 of this work, in a letter from the learned Dr. Heylin to Sir Robert Filmer's son, in which, among other things in praise of him, he says—'So affable was his conversation, his discourse so rational, his judgment so exact in most parts of learning, and his affections to the church so exemplary in him, that I never enjoyed a greater felicity in the company of any man living than I did in his.'

¹ [Use is here employed in the sense of usury, or interest for money.]

The Editor has not met with any list of Filmer's works, but the following occur in catalogues, under his name.

The Anarchy of a limited and mixed Monarchy, (in answer to Phil. Hunton's *Treatise on Monarchy*) 1646, 4to. 1652, 1679.

On Government, 1652, 4to.

Observations on Government, 1680.

Two Treatises on Government, 1690. (Qu.—Whether some or all of these are not the same?)

On Usury, 1653, 1678, 12mo.

The Freeholder's Grand Inquest, 1679, 8vo. 1680, 8vo.

Patriarcha, or the Natural Power of Kings, 1680, 8vo. 1685, 8vo.

Power of the King of England, 1680, fol.

Discourse on Money, 1696, 8vo.

To the Reader.

AS soon as I had understanding in the affairs of this world, I became sensible how grievous it was to lie under the heavy disease of paying interest, consideration, or use, (term it how you will) for money: and finding it generally condemned by those whose judgments and learning I did most esteem, I began to question with myself whether the sin were not of that nature that I myself, in paying, did concur in the same offence with the taker, according to that of St. Paul,² in the vulgar Latin, *qui talia agunt digni sunt morte, non solum qui faciunt sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus*. Which doubt I found after propounded by Aquinas (2a. 2æ. q. 78. a. 4.) but neither so resolved by him, or his learned commentator Cajetan, as that I received satisfaction in the point. Upon which occasion I began to search farther; and as for the scripture, I confess the prohibitions in it seemed to me to have much of the laws framed for no other than the commonwealth of the Jews; and to be of the same nature the jubilee,³ the cities for refuge,⁴ the release⁵ to be made every seventh year, were: for it is no way probable God who commanded them neither to vex, nor oppress a stranger,⁶ (which it is apparent was of such an one to them as they were to the Egyptians) would have permitted the free exercise of use towards him, could it not have been without either oppression or vexing: And prohibited the Jews, who (either in respect of their often releases and jubilees) could not give the assurances might be required in such contracts; or for some other reasons alone known to the divine wisdom. As for the other places in the Psalms, Ezekiel, &c. they ever seemed to me no more prohibitions, but were to be referred to the first limitations of it. Besides, what was methought very considerable, no one writer I met with condemned the taking increase upon loan of money, if offered with willingness, and not contracted for, be the party never so poor that paid it, yet I observed that to be against Levit. xxv. 36. as all oppression in buying and selling; verse 14.

Touching the practice of the primitive christians, there is nothing more plain than that it was not only common amongst them, but allowed by laws, for proof of which there needs no more than the title DE USURIS, found in both the Codex of Theodosius and Justinian, and that in so high a manner as the Emperor Constantine, at the very time the council of Nice sat, seems to have moderated the excess,⁷ yet so as he that lent two bushels was to receive a third—*usuræ nomine, quæ lex ad solas pertinet fruges. nam pro pecuniâ ultra singulas centesimas creditor vetatur accipere*. I know it is not without question what is the meaning of *centesima*; Acursius says it was as much as the principal in a

² Rom. i. 32.

³ Deut. xv. 1, 2.

⁴ Levit. xxv. 8.

⁵ Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9.

⁶ Numb. xxxv. 11. Deut. xix. 3.

⁷ De usuris, leg. 1. Cod. Theod. l. 2.

year. *Est centesima quæ sorti in anno æquiparatur.*⁸ And elsewhere gives this example. *Sors est duodecim usura fit in anno quatuor, sed etsi octo tunc est besis, si æquiparatur sorti tunc est centesima.*⁹ And so understands it he that made the gloss upon Gratian. *Centesima dicitur usura quæ sorti æquiparatur in anno.*¹⁰ So that by Constantine's allowance, no man was to receive of fruits above a third; but for money by the year, the whole sum; which was intolerable. Others are of opinion that the Roman manner of paying for the loan of money, being by the month; which Horace shews—

*Hæc ubi locutus fænerator Alphius,
Jam jam futuris rusticus,
Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam;
Querit Kalendis ponere.*¹¹

And of a debtor to pay use—

*Tristes misero venere Kalendæ.*¹²

They, therefore, think no man should pay more than the hundredth part of the principal by the month, called therefore *centesima*,¹³ which was twelve per cent. in the year; a large increase enough to ruin any borrower. But be it which it will, it clearly shews, as the Emperor Valentinian and Theodosius say, usury or increase for money was *jure permissam*.¹⁴

Neither the lay alone, but bishops themselves (not so careful of their pastoral function as was fit) did *per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus non subvenire, habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus rapere, usuris multiplicantibus fœnus augere*,¹⁵ so that not content with what the law allowed, they did increase their stock by use upon use, which how unconscionable it might be, and how performed, I will not here dispute, he that would understand how it past, may read Acursius, his Gloss *ad leg. 28. Cod. Usuris*.

These exorbitances in the clergy procured the seventeenth canon in the council of Nice,¹⁶ which yet reached none but those that were *ἐν τῷ κανόνι*, ‘within the rule of the church,’ and is undoubtedly there set down not as a thing in its own nature bad, and forbid *jure divino*, but as we may say *jure positivo*, upon the church's command. For, first it did not extend to the lay, which had it been a sin in itself, could not have been exempted out of the command. Secondly, at the same time the Emperor, so renowned to all posterity for piety and equity in making laws, established the thing itself by an edict, as did divers godly princes who succeeded. Thirdly, it only provides for the future, *μετὰ τὸν ὅρον τῶν τῶν τῶν λαμβάνων*, ‘he that should after that time take usury,’ not with any reference to the past, which has been most inconsiderately omitted had the thing been in its own nature bad. As the heathens observed, laws looked not at offences past if the thing were not in its own nature faulty.¹⁷ So when it provides only for the future, without any censure of the past, there is a great probability it was tolerable before. Fourthly, the other particulars provided for with the like severity, are clearly *juris positivi*, as that none should use any manual occupation, for so I interpret *μεταχαρήσεως πρᾶγμα* there. Which, however it may be very indecently exercised in any of the clergy, yet certainly hath no other ground for being unlawful than the command of the church, for St. Paul doubtless did it, Act. v. xviii. 3. 1 Cor. iv. 12, &c. Lastly, the offence seems to be much in the quantity, for they exacted not less than *ἡμισία*, that is, ‘the whole and half.’

⁸ Gloss. ad. Novel. ii. c. 4. ad verbum Centesima.

⁹ Gloss. in Cod. de usuris, leg. 26. ad verb. Tertiam partem, et ad leg. 28. in principio.

¹⁰ Dist. xlvii. c. 2. verb. Centesima.

¹¹ Ode ii. in fine.

¹² Satyr. 3. lib. iii.

¹³ Budæus de Asse, l. i.

¹⁴ De usuris, Cod. Theod. leg. 2.

¹⁵ Cyprian de Lapsis Annotat. Pamel. 23. cap. 4.

¹⁶ Conc. general. edit. Romæ, 1608. p. 23.

¹⁷ Neque in ulla lege præteritum tempus reprehenditur nisi ejus rei quæ sua sponte scelerata ac nefaria est, ut etiam si lex non esset magnopere vitanda foret. Cicero, lib. iii. in Verrem, n. 76. p. 75. edit. Rob. Stephani. 1339.

Conformable to this decree of so famous a council, divers provincial ones held at Carthage,¹⁷ Arles, and elsewhere, did prohibit usury, but ever with the restriction to the clergy only; indeed the council of Carthage being put in mind by one that in his parts it was condemned in church-men; Gratus, the bishop of that see, replies *quod in laicis reprehenditur, id multo magis in clericis oportet prædamnari*, which plainly shews it not to be condemned as in its own nature a sin, for then the lay, as well as the priest, had been in all times culpable, but as of that which however in some it might be tolerable, yet was not fitting for them to exercise. And truly the excesses then taken did so much pass all proportion of charity, as it well deserved reprehension, and cause the fathers speak with more earnestness against it than other sins to which men were by nature less addicted than that of covetousness. And for proof of it, there needs no other testimony than that of Justinian, whose care was *veterem duram et gravissimam usurarum molem ad mediocritatem ducere, &c.* and doth therefore establish what should be taken; too long to be here inserted; he that would know more particularly may have recourse to the law itself.¹⁸ It sufficeth me, that the Emperor having there proportioned what people of several conditions should take, he concludes, *Ceteros autem omnes homines dimidiam tantummodo centesimæ usurarum nomine posse stipulari, et eam quantitatem usurarum etiam in aliis omnibus casibus nullo modo ampliari, in quibus citra stipulationem usuræ exigi solent*: what *dimidium centesimæ* was, I must refer you to that I have said before, though Acursius explains it to be half the principal, by this verse, *Quære semisses possunt communiter omnes*. It seems by Novel. 121, 138. and other laws, use in those times, however thus moderated by the Emperor, (who likewise took away use upon use¹⁹) was very high.

If any shall question how these laws were censured by the holy fathers of those times, I confess myself to have read nothing in particular of those concern usury, yet, in general, Eusebius observes²⁰ Constantine reduced old laws to more equity, and indeed so we find him to have done,²¹ even those did pertain to debts, which are of near relation. And of Justinian we find this testimony in the sixth general council, ὑπὲρ πάντας ζηλωτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως, ὁ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὃς τινος ἢ ὀρθότης τῆς πίστεως ὁπόσον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὁμολογίας τῷ Θεῷ ἠρέζε, τοσαύτον τὴν χριστιανικωτάτην πολιτείαν ὕψωσε. καὶ μέχρι τῆ νῦν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ αὐτὴ θεοσεβὴς μνήμη προσκυνήσεως ἀξιοῦται, ὃς τινος ἢ ὀρθότης τῆς πίστεως διὰ τῶν σεβασμίων αὐτῆς ἠδίκτων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διαχεθεῖσα ἐπαινεῖται.²² Which I translate thus: ‘Justinian, a king of happy memory, above all things jealous of the true and apostolic faith, the truth of whose belief, as much as it did please God by his sincere confession, so much did he raise the most christian policy; the godly memory of whose devotion is to this day famous, and the truth of his faith, dispersed throughout all the world by his imperial edicts, is praised.’ And somewhat after, τῇ τελευταίᾳ μὲν, ὅμως δὲ πάντων ἐξοχωτέρῃ, τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκείνῃ Ἰουστινιανῇ ὃς τινος ὡς ἡ ἀρετὴ, ὅτῳ καὶ ἡ εὐσεβεῖα εἰς κρατῖονα τάξιν ἀνεκαίνισε τὰ πάντα.²³ that is, ‘The great Justinian, the last, but most worthy of all, whose virtue and godliness reduced all things to a better order.’ How can we then imagine princes so pious, so careful to correct all they found amiss, should permit what was so full of sin as some now take it to be?

And thus, for aught I know, stands it amongst the eastern christians to this day, unless the Mahometan have made in some parts an alteration. But in Europe, after the year 800, that Charles the Great divided the empire, it received some change; for in his Capitulars we find a clear determination that it ought not to be; *usuram non solum clerici sed nec laici exigere debent*:²⁴ which is the first prohibition I have at all met laid upon the lay. The council of Nice, and the canons attributed to the apostles,²⁵ did condemn it in the clergy, and so likewise did some particular synods. And that of Carthage did not ap-

¹⁷ Conc. Carthag. 1. cap. 13. Arelaten. 1. c. 12. Arcl. 11. c. 14.

¹⁸ De usuris, leg. 26. Cod. Just.

¹⁹ Ibid. leg. 28.

²⁰ De Vita Constantini, l. i. c. 26.

²¹ De Exactionibus, leg. 3. lib. xi. Cod. Theod.

²² Concil. general. p. 45. b. tom. iii. edit. Rom. 1612. Act. 4. Sext. Synod.

²³ Ibid. p. 58. Eprope finem Actionis 4.

²⁴ Carol. Magn. et Ludovic. pii. capit. lib. v. cap. 36. lib. i. c. 5, 38, 130, &c.

²⁵ Can. Apost. cap. 44. at post Gratian. cap. 43.

prove it in them; and Leo the First, who went farthest, did grieve, *condolere*,²⁶ the exercise of it did *cadere in laicos qui Christianos se dici cupiunt*, intimating it had been a greater perfection of charity, had they abstained from it; but none extended to a command, or to determine it a thing they ought not to do, before this decree of the emperor; which no doubt wanted not pens to defend it; for about two hundred years after, certain learned men collecting out of councils and fathers, such rules as were most apt for the government of the church, and direction of a christian, called therefore canonists, as those who were the beginners of the canon law, such were Burchardus, bishop of Wormes, Ivo of Chartres, and Gratian, a Benedictine monk, who writ the last of them, yet began his work 1151, and finished it ten years after;²⁷ neither of them omitted sundry chapters in condemnation of usury,²⁸ and were therein followed by canonists, casuists, and schoolmen, insomuch as there is hardly any collection of the canon law since,²⁹ without one title *de usuris*, it turning infinitely to the advantage of the *ecclesiastic*, who by that was made judge of almost all agreements between man and man, as who shall read the title in the canon law, and what the doctors have writ of usury, restitution upon it, and participation with the usurer, &c. may plainly discern. And not content with what hath past *in foro animæ*, in private, they have gone so far as a temporal judge, being sometimes ready to give sentence upon a contract, hath been stopt by the ecclesiastic, on a pretence the bargain was usurious.³⁰ Yet the necessity of human commerce hath caused divers, so great enemies to the name of use, with their 'mountains of piety,'³¹ their distinctions of *lucrum cessans*, and *damnum emergens*, to palliate so the thing itself, as to call that no usury, which hath the same effect, at least to my understanding.

After the year 1200 much of the ecclesiastic power, especially what concerned heresy, was delegated by the pope to certain inquisitors, (called since the court of inquisition) whom Alexander the Fourth,³² about the year 1255, did expressly charge not to meddle with any question of usury, though there wanted not some, who in that age affirmed, *usura non fosse peccato mortale*, as appears by history; and that resolution of Clement the Fifth³³ in the council of Vienna, 1311. *Si quis in illum errorem inciderit ut pertinaciter affirmare præsumat, exercere usuras non esse peccatum, Decernimus eum velut hæreticum puniendum*. Upon which the inquisitors grew very busy in many parts. At Florence, in the year 1345,³⁴ upon a great disorder that then fell out, they were forced by laws conformable to those of Perugia, Spain, &c. to regulate their power, though in Arragon,³⁵ by a bull of Leo the Tenth, it seems they now proceed in such causes. In Venice, that wise state would never admit the inquisition, *Che si trattino causa di usura di qual si voglia sorte*,³⁶ to meddle with any kind of usury, nor the trade of any artisan, &c.

Touching the church of England, farther than that the council of Nice was received

²⁶ Leo, *Epist.* 1. cap. 3. p. 5.

²⁷ *Hist. Bologn. de Ghirardacci, lib. iii.*

²⁸ Burch. lib. ii. cap. 129. Ivo. par. vi. cap. 196. et par. xiii. in principio Gratian. Dist. xlvii. caus. 14. q. 3.

²⁹ *Decretal. lib. v. tit. 19. in sexto. lib. v. tit. 5. Clement. lib. v. tit. 5, &c.*

³⁰ Hieron. de Ceval. de *Cognitione per Viam violentiæ*, par. ii. q. 96.

³¹ A Mountain of Piety, is a stock of money raised by the charity of good people, who observing the poor ruined by the usury of Jews, did voluntarily contribute good store of treasure, to be preserved and lent unto them, whereby they, upon security, might have money at a low rate to relieve their wants, which because the mass is great, and the thing pious and charitable in itself, is called a Mountain of Piety. But in respect to the officers and other charges incident unto it, cannot be had without some emolument, therefore the borrower pays somewhat by the month for the loan of that he receives. *Cajet. Opusc. de Monte Pietat. cap. 1.*

There is another sort, which is, when a prince or state hath need of a good quantity of money, and doth for his supply, either impose a loan upon particular men, or voluntarily receive a good sum from them, and for their security assigns of his revenue five, six, seven, or eight per cent. This differs from use-money with us, in that the lender cannot at his will call it in, or make use of the money itself, otherwise than by transferring his right in the bank to another, only the prince at his pleasure may, by paying all in, dissolve the bank. Antonin. par. ii. tit. 1. cap. 11. in principio. And there wants not learned men which hold both these ways of receiving increase to be usurious, and likewise that defend the contrary, that neither of them is.—See Mattheo Villani, lib. iii. cap. 106.

³² *In sexto de Usuris, c. 8, 9. de Quæstionibus.*

³³ *In Clement. de Usuris, cap. unico. et Giovan. Villani. lib. xii. c. 57.*

³⁴ *Giovan. Villani. ib.*

³⁵ *Ludovi, a Paramo, de Origine Inquisit. lib. ii. c. n. 36.*

³⁶ *Trattato d' Inquisitione, c. 23, 30, 31.*

both by the Britons³⁷ and Saxons,³⁸ even at the very first, I know no particular prohibition of usury, if we omit that imperfect clause in the council of Calcuith,³⁹ about 787, till Edward the Confessor, who, having lived long in France, and seasoned with the principles of that kingdom, did,⁴⁰

First, banish all usurers out of his kingdom.

Secondly, if any after that prohibition should be found to exercise it, he then confiscated all he had.

Thirdly, he barred them of the protection the law afforded, and gives this reason, that having lived in the French court, he had learnt *quod usura radix omnium malorum esset*. But as a learned gentleman wisely observes, 'too severe laws are never duly executed;'⁴¹ so happened it with this, which certainly was not all put in practice in England, for in the year 1126, in a council held at Westminster, by Cardinal de Crema, the pope's legate, and the clergy of England, we find it only prohibitory to those of the church;⁴² *Usuram et turpe lucrum clericis omnimodis prohibemus, qui vero super crimine tali confessus fuerit aut convictus, à proprio gradu dejiciatur*. And again, in another held at the same place, by Albericus⁴³ bishop of Hostia, the pope's legate, 1138, thus, *Fæneratores clericos et turpia lucra sectantes, et publica secularium negotia procurantes, ab officio ecclesiastico nihilominus removendos censemus*: which is indeed no more than a renewing the Nicene canon, of which before. After this I do not remember any one made directly against it in England. Neither hath Lynwood any title of it, though there be so many in the common law, nor at all that I know doth he touch upon it, unless in one⁴⁴ place, and that very lightly, which shews clearly it was not much prosecuted here.

By these steps that which at the first was exercised by bishops and others, afterwards forbid the clergy, as what might⁴⁵ entangle them in the affairs of this world, and shew minds too greedy of filthy lucre,⁴⁶ allowed by so many imperial edicts of the most pious emperors, first became disliked in the lay, after that prohibited, and then they proceeded so far, as to determine, [that] to affirm it no sin, was heretical.

Upon the whole matter I could not conclude, either by express words or necessary inference out of scripture, or the practice of the primitive church, either giving or taking use for money lent, to be in its own nature amongst christians sinful, so as no other circumstance made it so, as either the exacting the height the law permitted, or upon the borrower's poverty, not accepting what he is willing and able to pay, but with rigour forcing from him the uttermost penalty, or using some other way against charity, not so fit for me to explicate; in short, I saw no reason not to submit to that of Alstedius, *Usura non est intrinsicè sive suo genere mala, sed est res indifferens*;⁴⁷ nor to deny that of Calvin, *Nullo testimonio scripturæ mihi constat usuras omnino damnatas esse*.⁴⁸

Yet I do not take upon me to determine it to be absolutely lawful, I leave that to some learned divine, only I have here historically related what I met with in the inquiry. I know many of conscience and learning are of a contrary opinion, and I take this to be of that nature St. Augustine⁴⁹ in one place held purgatory, *utrum ita sit, quæri potest et aut inveniri aut latere*, that every man ought to satisfy himself, and do accordingly. Men of great sincerity and judgment may differ in theological tenets. Cardinal Cajetan, (of that integrity Chamier hath left this testimony of him, *vir meo judicio quavis papista tamen candidus, plurimumque distans ab ea pertinacia quam in reliquis deplorare cogimur*,⁵⁰) is fully of opinion the paying money for loan to those banks [which] are called mountains of piety is

³⁷ Epist. Constant. apud Socr. lib. i. c. 6. et apud Theod. lib. i. Hist. cap. 10.

³⁸ Beda, l. lib. iv. c. 17.

³⁹ C. 17. p. 299. Concil. Spelm.

⁴⁰ Cap. 37. Leg. Ed. p. 151.

⁴¹ Cook, Instit. iii. c. 74. p. 163.

⁴² Sim. Dunelm. an. 1126, col. 254. 19. at Contuat Florent. Wigorn, an. 1125, p. 501.

⁴³ Apud Richard. Hagulstad. p. 327. 66.

⁴⁴ De Pignoribus, c. unico, verbo Usura, fol. 81. a.

⁴⁵ 2 Tim. ii. 4.

⁴⁶ 1 Tim. iii. 8.

⁴⁷ Cas. Conscien. c. 20. n. 29. p. 418.

⁴⁸ Epist. 383.

⁴⁹ Enchirid. c. 69. tom. iii.

⁵⁰ Cham. de Canone, tom. i. lib. xii. c. 1. n. 34. p. 424.

unlawful and usurious.⁵¹ Cardinal Tollet, in whose writings, to use Casaubon's words, *cum eccellente rerum philosophicarum et theologicarum notitia par certat modestia*,⁵³ is clearly contrary and against him, holding them very lawful. In these disputes I cannot but think of that of *Aqu. Quando questio qua queritur de aliquo utrum sit peccatum mortale vel non nisi ad hoc habeatur auctoritas expressa scripturæ sacræ, aut canonis, seu determinationis ecclesiæ, vel evidens ratio, non nisi periculosissime determinatur*;⁵⁴ and indeed, if he mean by the determination of the church, the four, nay that of faith that was resolved in the six first general councils, I know nothing to oppose against it; but of this too much.

Whilst I was thus in search, this piece I now give thee ([which] was written almost thirty years since by a very learned gentleman, for satisfaction of a person of worth and relation unto him) fell into my hands, from whence some friends importunate for copies of it, I fearing the thing itself might receive injury by ill transcribers (as those of some famous writers⁵⁵ have done) adventured the putting it to the press, not knowing how the author may interpret this my bold attempt in doing it without his command. The reader therefore cannot expect it should come out so perfect as it might have done, had it past his last eye. Yet if thou find any just cause of exceptions, let them be known, before the gravel, stone, or some infirmity make the writer unable to give thee and the world further satisfaction. However, such as I received it I give it unto thee, and if thou beest a lender and it shall not satisfy thee in the receiving profit for loan of money, I can assure thee it hath me fully in the paying of it. Farewell.

East-Peckham,

Oct. 9, 1652.

ROGER TWISDEN.

THE PREFACE.

IF exceptions be taken either to the argument or author of these notes, the answer must be, 'this question of usury concerns no article of faith;' but is a point of morality, and case of conscience, and in that regard it admits of a disputation without scandal: the rather, for that the church of England hath not defined or described usury. The divines of the reformed churches are divided in this controversy; the greatest part of them oppose or mislike the rigid assertion of such as condemn all contracts for gain by lending; namely, Bishop Babington, Mr. Perkins, Dr. Willet, Dr. Mayer, Mr. Brinsley, and others here at home: and abroad, Calvin, Martyr, Bucer, Bullinger, Danæus, Hemin-gius, Zanchius, Ursinus, Bucanus, Junius, Polanus, Molineus, Scultetus, Alstedius, Ame-sius, Grotius, Salmasius.

The author, though he be neither divine by calling, nor by profession a scholar, yet as he is a rational man, he may, and as he is a christian he ought, for the direction of his own practice, to examine what may be done with a safe conscience, and what not. The civilians and canonists frequently dispute of the nature of usury, he knows not but that any other laic may do the like. The argument was first undertaken for the satisfac-tion of the tenderness of the conscience of others, and not to justify any practice of the author's, who hath always given, but not taken usury. This point of usury, as it is at this day controverted, is a mere popish question; first broached by the schoolmen and cano-nists, no ancient father or writer that I know of ever defined or disputed it. Since the reformation, Melancthon and Chemnitius are the only noted men abroad; and here at home, Dr. Downam, now bishop of Londonderry in Ireland, Dr. Fenton, and learned Dr. Andrews, late bishop of Winchester. I have made choice of Dr. Fenton's treatise to examine, because it is the latest, and I find little of any moment but is in him. I desire his book may be first thoroughly read, for otherwise, what I write will not so easily be understood. To give some brief account to the reader of the substance of the scattered

⁵¹ Cajet. Opuscul. tom. iii. de Monte Pietat. cap. 6, 9.

⁵³ Casaub. ad Frontonem Duacum. Epist. p. 38.

⁵⁴ Quæst. quodlibet ut citatur apud Antonin. par. ii. c. 11. sect. 29.

⁵⁵ S. Aug. Retract. 2. cap. 13.

arguments in this tractate, he must know, that my scope and intention is to shew that usury is nowhere in scripture forbidden to christians; but that it is as lawful as any other contract or bargain, unless the laws of the land do prohibit or moderate it as a point of state or policy. And that no state or commonwealth can or ever did stand without it, or that which in contracts is equivalent to it, since the valuation of the use of money is the foundation and rule which govern the valuation of all other sorts of bargains. I further maintain, that usury was never forbidden to the Jews; only (by reason that by a more special appointment of God they dwelt in a land in the midst of many strangers) Moses made a politic judicial law, that the Jews should take usury of those strangers, and not of their poor brothers: not much unlike as if the king should ordain in London, that citizens should take usury of men of Middlesex, and not of poor tradesmen of the city. More particularly, I undertake to manifest, that the definitions of usury (wherein Dr. Downam and Dr. Fenton, mainly differ between themselves) are neither warrantable by the rules of art, nor justifiable by any proof or ground in scripture, or by any testimony of antiquity either in councils or fathers. And that the laws given by God about usury are such as by the coherence of the texts, and the conference of other places, do shew that those laws did only intend a prohibition of taking usury of such as borrowed in case of extreme necessity, and were so poor that they were in charity to be relieved: and yet those laws which did in such case only prohibit usury to the Jews, were not moral or perpetual, but judicial and temporary, and no way bind us, but we are left to the laws and customs of the kingdom to guide us in our contracts, so long as they be not contrary to the rules of charity. I shew that all the properties of letting do agree to money; and that usury in itself is neither unnatural, ungodly, unjust, or uncharitable. Lastly, I do shew that Dr. Downam, Dr. Fenton, and all others that do most condemn usury, are forced to confess at last that usury may be lawful; they all allow the taking of interest, mortgages, annuities, and leases, for years; all which, by their own expositions and confessions, are of the same nature with usury, and do only differ in the manner of the security or contract; after they have eagerly disputed that all contracts for gain by lending are usurious; at the end they quietly conclude, that the contracts are not usury, but only the secret intention of the heart makes it to be usury or not usury.

Thus, in few words, they overthrow at last the foundation of their own doctrine, and play fast and loose by a multitude of their irresolute distinctions, so that either their conclusion must be that usury is lawful, or else they can conclude nothing at all.

If I wrong either Dr. Fenton, or the truth, I desire friendly to be shewed my error. I do not follow him here line by line, for so I might tire myself, and vex others with unnecessary tautologies: I have only endeavoured to extract the quintessence of his reasons, and to apply myself to the examination of them. His reasons, not his rhetoric, I except against, whether justly or unjustly let others judge, to whose censure I submit these papers.

I would fain know of the ministers of the Gospel, who do often reckon up in the pulpit usury as one of the crying sins, what warrant they have in the Gospel for such boldness: we find several sins numbered up by our Saviour and the apostles, but usury never so much as named for a sin in the whole New Testament. St. Paul, in the fifth to the Galatians, doth with one breath reckon up together seventeen sins which he reproves, and yet usury is none of them. But many preachers cannot reckon up seven deadly sins except they make usury one of them.

R. F.

An Examination of Dr. Fenton's Treatise of Usury.⁵⁶

Touching the Definition of Usury.

I LET pass his chapter of names of usury, because he confesseth that by them he hath proved 'little or nothing at all.'—(Page 12.)

The main point is the definition, which he saith must not be omitted, or slightly passed over, because it is a great and 'necessary question to resolve the understanding what that 'usury is, whereof we dispute;' (pag. 13.) And therefore he doth intitle his first book wholly about the Definition of Usury: although, when he comes unto the point, he doth nothing less than define it; as may thus appear. 'Actual usury (saith he, pag. 15.) 'is of divers diversly described, a variety tedious to relate.' First, instead of all unlawful usury, he speaks of a description of part only; to wit, of 'actual usury;' whereas he should first define, and then divide: but inverting the rule of method, he suffers 'mental 'usury,' (which he saith is a sin) to escape out of his description.

Neither doth he so much as describe actual usury, only he tells us of diversity of descriptions of others, but never lets us know which he approves. Yet at last he contracts the pith in three words, but resolves not how we should place them; so leaves us to a thus, or thus, or thus. First, he puts *lucre* in the place of the genus, and *covenant* in the room of a difference. Secondly, he makes *covenant* the genus, and *lending* the difference; and lastly, he puts *lending* for a genus, and *lucre* for a difference. Thus, by turning the genus into the difference, and the difference into the genus, he leaves us uncertain of his description, yet concludes that within 'the compass of three words we 'may find usury;' but who knows not that three words, diversly placed, breed many times different, and sometimes contrary senses. Yet this is all the definition you are like to find in him. And thus, in few lines, he passeth over slightly that necessary question which should resolve our understanding what usury is.

But let us draw a little closer, and examine the pith of these three descriptions cited by Dr. Fenton, and contracted in three words.

Pactum ex mutuo Lucrum.

Usury is - - - {
 { Lucre for loan upon covenant, or
 { The covenant of lucre for lending, or
 { Lending upon covenant for lucre.

1. Whereas he saith usury is lucre, he seems to make lucre or gain to be the genus of usury; this undoubtedly is a false genus, for certainly usury is a sin of commission, and therefore an action or operation; so that lucre or gain, which is only a passion or product of lending, cannot be the genus of it.

2. He maketh covenant to be the genus: let me ask him but this question; a father to stir up only, and try the industry of his son, doth lend him an hundred pound with a peirastical covenant for gain, not intending with himself, to take any interest at all of his son; doth any man take this to be usury in the father, who never meant to take the least increase from his son? Surely then the bare covenant cannot be the sin of usury in this case.

3. He saith, 'usury is lending upon covenant for lucre.' In this description, as also in the two former, I find a manifest contradiction of his own principles and grounds. To lend for gain is no lending at all; 'for lending, (saith he, pag. 16.) in its own proper nature, is free; letting is for hire or gain.' So that by this, his doctrine, lending for gain is no lending at all, but letting or hiring out: therefore, if Dr. Fenton had been true to his own principles, he should have defined usury to have been letting upon covenant for lucre; or

⁵⁶ [Printed in 1612, 8vo.]

in brief, letting or hiring of money. But both Dr. Fenton, and all other antidæmonists cannot endure to have usury called letting or hiring of money.

Moreover, I find in these three descriptions, that he imagineth the gain or lucre is for the bare act of lending; in which he is much mistaken: it is not for the lending, but for the using of the thing lent that men give usury: and answerable to the time for which money is let, the increase, or usury, is more or less, although the simple act of lending be alike in both. The ordinary word usury (which Dr. Fenton derives from *usus rei*, the use of the thing) teacheth, even children, that usury is given for the use of the thing, and not for the bare lending.

Again, in these his three descriptions, the word *Covenant* is perpetually found; without any warrant of scripture: yet he pretends by deduction to fetch it out of the text in Exod. xxii. 25. 'Thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him, thou shalt not oppress with usury.' In the original it is, 'thou shalt not exact,' and, thou 'shalt not impose usury.' From whence Dr. Fenton concludes, that there can be no exaction or imposition upon a free person, but by way of covenant. (pag. 26.) Under favour, this his inference is false; for exaction may be of things neither covenanted for, nor due. In the construction of our common law, and of our vulgar phrase, extortion and exaction are thus distinguished, extortion is a wrong in taking more than is due; exaction is the taking of that which is not due at all: which distinction were false, if that exaction must be by precedent contract. The poor Jews did ordinarily borrow victuals, money, and other necessities upon pawns, as may appear by many texts. The lender, who did take the pledge as a caution for his principal, might detain it from the poor borrower until he would allow some gain above the principal, and by such unjust means exact or impose an unconscionable increase without any precedent covenant.

There is small reason to imagine, that such indigent people as are described by Moses, who borrowed only to supply a present want, should have credit sufficient to take up so large a sum for so long a time as might deserve an obligation or covenant for the payment of increase. A man who could not have his bond taken, might yet have his garment received for a pledge; and pledges were ordinarily given with intention of speedy redemption, because raiment is almost as necessary as food. The borrowing in this kind being of things of so small value (that the use of them for a small season was hardly valuable) might be a great reason of the prohibition of usury by Moses in such cases. Neither is a man that lends upon pawns in the like hazard with him that takes bonds, or such security.

It is the confession of Dr. Fenton, that, 'when the law against usury was given, there was none that borrowed but only the poor for need, and upon necessity.' Therefore, without better warrant by direct and literal proof from the scripture, it cannot be evinced that this word *Covenant* must necessarily be required in the definition or description of usury, although Dr. Fenton conclude, 'it is no usury except it be by covenant,' or by some dumb contract at the least.

Dr. Downam omits this word covenant in his definition of usury. I am strongly persuaded by a place in Nehemiah, to think that usury doth not consist in contracting for gain. I find in the sixth chapter, a grievous oppression described; 'A great cry of the people against their brethren the Jews, they were forced to take up corn for themselves, their sons and daughters, upon mortgage of their lands, vineyards, and houses, they sold their children for bond-slaves.' These were men oppressed by contracts, and were to pay twelve in the hundred, as appeareth by the eleventh verse. And yet for all this, there are such passages and circumstances of the text as move me to think that this oppression was not properly usury.

First, Nehemiah never calls it usury, but only a burthen; neither the word *Neshec*, nor *Tarbith*, nor *Marbith*, is to be found in this chapter, and yet these are the only words in the law to express usury.

Secondly, Nehemiah never tells the nobles and the rulers, that they had broken the law against usury. Any man would think, that to rebuke and reclaim men from their sin, the

way had been, to have named it in particular, or the law by which it was prohibited : but Nehemiah doth neither of these, he only tells them, 'it was not good what they did,' and asks them 'if they ought not to walk in the fear of their God because of the reproach of the heathen their enemies;' not because of a particular law against usury, but for that the name of God should not be blasphemed by the heathens, when they saw how miserably the Jews did oppress one another.

Thirdly, Nehemiah tells the nobles, 'that he and his servants might have exacted as well as the other nobles:' whereas if this exacting had been usury, he could not justly say, 'that he might have exacted,' for it had been against the law.

Lastly, Nehemiah doth not threaten to punish them as he was a magistrate, but entreateth them by his charitable example, to leave off their exacting that burthen.

So then Nehemiah, never naming usury, nor mentioning the law against it, but supposing the act of the nobles to be lawful, but not expedient, doth incline my belief to think, that this oppression was not properly usury, although it had a covenant for gain.

And one reason why this was not usury might be, because the people were not primarily such poor necessitated brethren as are described in the first laws against usury : for though these fell into want, yet at the first they had lands, houses, vineyards, and olive-grounds, for which they were to pay unto the king a yearly tribute.

Another reason that avails with me to persuade that all contracts for gain are not prohibited as usurious, is the testimony of our Saviour, Luke xix. 23. who mentions a bank of usury in the Jewish commonwealth, out of which, a man by delivering in his money, might at length receive his own with usury. Although our Saviour do neither shew dislike nor approbation of such a bank, yet for it to be within any city of the commonwealth of Israel, without the ordinance, or at least allowance of the prince or magistrate, is a thing most improbable : and almost as unlikely that the state should tolerate such a bank if all usury were of itself unlawful, and also so pernicious to the commonwealth by the oppression of it as Dr. Fenton pretends.

I find many reproofs in the gospel of the false glosses and interpretations of the Scribes and Pharisees, whereby they perverted the law in many things; but I find not any rebuke of the magistrates for this of usury, if it had been such a public violation of the law, it could not have been forgotten by our Saviour Christ and all his apostles.

But to what purpose is it to dispute about the terms of the description of usury? or what sort of contract it is, when it appears plainly in Dr. Fenton, that not only the covenant of lending, but also (in his opinion) buying, selling, letting, exchanging and the rest, may be all contracts of usury. To give an instance, these are his words, (pag. 21.) 'With a hundred pound, I purchase an annuity of twenty pound per annum for ten years: this is bargain and sale, differing in the manner of the covenant, yet is it the same thing in truth with usury.' And so in another place, (pag. 129.) he saith the like. I must say this is an express contradiction, to affirm that purchasing is 'buying, and another manner of covenant, differing from lending,' and yet to say 'in truth it is the same with usury,' which he saith is lending, this is to make buying and lending all one, and to confound all contracts.

As the term of covenant is not to be found within the texts against usury, so in the fathers of the church, there is no mention of it; they abuse us therefore, who pretend the consent of the primitive church, for the condemning of all contracts of gain for the use of money. The truth is, the canonists and school-men were the first broachers of these descriptions of usury, which are now pressed upon us by some few modern divines. Antiquity was more modest and observant of the phrase of scripture, which doth deliver the laws against usury, in such restrained terms as are by a just construction applicable properly to the rules of charity and equity, for the relief of the poor only.

From the canon-lawyers, (who are the pope's learned counsel in the law,) hath Dr. Fenton borrowed not only his descriptions, but also his arguments, and distinctions, at the second or third hand; for he takes all from Dr. Downam; Dr. Downam from Melancthon and Chemnitius; and these two fetch it from canonists, casuists, and school-men. And

although Dr. Fenton be free from the sin of usury, by borrowing freely his whole treatise from Dr. Downam, without paying the interest of one new argument or reason: Yet if Dr. Fenton did not contract with Dr. Downam for the borrowing of the treatise, he is little less than a plagiarist, and if we take this word in as large signification as they do the usury, it will follow, that though Dr. Fenton be not guilty of paying usury, yet he hath offended against another law in Exod. xxi. 16. Deut. xxiv. 7. which is the greater sin; for although the law of God appoints no punishment for an usurer, yet a plagiarist was to be punished by death.

Of Testimonies of Scripture.

I should have proceeded now, to examine the properties of lending and letting, and how they differ; but because I find mention of them in several places of my author, I will reserve them a while, and first handle the texts of scripture, that are most material in this controversy.

Three texts only are to be found in the law of Moses, about usury. In the two first, the poor is most expressly named, and in the third necessarily implied. Exod. xxii. 25. 'If thou lend to my people the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him. 'Thou shalt not oppress with usury.' Levit. xxv. 35. 'If thy brother be impoverished or fallen into decay with thee, thou shalt relieve him—take thou no usury of him, or increase —thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals for increase.' By these two texts, we have an exact description of the poor, who must be one impoverished and fallen into decay, one whose hand (as the text is) is weakened and shaketh that he cannot labour, one whom thou hast need to receive and relieve, and one who is forced to borrow victuals for necessity. The third text, though it doth not expressly name the poor; yet that it hath reference only to such is most probable. First, because as in the former text in Levit. where the poor are described, and one of their properties mentioned to be borrowing of victuals, so in Deut. xxiii. 19. where the name of poor is omitted, yet the property of borrowing food is set down, which to be the custom only of the poor in extreme necessity, common experience doth daily teach us. Secondly, the law here doth only use the word of biting or *Nescher*, which word is also only used in the first text, where the poor is named. Thirdly, if we will allow, (as all men do, and as we needs must,) this law in Deut. to be the same with that in Exod. and Levit. then it must have the same object the poor, and the same end, which is the relief of the same poor, for we find no other reason or end alleged in scripture for the prohibition of usury, but that the 'poor brother may live with thee and have sufficient for his need.' God where he ties men to lend, he provides and binds them to lend freely. The law is, 'if there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother, but thou shalt open thy hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in which he wanteth.' Deut. xv. 7, 8. For the observation of this law, God was careful that this lending should be without usury: He makes no law to bind men to lend unto the rich, and therefore there is no law to restrain taking usury of them: the lending to the poor was to be so free that it must be in the next degree to giving, and we find that to this law that commanded lending, is added in the very next verse, 'thou shalt surely give him, and thy heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him.' Likewise in Levit. xxv. it is said, 'thou shalt relieve him,' and then it follows presently, 'take no usury of him.' Thus the scripture doth couple the work of charity with the prohibition of usury, to teach that they are both conversant about one, and the same object. Therefore he that shall make the rich also the object of this law in Deut. he must of necessity invent some new end and reason of it more than the scripture doth afford, and also make the laws themselves to differ; whereas a true reason why the law in Deut. is in so short terms, may be, for that the law having been twice before more particularly set down, Moses doth in Deut. only repeat it in brief and few words, as being sufficient to call it to their remembrance, now they were ready to enter into the land of

promise. If we consider also the unmercifulness of the Jews amongst themselves, it was high time to make provision for the poor, they would not stick it seems to strip a poor man stark naked for a debt, as appears by the law concerning the restitution of pledges before sun-set, if they were the 'covering only and raiment for the skin, wherein a man 'might sleep,' Exod. xxii. 26. Besides they would forbear to lend to the poor, because they were in danger to lose their debt, if they did not recover it before the seventh year. The law is Deut. xv. 1. 'Every seventh year, every creditor that lendeth ought unto his 'neighbour shall release it, that which is thine with thy brother thy hand shall release.' This releasing of debts had the same end with the prohibition of usury, the relief of the poor, and although this law of releasing be delivered in the general terms of neighbour and brother, yet they must be understood only of the poor brother as it is most apparent by the exception following in the fourth verse, which saith this release must be 'save where there shall be no poor among you:' and in the 11. verse, after the releasing of debts, and the lending to the poor enjoined, the conclusion is, 'for 'the poor shall never cease out of the land, therefore lend to thy brother, to thy 'poor, and to thy needy in the land.' These places do teach us that this word brother is sometimes in a special sense used for the poor. This law of releasing made men afraid to lend, and therefore God warns them in the ninth verse, 'beware that there be not a 'thought in thy wicked (or Belial) heart, saying, the seventh year, the year of release is at 'hand; and thy eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought.'

Now since the law of God which prohibiteth usury only in three places, hath in the two first expressly named the poor, and described them, and in the third clearly intimated them, by what reason, conscience, and charity, can any man extend those laws to all men in general, which the Holy Ghost hath so carefully restrained to the poor? And since the law first given against usury, doth mention oppression of the poor, I wonder Dr. Fenton would not fetch his definition from the text, and call usury oppressive lending to the poor: but never mentioning oppression of the poor, he calls it 'a covenant of gain 'for lending;' which is quite beside the text, which seems only to forbid usury to such as stand in need to be relieved by our charity.

And for this cause I do conjecture Calvin did say, that unto him it did not appear by any testimony of scripture, that all usury is altogether condemned; and it is conceived that one reason why the law of Moses doth appoint no kind of judicial punishment for usury, might be, because the sin is determinable only by the judgment of a man's own conscience and not by any precedent contract for gain.

As for those texts in the Psalms, Proverbs, and Ezekiel, their general words cannot make any new law, but their rebukes and exhortations relate to the breach or observance of the law formerly given by Moses: And even Ezekiel who most declaims against usury, (xviii. 17.) joins it with making the poor 'sorrowful, not giving bread to the hungry, 'and not clothing the naked.' Nor can these texts be any exposition of the laws of Moses against usury, because the laws themselves are expressed and explained in more particular significant terms by Moses than by David, Solomon, or Ezekiel, who give but a touch.

Of the Names of Usury.

I know the adversaries to all usury, do much triumph in their origination of the Hebrew term for usury; because it is derived from a root that signifies to bite, they conclude it is like the sting of a serpent, and in that regard to be esteemed as an abominable sin. *Ans.* First, we must remember that Dr. Fenton doth confess that 'names have been no definitions,' and therefore are not demonstrative arguments in any question. Secondly, I do acknowledge that the original word *Neshec* might well denote some malignant quality in usury, and I conceive a true reason of it might be, for that the first kind of borrowing which was in the world, or at the time when the law against usury was given, was in case only of necessity, and to ask an overplus in such cases was a sin that well deserved the

worst name. We all know that riches of money and many other goods were brought into the world by degrees, as arts and trades were multiplied by the industry and wit of man. Stately buildings, rich furniture, gorgeous apparel, and dainty feasts were not prepared against the creation of Adam: It was a long time before so much silver was digged up and coined as would fill men's coffers that they might spare or employ large sums by the negociations and traffic of others; men first looked after things necessary only, and the want of such things taught them to borrow of one another.

Also, when the law was given, the 'people of God (saith Dr. Fenton, p. 10.) were travelling in the desert, and afterwards being troubled with wars in the land of Canaan, there 'was little borrowing of money, but only by the poor for the supply of their want, and of 'them to take usury was more sensible biting, and oppression, in that they borrowed not 'to lay out for commodities, but to spend for necessity. Therefore David in his troublesome 'days used the word *Neshec* only for usury, as best fitting those times where the poorest 'were most bitten by this sin.'

In these passages of Dr. Fenton, we may note, what manner of borrowing caused the first name of usury, which name afterwards for the similitude only of the increase might be applied to all other sorts of borrowing, although they were not of the same uncharitable nature. The like observation of a good name, used for a bad thing, Dr. Fenton produceth in the Latin name of usury. '*Usura* (saith he) was originally a good honest word 'until *usury* did mar it. For *usura* in truth is nothing but *usus rei*, primitively taken for 'the use of other things as well as money.'

In conclusion, although the uncharitable gain that was practised upon necessitated borrowers did justly deserve a befitting name of *biting*, yet a gain that is taken from such as borrow, where necessity constraineth not, is but an equivocal biting, because properly there can be no biting but where there is oppression, and oppression is only of the poor. A man may deceive a rich man, but oppress him he cannot, the reason is evident, oppression is a violent action of injustice, necessity compels a poor man to borrow, and the lender forceth him to pay an increase, in this is a violence which a rich man cannot be subject unto, because no necessity forcing him to borrow, it is not necessary but arbitrary whether he will borrow upon increase: for although there be a moral necessity that if he will borrow he must pay an overplus, yet that he must borrow is not absolutely necessary: so then it is the necessity of the borrower that must concur to make a violent action in the lender.

If a rich man be forced to pay the whole forfeiture of a bond, it was his own folly to enter into such an obligation without necessity, whereby he doth enable the lender to deceive him by a legal means, who in extremity makes benefit of all that which the law did provide only for a caution of his indemnity: this deceit of the lender is injustice, but it is not the violent sin of oppression which is properly found in *biting* usury.

A second word there is found in scripture which they say is an exegetical addition, which signifieth *any increase at all*. If what were said were true, it neither hurts nor helps the question if the text be understood of the poor only, for although all increase from the poor, yet what is that to the taking usury of the rich? but let us see a little how they strain this word (*tarbith*) for increase: first if *tarbith* do signify of itself a multiplying, as it doth indeed, or an excessive increase, it is then all one with *neshec*, which Dr. Fenton makes to consist in the quantity of the gain, but I think to be in the quality of the person from whom it is taken, and then where will they find their *exegesis* if these terms be synonymous. Secondly, I would know how Dr. Fenton can prove that the scripture useth *tarbith* 'for the usury of money: the prophets (saith he) who be true expositors of the law, 'join both words together, applying them both indifferently evermore to one and the same 'thing.' It is true that the prophet Ezek. joins *neshec* and *tarbith*, and so doth Solomon; but it is false that they apply them both indifferently evermore to one and the same thing, for they apply them not at all, they neither name money nor victuals; I can find them but once applied in the whole scripture, and that is by Moses in Levit. xxv. 36. where Dr. Fenton might have found them both named together, and then applied, *neshec* to money, and *tarbith* to victuals, so that the law of God no where in plain terms forbids the

increase of money: which point is carefully observed by the translators of our bible; for they all consent and agree to translate *neshec* only for usury: the words *tarbith* or *marbith* they have never translated by the name of usury. And in the Proverb. xxviii. 8. whereas in the original it is *tarbith*, our divines have rendered it 'unjust gain,' thereby intimating they did not think all increase or gain to be meant, but only such as was unjust.

It will be said, that since money and victuals are both in the same text, they are both of one nature, so that *tarbith* may be referred indifferently to either of them. *Answ.* The text doth conjoin them, not for being of one nature in spending or using, but the law did intend only the mention of such things as the poor in extremity do necessarily borrow for maintenance of life, which is either victuals itself, or money which doth easiliest and soonest procure victuals: otherwise these two differ as Dr. Fenton hath shewed in the example of a loaf and money, the first is spent, the latter is used: victuals then when they are spent are quite consumed and no further use can be made of them, it is otherwise with money which cannot properly be said to be spent; the same 100l. that hath been used by one, may be used after by 100 men successively: and in the passing of it away some other commodities may be procured by it of greater or equal value, which may be used for increase; so that the use of money is, in a sort, perpetual. This difference well considered, there might be a greater reason to prohibit the usury and increase of victuals, than usury only of money: but I do not rely upon the argument, from the names of *neshec* or *tarbith*, and the rather because I think the true propriety of them, (as of many other words) is quite lost as to us.

A third strain of Dr. Fenton is to have the word *tarbith* to expound and explain the term *neshec*; we find *neshec* used alone in Exod. Deut. and the Psalms; *tarbith* is never used alone, but is joined with *neshec* in Levit. Prov. and Ezek. so then the first is used in all texts, the latter but in some. Now the question is, whether a particular word which is always used shall expound a general which is used but sometimes; or on the contrary as Dr. Fenton thinks, for he telleth us, p. 39. it is the manner of 'scripture after a law is given and a sin forbidden in a sensible term, by the addition of a more general to express God's meaning more fully, lest men should seek liberty in restraining the former terms more narrowly;' thus he; but what sense is there in his words 'to express a sensible by a general?' he should have said a particular by a general, or a sensible by an insensible, and then his error would have been more sensible; for I trust it is the nature of things sensible to express things insensible, and of particulars to expound generals, as may manifestly appear by the instance alleged by Dr. Fenton, and which makes somewhat strongly against himself. 'Theft (saith he) is set down in the sensible term of stealing, the Holy Ghost addeth dealing falsely or circumventing, teaching thereby over-reaching in bargaining by cunning to be theft.' Here I ask, if *stealing* be a sensible term, whether 'dealing falsely or circumventing by cunning' be a general? surely Dr. Fenton must not say it, for deceit in contracts is but a particular kind of theft or stealing, and therefore not a more but a less general term than *stealing*: so that, quite contrary to Dr. Fenton's doctrine, the general sin of stealing is explained and expressed by the particular sin of deceit in dealing, therefore it is more reasonable that the particular term of *biting* should expound the meaning of the general word *increase*, since nothing is more usual than when a matter hath been particularly expressed, to mention it afterwards in more general terms.

Besides this shift of expressing the sensible by the more general term, is to imagine the wisdom of God subject to human infirmity, as if God had not been able to perfect his law till the cavils of men, and their seeking liberty to restrain the terms taught him how to mend it. No doubt if the law of God had intended the prohibition of all increase, it could have done it in plain and short terms (as it doth in murder, theft, and adultery,) by saying thou shalt take no increase by lending or letting money, but instead of increase the law saith 'biting or oppressing of the poor;' if murder and usury were prohibited and permitted alike, why doth not the commandment say 'thou shalt not murder thy poor brother, but a stranger thou mayest murder?' Surely God doth not use these qualifications for nought. It is demanded by Dr. Fenton upon the

law 'thou shalt not trouble any widow or fatherless child,' whether it follow that I may trouble a married woman or a child that hath a father? *Answ.* I may not. But yet the reason is not for that I am prohibited by this special law for widows and orphans, but for that by a general commandment, of *not stealing*, I am forbidden to oppress or trouble any man: The like may be said of the words of Solomon, 'thou shalt not rob the poor,' yet I may not rob the rich: though these words forbid me not, but because of the former general commandment. But the like cannot be said of usury, there being no former general law that forbids taking increase of the rich.

But Dr. Fenton saith that usury bites the rich as well as the poor, and doth promise to prove it, but it seems he forgot it, I am in doubt he is never able to do it. Indeed he would persuade us that to lend to the rich is to enable him to oppress the commonwealth, and so consequently the poor: But he doth not shew how the commonwealth can be wronged by usury, and yet no particular person be first oppressed; sure I am the text speaks not of oppressing the commonwealth, but expressly names particularly thy poor brother to whom thou lendest that he be not oppressed. So that the law points at an apparent and sensible person whom usury bites.

But Dr. Fenton comes and tells us, (p. 36.) 'Alas, good simple widows! can they tell when or whom, or how many their usury doth bite? nay can the wisest usurer of them all tell?' Thus Dr. Fenton because he sees that in some cases he cannot shew how any particular person is oppressed by usury, therefore he flies for sanctuary to the commonwealth, to hide himself in the crowd, whilst he must confess he cannot tell who is oppressed, but yet the commonwealth or some body in it (God knows who) is oppressed.

But let us see how he knows in general that the commonwealth is oppressed by usury, forsooth he saith, it 'makes things dearer and enhances the prices of the market,' p. 86. *Answ.* The dearness of things is caused either by the scarcity of the things themselves, or by the plenty of money. As for the scarcity of commodities it cannot be caused by usury, for it neither eats up corn nor cattle, nor wears out apparel, nor destroys the native commodity of any country. But contrarily merchants and others (who by usury are enabled to trade) do export such things as are cheaper and plentiful here than in other countries, that so they may gain there; and do bring back such things as are dearest and of most necessity at home, that so also they may gain here. So that usury doth not only not cause a scarcity; but it is the means of plenty in a kingdom, for as it consumes not that we have, so it procures us that we want. As for dearness by reason of plenty of money, it is no misery but the happiness of any realm to know such a dearth: those places are not the richest where things are cheapest, for then Scotland would excel England, but it is the want of money which makes things cheap in such countries: Nor let any man think that if usury were not, things would be one whit cheaper, for by Dr. Fenton's confession, (p. 38.) if 'usury were not, men would tenter their wits either in trading themselves or employing others,' so that the same gain would be raised another way; for in the point of usury the question is not whether gains may be made of money, but who shall have the gains?

As for raising the market it is not caused by usury, the governors and rulers of the rates and prices of all things are the owners of money and the masters of stocks, for the lenders rule the borrowers, and the richer govern the meaner. The moneyed men proportion the valuation of goods, and by practice and custom agree in a common gain to be raised by the contracts of bargaining, selling, letting and the like. For instance, the masters of money of this kingdom by their trading raise so much gains as ordinarily amounts to 20 or 30 in the 100, at the year's end; which being considered by the meaner sort of people, they reckon with themselves that if they can borrow at 10 in the hundred, that then by such trading their gains may both pay the use and leave them 20 or 10l. gainers: so that the borrowers do trade by buying and selling in the market at the same prices that the owners of money do, and it is the rates of the market that rules their usury, and not their usury the market: The difference is only that the owners prove the greater gainers and grow richer than the borrowers who keep but part

of their gettings, because that their stocks are not their own: And questionless the common estimation of men would not value it at 8 or 10 in the 100 if it did not ordinarily produce a competent increase both for borrower and lender. If any man object that the prime gain which comes by buying and selling, and leads the rate of usury, is too great, I know no other answer but this, if common custom may not determine reasonable gains, I know not how it will be resolved, since there is no rule in scripture for it; but that men may grow rich by gain, I find both practised and warranted by scripture, neither are men restrained from gaining more by trade than is simply necessary for life and being.

If Dr. Fenton and those that condemn all usury had been so observant of the letter or literal sense of the law as they do pretend, they would never have troubled themselves so much about contracts which are not named in the law: but would rather have concluded that the very taking of usury or increase (though it be not contracted for) is utterly unlawful by the law in Levit. xxv. 36. where it is said, 'take thou no usury of him.' How then can these men justify the taking of their *fœnus liberale*, which they commend, or the *fœnus nauticum*, which they allow, or the *contractus societatis* or partnership, which they so much extol, since all these are expressly forbidden by the law, if to take any increase be unlawful? To the Jews themselves the letter of the law did seem to condemn the taking of a gratuity, nay, some of them did think it usury if a man did but salute or bid good morrow to him that had lent him money, if he did not use to do so before he borrowed it: because in the original it is said, thou 'shalt take no usury of any word,' Deut xxiii. our translation hath it, 'usury of any thing.' Surely such salutations were not contracted for, nor were of any valuable price or money worth.

I do not find any text brought by Dr. Fenton out of the New Testament against usury; for the truth is there is none, although Dr. Downam and some others do cite two texts, first Mat. v. 42. 'Give to him that asketh; and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away.' If we ask Dr. Downam whether every one be bound to lend to every one that asketh, his answer is, 'respect is to be had of thine ability, and of his necessity, and also (if it be not a case of urgent and present necessity) of his honesty: if his necessity urge him to borrow, and thine estate enable thee to lend, thou art bound to lend unto him, especially if his honesty deserve to be respected.' Lect. on the xv. Psalm, pag. 224. Why may not the same respects be observed in the interpretations of all texts against usury? Secondly he cites Luke vi. 35. 'Lend, looking for nothing thence.' Lastly both he and Dr. Fenton do apply all texts that do mention lending freely, or charitableness to the poor, or mercifulness to our neighbour, as heaps of so many places against usury, although the name be not so much as to be found in the whole New Testament as condemned. For my part I do gladly hear all exhortations to charity, and think them more than needful; and if any man be so great an usurer as that he make himself thereby unable to be merciful to the poor, such a man may be justly condemned, and I shall never defend him: But to conclude, because a man must give to the poor, therefore he may not *let* to the rich, is no good consequence. The text that bids me lend freely, doth not thereby forbid not to *let* at all, but that upon several occasions and according to divers circumstances I may do either; if the commanding to observe one sort of contract were the prohibiting of all other kinds, it would follow that I might neither give money to the poor, nor sell victuals to the rich, because I am commanded to lend both.

But let us admit that both in the Old and New Testament the laws against usury had been moral and delivered in as general terms as can be devised: Be there not many laws and texts which must of necessity be expounded otherwise than the bare letter sounds, and according to such a sense as may stand with natural reason, so that it contradict not any other plain or necessary doctrine, nor overthrow the analogy of faith? There is a law of our Saviour Christ that saith, 'swear not at all,' and again he saith, 'to him that asketh give;' neither of these laws must be literally understood, but interpreted according to the rule of natural reason, and discretion. Christ forbiddeth his disciples to carry gold,

or silver, or any manner of coin in their purses: I do not think that Dr. Fenton and others have followed the letter of this law, but I trust they will grant an interpretation over and besides the bare letter. There be divers such texts, as, 'if thy eye offend thee, pull it out;' 'pray continually;' 'if any sue thee for thy coat, let him have thy cloak also:' all which if they were not otherwise understood than the bare words do bear, would bring great confusion with them, and such inconvenience as no reason nor law could or might allow in any case. The light of nature must help to guide us in the interpretation of many texts. It is Dr. Fenton's own confession, p. 34. 'that usury is a question of that nature, as is not only determinable by the law of God in scripture: but also by the law of nature, those maxims and principles of common equity, which are written in the hearts of men by the finger of God,' which point had need be well considered, because, as Mr. Hooker saith, 'a number there are who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason, for which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace reason,' pag. 97. 'Nor let any man think (saith he) that following the judgment of natural discretion, we can have no assurance to please God; for to the author and God of Nature how shall any operation proceeding in natural sort, be in that respect unacceptable? the nature which himself hath given to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exercise the same any way, without commandment of his to the contrary,' pag. 60. Now if any place in the bible may receive an interpretation from the rules and principles of natural reason, why might not the texts of usury? since it is conversant altogether about covenants and contracts, which are grounded only upon the laws of nature and nations: and many cases there be which are confessed by all to be no apparent breaches of charity, nor any injustice found in them; insomuch that Dr. Downam is brought thereby to such a strait as he is forced to maintain 'that there be other respects which make usury unlawful besides the hurt of our neighbour,' p. 44 and 25. But if charity be the fulfilling of the whole law, I will give them leave to take their fill, yet I cannot believe how usury can be a sin if it hurt not my neighbour. Their pretences of the oppression of the commonwealth by taking usury of the rich, is but a mere sanctuary of ignorance, and a fiction which can never be proved, since it is practised in the richest commonwealths.

Whether the Law of Usury be judicial.

To prove the laws against usury to be moral and not judicial, Dr. Downam produceth a main argument which is not in Dr. Fenton; his words are, 'The law which commandeth free lending is not judicial but moral; for the same law which commandeth the affirmative forbiddeth the negative.' *Ans.* 1. Dr. Downam mistakes in thinking free lending and lending for gain, to be terms of affirmation and negation: lending and not lending, which are contradictorily opposed, are only affirmative and negative terms; lending freely or for gain are only several sorts of lending, and differing in qualities, and though their qualities differ, yet they are both positive and affirmative; for it is an axiom *contrariorum utrumque membrum est positivum*. In contradictions and privations, one term is always negative, but it is not so in contraries. Secondly, let me retort Dr. Downam's argument in a stronger case. 'The law which commandeth resting on the Sabbath is not judicial but moral; therefore the law which forbiddeth kindling a fire on the Sabbath day is moral,' for the law which commandeth the affirmative, forbiddeth the negative: what will Dr. Downam answer to this his own argument? here is affirmation and negation, resting and not resting in the kindling of a fire, not contraries only but contradictories, yet I presume Dr. Downam will not conclude that kindling a fire on the Sabbath day is a breach of the moral law. Dr. Fenton is of opinion that 'if God doth forbid biting and oppressing usury only by his law, that then the law must needs be moral, and not judicial, except we will give liberty to christians to oppress and bite their brethren,' pag. 44.

The answer is, 'The equity of the law is still in force, the rigour of it is abrogated; or thus; that the poor should not be oppressed, is moral, that they should not be oppressed by usury is judicial.' To make the meaning of this distinction clear, we must know that all judicial laws were made for the hedging in or enclosing of the moral law, and whereas the moral law was delivered either in general affirmative commandments, or negative prohibitions, the judicial comes after, and gives some particular politic directions in the observation of them; for example, the moral law saith in general, 'Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath,' then comes the judicial, and saith, 'Ye shall kindle no fire throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath-day,' *Exod. xxxv. 3.* So the moral law tells us, 'Thou shalt not steal,' the judicial adds, 'If a man steal an ox, or a sheep, he should pay five or four-fold for it,' and in most cases but double, *Exod. xxii. 1, 4.* So then there is a general equity in all judicials, which is moral and eternal. There is a law, *Levit. xxv. 23.* 'The land shall not be sold for ever:' whereby selling of inheritance is forbidden, and this law did bind Naboth, *1 Kings, xxi. 3.* that he would not sell his inheritance to King Ahab. The equity of this law, which binds all men, even infidels, to preserve or procure an inheritance or estate for their posterity, remains still in force; yet absolutely, not to sell any land is esteemed no otherwise than a judicial law fitted for the commonwealth of the Jews: so the perpetual equity of sanctifying the Sabbath, and of not stealing, abides, although the kindling of a fire on that day is now arbitrary; and the compensation of stealing is left to the positive laws of each nation. The same law that forbids us to steal, bids us to relieve the poor, and so doth the equity of the law of usury. It is sufficient that the general equity of this law be observed, and the poor relieved, but that in particular they must be relieved by the not taking usury of them, is not necessary. It was a sin in any Jew to take usury of his poor, although he did relieve him otherwise, because God did restrain him to that particular manner of relieving the poor. But with us it is otherwise; if by any other means we do sufficiently relieve the poor, then even the taking of usury of them is no sin nor oppression.

Concerning the judicials of Moses we must also observe, that they were not so particular, but that many things were left to the ordinance of the magistrate or high priest, and human ordinances (as Mr. Hooker doth observe) are many times pre-supposed as grounds in the statutes of God, *Deut. xxiv. 10.* There is a judicial law which ordereth only the manner how a pledge must be taken; this necessarily doth pre-suppose some former human law that did order that pledges might be taken. Even that ill law or custom of divorce, *Deut. xxiv. 1.* is regulated by a judicial law, that it might thereby be made less hurtful. The reason why I note these things is, because the law of God concerning usury did pre-suppose and was grounded on a former law or custom of the Jews which was then in use and practice; and the special caution for the poor might leave the rich to the customs and laws of the magistrates which did always regulate all sorts of contracts. And whereas the law of Moses did allow usury only to strangers; it doth not follow but that others that were neither poor nor strangers were left to the ordinary laws of the country. No magistrate could give a dispensation for usury towards the poor, nor a prohibition for it towards strangers: so much as God ordered no human laws might alter; as for other cases not specified, they were left to the ordinary policy of the state. For we must not think that God provided all the civil laws of Israel: his especial care was to ordain laws for the reformation of such sins as had been learnt by his people of the Egyptians, or for the prevention of such as might be taught them by the Canaanites.

I know that Dr. Fenton doth infer that the law which prohibits usury is moral, pag. 45. because the allowance of it to strangers is only a judicial, for unless it had been a sin, what needs a toleration: since lawful things have no need of a permission? *Answ. 1.* If the allowing of usury to strangers be no law at all, but only an exception or proviso annexed to a former law, then it can be no judicial; all laws do command or forbid something, but this, if it be an exception, doth neither, because it leaves the thing indifferent, as it is the nature of all such provisos in statutes. But if they will have it to be a law, then it must bind affirmatively, and not only that one may, but that one must take usury of a stranger,

for in the original it is 'thou shalt lend upon usury or shalt cause to bite;' and the Hebrews understand this to be a commandment, and not a permission only.

Secondly, whereas they compare the allowance of usury to the permission of divorce, they err notoriously: for the difference between allowing and permitting is most manifest, as Dr. Downam confesseth, pag. 298. We allow those things only which we suppose to be good, or at least indifferent: but we permit only such things as are esteemed evil. God hath said by Moses, thou mayst or thou shalt take usury of a stranger, he never saith, thou mayst divorce thy wife if she displease thee, or thou shalt put her away. But the law is, 'if she do displease thee, and find no favour in thine eyes, and if thou shalt put her away, and if she do marry another, and if he also put her away, then (saith the law) her first husband may not take her again,' Deut. xxiv. 1, 2, 3, 4. so that the end of the whole law of divorce is only to keep the woman from returning to her first husband, after a second marriage; all that goeth before is but by way of supposition: but if any man will contend that the writing of a bill of divorce is enjoined in the law, it must follow that it is not a permission but a command, contrary to our Saviour's doctrine, who calls it a permission, Mat. xix. 8. And if it be a command, we must needs understand it as an order only how, and after what manner the divorce should be, to wit, by bill in writing: but not as an order that did command men simply to be divorced. It is very little less than blasphemy to say, that Moses' law should allow any thing that was evil. It is the power of the law-giver to make both the rule and the exception to it. It is an over-bold speech of Dr. Fenton to say, that notwithstanding Moses' law had given liberty to the Jews to take usury of strangers, yet it was a sin to do it, and that they could not be absolved in the court of conscience, although they might be absolved in the external court. pag. 45.

Whereas Dr. Fenton doth pretend that a reason that moved God to permit this sin of usury to strangers was, to prevent the greater oppression of his own people, and that the hardness of the Jewish hearts was such, that if they might not have taken usury of strangers, they would have made a prey of their own brethren, *ib.* *Ans.* How much doth this derogate from the laws of God? as if they were not able to bridle one sin but by the toleration of some other; and if the hardness of men's hearts must be borne with, since men's hearts are as much hardened in other sins as in usury, why are not some other sins tolerated as well as usury? surely the idolatry of the Jews was as great as their usury, and their hearts went a whoring after strange Gods, yet Dr. Fenton cannot shew that any idolatry was permitted them in any kind.

I find some criticism used by Dr. Downam, upon the Hebrew names in scripture, which signify a stranger, (pag. 208.) but I cannot find that Dr. Fenton doth make any use: the three sorts of *Ger*, *Toshab*, and *Nocre* (which he translates to be *Advena*, *Inquilinus*, and *Hostis*) are insisted upon by him. He would have *Nocre* to signify an alien by birth, religion, affection, and dwelling. This distinction he labours not to prove, neither do I think it sound, because I am informed by those that are skilful in the tongues, that the Hebrew root doth signify to be ignorant, or not to know; so that whosoever was unknown, was *Nocre*, a stranger, though he were not of another nation, if he were but only of an unknown family; the word is used by Solomon, Prov. v. 20. and vi. 24. where he calls a whore a strange woman, no man must think that he means such whores only as are of another nation or religion, but all such as were not to be known to them as wives; so God forbids the Jews, Deut. xvii. 15. that they should not set a stranger to be king over them: surely he meant such strangers as dwelt amongst them, there was little danger that they would choose an enemy that dwelt in another country. I find in Levit. xxii. 10. it is said, 'there shall no stranger eat of the holy thing,' that is, whosoever is not of the priest's family; so that the word stranger may sometimes signify an Israelite of another family or tribe.

Dr. Downam affirms, that a Jew was permitted to take usury of such strangers only as were enemies and aliens both in affection and religion, birth and habitation: so that if a stranger did but dwell or converse amongst the Jews, they might not take usury of him. But Dr. Downam should remember, that a brother and a stranger in the Levitical law, are mem-

bra dividenda, he that is not a brother is a stranger, and *é contra*, &c. Now a brother, Levit. xxv. 42. is only 'an Israelite circumcised brought out of Egypt.' If, therefore, the law had prohibited only the taking of usury of an Israelite, and allowed only the taking of it of an enemy stranger, then the law had been very imperfect and defective, because there had been no direction in the law for such strangers as had been sojourners or proselytes, who are neither brethren nor enemies; if any man think that a proselyte or sojourner might be accounted a brother, let him but read, Levit. xxv. verses 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, and 46.

I know Dr. Fenton, p. 46. would have us think that a Jew might take usury of a stranger, because he might also kill him: but I must deny that any private man might kill a stranger but in a public war; neither can the like text be shewed for the allowing of the murder of a stranger by a private man. Many places there be in which the Jews were enjoined to be charitable to strangers, 'Thou shalt not vex a stranger,' Exod. xxii. 21. 'Love ye the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt,' Deut. x. 19. 'Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, because ye were strangers in the land of Egypt,' Exod. iii. 9. There was in many cases the self-same charity to be shewed to the stranger as to the poor; the corners of the harvest-field, the gleanings of it, and the single grapes, 'Thou shalt leave for the poor and the stranger,' Levit. xix. 9. Also, the third year's tithe, the forgotten sheaves, the feasts of Pentecost, and of Tabernacles, were appointed for the relief and benefit of the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow.

There are many more laws to be found in the books of Moses, which are made for the benefit of the poor; the equity of them certainly continues unto this day; but no man but a Jew is so mad as to say the rigorous observation of them is to be required of us; why then must the law against usury, more than all the rest, be necessary? It may as well be affirmed, that all the judicial laws are moral; let them shew us by what rules they do distinguish these laws: I do apprehend that the judicials were conversant about the morality of outward actions, as about the distinctions of rights, the distributions of inheritance, the punishments of crimes, as of blasphemy, perjury, murder, adultery, manslaughter, fornication, or the like, about the rites of marriage, of divorces, of bondage, of usury, of witnesses, and of many other actions, the equity of all which is reducible to some one commandment or other of the moral law.

If all the Levitical laws be read over, it cannot be found that ever any judicial was delivered with such restrictions, qualifications, and diminishing terms, as the law of usury: 'thy brother,' 'thy poor brother,' 'thy poor brother that is with thee;' the general name of neighbour is not so much as used about it: it is no where said, 'thou shalt take no usury of thy neighbour.' Besides, this law hath an allowance which no other judicial hath. And lastly, this law of usury, taken in the sense of our adversaries (for all increase from the rich also) can be no breach of charity in some cases, and then there will be no equity in it, which is found even in all judicials. Indeed, I find Dr. Downam brought to such straits as to maintain that there be other 'respects which make usury unlawful, besides 'the hurt of the neighbour,' pag. 295. But if it be forbidden by the moral law, and that law be a branch of the second table (as Dr. Fenton affirms) how it can be a sin without breach of charity to the neighbour, passeth my understanding, since charity is the fulfilling of the law.

Whereas Dr. Downam doth compare usury to an officious lie, which is a sin, though it hurt not but help the neighbour, pag. 277. It is true, an officious lie is a sin: but a sin, against the first commandment of the first table, as it is repugnant to truth, which is an essential attribute of God: every one that lieth doth thereby deny and forsake the true God. Let Dr. Downam tell us, which commandment of the first table is by usury violated. It is not sufficient to say, that all usury is a breach of our allegiance to God, this is but begging of the question, unless this disobedience can be referred to some particular precept of the Decalogue, as the officious lie is to the first; as for general disobedience,

it is a sin that goeth through all the commandments, and is to be referred to each particular precept, according to the several objects of it.

It is further insisted on, that the prohibition of usury is coupled, in Ezekiel xviii. with sins against the moral law, from thence an inference is made, that itself must be moral.

Answ. 1. If we look upon other scriptures we shall find judicials and morals mingled together in the giving of the law. We may see in Levit. xix. 9. the prohibition of reaping the corners of the field, and gleaning the vineyards, which were judicials, set immediately before the forbidding of stealing, lying, and swearing, which are parcels of the moral law. In the 13th verse of the same chapter it is said, 'Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbour, nor rob him: the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.' The former of these is moral, the latter is judicial. And also, in the 16th verse, the prohibition of enchantment, or witchcraft, is set between the forbidding of eating blood, and rounding the corners of the head, and marring the corners of the beard.

Secondly, whereas Dr. Downam saith, pag. 219. 'The Holy Ghost decyphers a wicked man, that should die the death if he had any of these things.' We find first that the words in the original are, 'if he do like to any one of these things;' or, as our new translation hath it in the margin, 'or that doth to his brother besides any of these.'

Thirdly, whereas Dr. Downam conjoins these sins by the disjunctive *or*, our new translators use the copulative *and*.

Lastly, to confound Dr. Downam's opinion, the text in the 13th verse saith, 'He hath done all these abominations, he shall surely die.' And good reason; for some of the crimes were capital by the law of Moses, as idolatry and adultery, but usury, or the taking and keeping of a pledge, hath no kind of punishment appointed by Moses, neither hath any man denied, but that the law of restoring the pledge was judicial, and not moral.

But let it be granted to Dr. Downam (that which he can never prove) that death is threatened by Ezekiel to usury; may it not still be a judicial law for all that? Was not the law in Exod. xxi. 1. a judicial, whereby it is ordered, 'that an Hebrew bond-servant should at seven years end be free and at liberty?' Yet God doth threaten the people for breaking this law, by re-assuming their servants with a liberty to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine, Jerem. xxxiv. 17. Also in Numb. xv. 35. the man that gathered sticks on the Sabbath-day was stoned by God's appointment, and yet the law was but judicial and not moral.

Before I conclude this question about the nature of the law against usury, it is not impertinent to remove a scruple that is objected. It may be asked of me that maintain there is no law in scripture now in force against usury, what text can be shewed that it is lawful?

Answ. There needeth none; for if the law of God do not now forbid it, it is sufficient that the law of nature, reason, and custom, doth make it lawful. 'About things easy and manifest, (saith Mr. Hooker) by common sense, there needeth no higher consultation—the means of some things is such, that to search the scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reverend authority, and dignity of the scripture.'

If I should ask Dr. Fenton what text he hath to prove that letting of land is lawful, it would ask him some time to find it; or how he can warrant the selling of land, which is expressly forbidden in the law, Levit. xxv. 23. It may be I can allege as good a text for usury. I think the 6th of Luke, which is alleged against it, may with better reason be produced for it, and if we will stand to the literal and common sense of the word in the original, we may conclude that it is not only allowed, but commanded there; what exceptions can be taken, if a man should translate δανείζετε, 'lend upon usury;' is not that the proper signification of the word in all authors? hath not the Latin borrowed the words *danista*, an usurer, and *danisma*, usury, from the Greek? Although our translation saith only *lend*, this general word may also comprehend lending upon use. It accords with the

original, and crosseth not the translation. But it may be lending upon usury may be here in this text allowed by our adversaries, if we will observe, as it followeth in the text, to look for nothing again. These words of looking, or hoping for nothing again, although they be answerable to the vulgar translation, yet in the original they have another more proper signification, as is shewed by Beza, who is no friend to usury; you shall have his words in his *Annotations upon Luke vi. 35*. ‘I confess, (saith he) that I never read
 ‘in any other place, the word ἀπελπίζειν in this signification (to hope for) when as properly it signifieth to despair. And surely it may seem that our Lord in this place did
 ‘consider what doth many times hinder men from lending their money to their poor brethren (to wit, the fear lest they lose what they lend to the poor) and therefore he
 ‘would remove that fear from us, and bring us to this pass, that as often as we help our neighbour for God’s sake, we should never think that it may be to our loss, since God
 ‘makes himself a pledge and surety that we shall receive with much usury whatsoever we lend. If we follow this interpretation, then instead of *looking for* we must say
 ‘*despairing*; and so the Syriac interpreter understood this place—They are deceived
 ‘which wrest this place for the prohibition of usury; as if Christ had forbidden us to covenant or exact any thing above the principal.’ Thus far Beza; wherein we have his opinion and reason, and by the help of his direction the text may be most fitly translated, ‘Lend upon usury, not despairing;’ for to lend, looking for nothing again, is, as the Bishop of Winchester hath observed, not to lend but to give.

Of the Properties of Letting.

Dr. Fenton and Dr. Downam cannot endure to hear that usury should be called letting of money. Many are the properties that are (as they think) inseparable from letting, and cannot be found in the putting out of money. ‘Hiring or letting (say they) is of
 ‘such things as are not spent in the use, but have a fruitful use in themselves naturally;
 ‘which use may be valued apart and be let, the property remaining in the letter, and the
 ‘thing if it miscarry without the fault of the hirer, belongeth to the letter only.’ If we ask from whence they collect these distinctions and properties of letting, or whether they have any rule for them in scripture; they answer, though there be no text for them, yet the law of nature and reason, which ordereth and regulateth all human contracts, doth teach them. Let it be so: and let us have leave a little to examine by the same law of reason and common sense these properties of letting, and see whether any or all of them may be applied to money.

I confess things hired are not to be spent in their use. Neither is money properly said to be spent in the use, it is not to speak like a grammarian, to say any thing is spent in the use, for spending and using are, in propriety of speech, distinct actions, howsoever, by reason of some similitude between them, they be used promiscuously by the vulgar phrase. A thing used doth remain the same after the use to be used again; but a thing spent perisheth, or is consumed in the spending, so that no further use can be made of it. Money is not thus spent, at the most it is but said to be spent to him that hath made no profitable use of it, in itself it remains unspent and useful to others. Thus much Dr. Fenton saw very well, and therefore he doth not urge this property as Dr. Downam doth, but seems to yield, and say, (pag. 65.) ‘That also of spending money in the first use, as
 ‘if the use and property were inseparable, so much stood upon by school divines, (he
 ‘might also have said canonists) is much subject to cavil, for there is sensible difference
 ‘between spending a loaf of bread, and disbursing money for gain—a loaf once eaten
 ‘hath no second use to him that eat it, or to any other: money laid out remaineth still
 ‘the same to be used by another; and the same in the equivalent to him that laid it out:
 ‘and the same individual pieces, which, once delivered, shall never happily return again to
 ‘the same person; there may be some difference in a philosopher’s brain, but not in a
 ‘merchant’s purse, it is all one whether it be the same shilling or another as good.’

Things let (say they) must have a fruitful use naturally in themselves. If this property were true, I would confess money might not be let. But common sense doth confute this assertion. What fruitful use hath a house naturally? doth one house beget or bring forth another? is it not an artificial thing, as tools, instruments, and furniture? all which are lawfully let, although they have no more fruitful use by nature than money hath. All things that are useful either by nature or art, that have either *fructum* in themselves, or *questum* by industry, are the object of letting: no man will deny the artificial use of money, yet I find Dr. Fenton to contradict himself in this point of the use of money, his words are, (pag. 20.) 'The moneys of a tradesman be his tools, by which he getteth his living: if, therefore they be retained from him, to his sensible detriment, satisfaction is due in justice and equity, without touch of usury.' In another place (pag. 94.) forgetting this, he determines 'that nothing, whatsoever it be, natural or artificial, but it serveth either to feed, or to clothe, or to work withal, or to play withal; yet for money there is no use to be made of it.'

Money having thus an artificial use, distinct from the spending of it, this use of it is as valuable apart, and to be guided by the same rule which serves for the true valuation of any other lettable thing: we see by daily experience that the valuation of the use of money is more certain than of other things. It remains, then, that money hath an artificial use, which is valuable, and in that respect may be let as other artificial things are.

To proceed. Another property, (say they, pag. 16.) of letting is, 'that the use only is passed over, the property resting in the lender. Whereas lending passeth over the property with the use for the time it is lent.' Is this true? then a man had need take heed of lending, if when he lends he loseth the property of the thing lent? Surely, I should think that the use and possession only (and not the property) is passed away in lending and letting also. He that hath lent his money, during the time that it is lent and out of possession, hath power in law, and a right to give or bequeath at his pleasure, which he could not dispose of if he had no property in it. A property in the sum lent, or to the equivalent, which is all one, as Dr. Fenton hath ingenuously confessed. It is a frivolous exception to say he hath not a property in that individual shilling which he lent, since art hath so ordered it, that all shillings are the self-same in use, and as one shilling. If all other natural and artificial things, which are confessed to be lettable, were of equal value and use; if all horses and sheep were alike in all things, without any real difference in their goodness and use, it would be all one to him that had let his horse, to receive his own horse or another.

'We must understand (saith Dr. Fenton) a special kind of lending, which for penury of words, and narrowness of our English, wanteth a proper term. In Latin it is called *mutuum*, or *mutuatio*, which is (saith he) the free passing over both of use and property for a time, at the time ended to receive the like again; thus he. If it be passed over but for a time, then at the time ended, the same again must be restored; why then doth he name only the like again? if only the like be restored, then the thing itself is passed over for ever.

Dr. Wilson, the civilian, in his book of Usury, puts the case how hiring of money may be lawful; if a man borrow 100l. only to make shew of, either at some bank, or otherwise to persuade the world that he hath 100l. of his own, and if he never spend it, but presently restoreth the self-same 100l. which he borrowed, in this case the lender may lawfully take and contract for hire or use of his money, because it is not spent in the use. This case is borrowed from the papists, and allows a man to take usury for helping to cozen the world, although himself be no way dampnified by the want of his money.

But the grand impediment of letting money is, that the 'borrower (say they, pag. 17.) stands to the hazard of it,' which they think to be against the law of Exod. xxii. 14.

Answ. Concerning hazard, we find that in the law, Exod. xxii. 12. about beasts delivered to a neighbour only to keep, that if 'a beast be stolen he shall make restitution to the owner thereof,' which case shews the owner doth not stand to the hazard, but the keeper only, who yet hath not so much as the use or property, but only the possession of the

beast, so Jacob tells Laban, Gen. xxxi. 39. 'that if any of his sheep were stolen by day or by night, that he made them good;' therefore their rule faileth, which saith, 'every thing perisheth to the right owner,' pag. 17.

It may be answered, that whatsoever the law was for things deposited, yet, for things let, the law is clear, that the borrower shall not make it good, or stand to the hazard, because 'it came for the hire,' Exod. xxii. 14. This text is either not understood, or wrested to a false sense, as may best appear if we cite the whole text, which Dr. Fenton hath curtailed to fit his own turn; the words are, 'If a man borrow ought of his neighbour, and it be hurt or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he shall surely make it good, but if the owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good; if it be a hired thing it came for the hire.'

Answ. 1. It may be thought the text intends beasts only, and not other goods or money, because the four precedent verses to which the text hath reference, are restrained to ox, ass, or sheep, or any beast: and the same words of dying and hurting are used in this verse which are used in the tenth verse, where beasts only are meant, which words are not so proper to express all sorts of hazards of other goods: withal, there is greater reason that the hazards of beasts should not light upon the borrower, because they, by the course of nature, are daily subject to decay, and perish; and many secret diseases lurk in them, which the borrowers cannot discern; whereas other goods, and especially money, are not of so perishable a disposition, but their sudden destruction is most times by the act or folly of man, and not from the God of Nature. But, if it be granted that the text understands all goods, then, indeed, it comes home to the point of usury; but it makes for it and not against it: for the law is for 'things let, that if they be hurt, the owner thereof not being by, he (the borrower) shall surely make it good.' Now in usury the owners do not, and for the most part cannot stand by and see how their money miscarries. Indeed, when a thing is hired for some partiular end, wherewith the lettor is made acquainted, then he may stand by and see how it perisheth, and of such a lending the text is best understood. It is plain that the lettor (though he had the property) did not always stand unto the hazard, but only when he stood by, 'that it might appear (saith Dr. Fenton, pag. 17.) not to be the borrower's default.' The Rabbins' exposition of this text may give some light to the understanding of it, and it is thus; the words are, 'If it be hurt or die; that is, hurt in the use, or die in the work for which it was hired: if a man (say they) hire a tool for some particular, if it be hurt in doing the work it must not be made good: so if I hire a horse to plough with, and the horse whilst he is in ploughing die, then I am free. But if I borrow goods or beasts, and they be lost or stolen, or hurt, or taken away by violence, or die, I am bound to pay all, if such violence do not befall it in the time of the work. If I borrow a horse to plough with, and he die either before or after the ploughing, I must make him good.'

To apply this text to money, the most that can be gathered is, that if money be hurt in the using of it, without the borrower's default, it must be at the lender's hazard. But since money is not ordinarily hired for any one particular use expressed, but in general to be employed at the borrower's discretion; how can the lender of money be comprehended within that law, which did only relieve the borrower in case the thing hired did perish in that special use for which it was borrowed? The ground of the equity of this law is, if the thing hired be not able in its own nature to do the thing for which it was hired, without perishing, the hirer is not to be at the hazard of it; money all men know to be able of its own nature to do the thing for which it was hired; if by any casual or external accident, money perisheth, the law provides no remedy in such cases. It is one of the singular benefits and the privilege of money in traffic that it is not of a perishable nature. The ends why policy found out the use of money were many: the chief are, that it might be durable, portable, and partible.

But to grant them that he that stands to the hazard should have all the gains: Is there not hazard to be found in the lettor as well in the borrower of money? many that have contracted for usury by bonds and other security have lost both principal and use, and have

been thereby undone ; surely such people find hazard in it. It is a rule in the civil law, that *omnis mutuatio plerumque damnosa, eoque meretur compensationem*. It is fit therefore in equity, that since the lender stands in hazard there should be a gain due to him also.

But this gain they allow, so it may be conditional, if the borrower gain. And this conditional gain can only be by partnership. As for letting of money upon condition of the borrower's gain, it is a course as mischievous and impossible as the letting of land upon like condition ; without experience no man can sufficiently describe it. It would make all bargains to be nothing but suits in law, no debts should be due but upon proof and witnesses examined ; nay there is no possibility of knowing men's gains or losses without racking their consciences, and opening a gap to perjury for every unthrift in his own cause. Or if loss and gain could be discovered, how shall it appear, whether it be by default of the party or by the act of God ? Many times they both concur, and are so twisted that no eye of reason can distinguish them. In effect, hereby every man is tied to have an eye to watch the disbursing of every penny which he lends, which is a thing impossible, and therefore the law of reason and of all nations doth think it fitter to tolerate sometimes a mischief which may happen by an unfortunate bargain upon an absolute contract, than to allow of a perpetual inconvenience which would follow a conditional covenant and overthrow the contracts of all commonwealths. In all letting there is a consideration had of the casualties, and because there may be a possibility of extraordinary gains, it must countervalue the extraordinary loss if any happen, both which being contingent, and seldom happening, they are set one against the other, and a middle indifferent rate between them, which doth ordinarily happen, belongs to the lender, who is not to partake in the extremes : because it is rarely to be shewed that any loss can befall a man in lifeless goods merely by the act of God, without the concurrence of some fault of man, either of negligence, ignorance, indiscretion, wilfulness, or the like. To conclude, the rule that guides the valuation in all contracts, is not what casually is or may be, but what ordinarily is like to happen.

As for partnership (which is a project much magnified by the adversaries of usury) let it be examined what it is. Those are truly partners who in a joint stock communicate their pains and travel : so that an equal industry and privity goes along with the employment of the stock. There the trust being reciprocal, the covenants may be equal, and the laws do relieve men upon their covenants and mutual agreements in such partnership : But in this their pretended partnership, where there is but a trust of one side, no equality of pains, no privity in trade, no partnership in the matter of stock, nor in the form or consent of negociation, but only a partnership in the gains, this cannot truly be called a partnership, but it is only the office of master and servant under another name, or false title, and differs only in the manner of the wages, which in this their case of partnership is contingent, and in the other absolute. Besides, in this their counterfeit partnership, a man may make no covenants that can be good in law, nor so much as take a bond for his principal, but he must only trust to the honesty of his friend, since no articles can be made that shall be legal except they be usurious : nor can be drawn so reasonable as an honest man will be bound by them, or so firm that a dishonest man cannot safely break them.

It seems to me, that after all the stir about usury, Dr. Fenton, and all his fellows do allow of usury under another name, interest ; they all agree a man may lawfully take, so it be against his will ; that is, when a man detains his money from him against his will ; but if a man be so courteous as to consent that another shall keep his money, he must then stand to the courtesy of the borrower.

Now that which they do call interest, they do allow in two cases ; either where there is, first, *damnum contingens*, a loss arising ; or, secondly, where there is *lucram cessans*, gain ceasing : so that if either a man receive damage, or that his gain be but hindered, he may take interest. Now in all lending a man's gain is hindered, because he hath not his money to employ when occasion serveth, or shall be offered : nor is it requisite that ceasing gain must be certainly proved ; for that is impossible, being a thing contingent ; but a probable estimation of it may be allowed (by Dr. Downam's confession, pag. 166.) and in in all pro-

bability gain ceaseth, or is hindered, wheresoever there is lending. Therefore by this their own scholastical distinction there is interest due for all lending. Only successive or inter-usury which is before delay of payment they would fain exclude. But if interest be (as their own Melancthon saith) a debt which he oweth by the law of nature, who hath been to another an effectual cause of damage, or hath hindered his gain, because nature teacheth that no man must be enriched by the hindering of another, according to the rule of St. Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 13. 'That one be not eased, that another may be burdened:' Then it will follow, that delay of payment doth naturally begin from the first minute of lending; if any will abridge himself of the privilege of nature by the giving day for payment, yet if it be by a covenant conditional to pay so much interest at the day appointed, then such a contract is but the ratifying of a natural debt, with a dilatory payment for the benefit of the borrower.

Thus after all their pretended impediments of letting money, they are forced to confess at last, that an interest may be justly due and taken; which is nothing else but a hire, a recompence, or an increase of it. The sole doubt they make is about the contracting for inter-usury. Neither is Dr. Fenton nor Dr. Downam, so stiff against contracts when they come to the point, as at first they made shew of. Dr. Fenton saith, pag. 64. 'It is great reason that the debtor should trust the creditor's charity, and not the creditor rely upon the fidelity of the debtor; and bonds may in some cases be lawfully made, which cannot so lawfully be exacted.' This he speaks of contracts without any condition of hazard expressed.

Also Dr. Downam doth add, 'That if there be a covenant of the one side in *eventum lucri*, to partake of the gain, and on the other side but a purpose of bearing part of the loss—I would not altogether condemn such a contract,' pag. 163.

Thus both these divines do consent that a contract may be made for interest, if there be but a purpose in the lender not to exact or oppress thereby. Yet like men uncertain and doubtful what to conclude, they sometimes allow a man to take interest, so he do not contract for it, at other times to contract for it, so he do not take it, (pag. 27.) One while a bond may be lawfully made, so it be not exacted; another while it is lawful to take where it is not lawful to covenant or contract. Again, Dr. Fenton saith, pag. 129. 'That the poison of usury is in some contracts so closely and cunningly conveyed, as the very turn of the intention of the mind may alter the case to make it just or unjust; the contract remaining one and the same.' If one and the same contract may be just and unjust, then all contracts are not unjust by his own confession. In another place (p. 125.) he tells us, 'We may puzzle him with some cases so cunningly contrived, wherein we can find no difference either in justice or charity from other lawful contracts: Then quære whether it be within the definition of usury—If it appear just and lawful, it shall not appear usurious, it may perhaps border or coast upon usury. Yet our conclusion shall still remain entire, That usury properly so called is simply unlawful.' A trim conclusion: But what are we the wiser for knowing that all usury is unlawful, unless he teach us what is properly called usury? This is the main doubt, what is usury, and what is not; whether all increase, or increase only from the poor; whether all contracts for gain by money be usury. If Dr. Fenton may be puzzled, and not be able to tell us what contracts differ from justice and charity, and what not; if one and the same contract may be just and unjust; if that usurious contracts, 'as they do approach unto equity so far forth do decline the nature of usury,' then are we still ignorant what properly is usury, only we may know that it is unlawful if we knew what it were. This is the last and safest retreat that Dr. Fenton findeth.

Concerning human Testimonies of Fathers, Councils, Divines, Heathens, and Laws.

As for the testimonies of fathers and councils, we do affirm that neither father nor council did ever define usury to consist in the contracting for gain, they were not so curious or

subtle in those ages, as to define it at all. But most of those few passages that are in them may best be understood to mean only such usury as was an oppression to the poor.

As for Aristotle, Plutarch, Cato, Seneca, Pliny, and some others, I shall offer the confession of Dr. Fenton, (pag. 65.) who is persuaded that 'the very conceit of these grounds (of the philosophers arguments) hath moved many to think more favourably of usury itself than there is just cause—The force of the philosophers argument taken from the barrenness of money, and the unnatural brood of usury, being mingled with metaphors, if it be not rightly apprehended, is obscure and doubtful. That also of spending money in the first use, as if use and property were inseparable—is much subject to cavil.'

By these passages we may see what little confidence Dr. Fenton putteth in the arguments of the heathen philosophers against usury. As for the bare authority of these men, the speculative determinations of so few philosophers, are no way to be compared with the grave wisdom of whole states which by practice and by customs in all ages have approved thereof. I know the abuse of usury hath given just cause both to christians and heathens to declame bitterly against it. Merchandizing (as Dr. Fenton tells us) also letting of land, and other tradings have their manifold abuses, and yet are things lawful in themselves; and whereas all other trades do oppress but within their own circle or limits, and in such particulars wherein they deal, usury, dealing with money, which is used in all trades, hath made the abuse thereof more general; and therefore all men have the more frequent occasion to speak against it.

The civil law, which was gathered out of all the best ancient laws, both heathen and christian, and which is most in use at this day, doth allow usury. The laws of Venice, Genoa, and the Low-Countries (three simply the richest states in Europe) do allow thereof, and yet are free from poor, which persuades that usury is not so hurtful to a state. As for the statute laws of this land they do vary, and one statute mislikes and repeals another, but they all allow usury of orphans; and the law last made since the death of Dr. Fenton in the twenty-first year of King James doth allow eight in the hundred.

The constant practice of the common law of this land, and also of the chancery in point of equity, doth not only allow interest where there is a contract for it, but also doth give it where there is none.

To end this point, if all laws and states had thought all usury to be unlawful, and also michievous to a commonwealth, and if that partnership be a means both lawful and beneficial, it were strange that no practice nor law of any nation would never establish this latter; and for all the world to tolerate a sin when so easy a remedy had been at hand, had been an universal madness.

Argument against Usury.

'It is to some doubtful, therefore unlawful, because whatsoever is not of faith is sin.'

Answ. This argument doth not make it simply unlawful to all, but only such as doubt, and therefore it proves not the point. For Dr. Fenton his position is, that all usury is of itself a sin, and so nothing indifferent. By this doctrine he first perplexeth the understanding of the weak, and so makes them doubt, and, when he finds them doubtful, he useth their doubting to prove it unlawful, because they doubt; whereas, if it be simply a sin of itself, it is as well a sin if a man doubt not as if he doubt. And the place of St. Paul, Rom. xiv. by him alleged, speaks not of sins, but of things indifferent (as eating) which, by doubting only, are made sins to the doubters, and to nobody else. Now if the cause why men doubt whether all usury be sin, be only for that Dr. Fenton and some others teach so, then the sin of those that doubt may fall heavy upon the causers of it. And if Dr. Fenton allow usury to be doubtful, it cannot but argue rashness peremptorily to determine there is no doubt of it, thereby to ensare the consciences of the simple.

Besides the doubting spoken of by the apostle, though it were of things indifferent, yet formerly, before the coming of Christ, they were things necessarily prescribed by the law,

but, after, taken away by the gospel, so that to doubt of them was consequently to condemn the gospel, and deny the faith in Christ. But the doubting of usury is no establishing of the ceremonial law, or overthrowing of our belief and faith in the gospel. Neither is all doubting meant, but such only as overcometh faith, for there is no faith but it is mingled with some doubting. Lastly, it is not necessary that faith should be always grounded upon the word of God, for if a man be persuaded of any thing by the light of reason, or by sense, he is justly said to believe it. To the confirmation of this doctrine I must produce some places of judicious Hooker. 'The will of God (saith he) by which we are to judge our actions, no sound divine in the world ever denied to be in part made manifest, even by the light of nature, and not by scripture alone.' (pag. 97.) And he adds in another place, 'that there may be a certain belief grounded upon other assurance than scripture—we are said to believe whatsoever we are certainly persuaded of, whether it be by reason or sense.' (pag. 60.) And in a third he gives this reason; 'It is not required nor can be exacted at our hands, that we should yield unto any thing other assent than such as doth answer the evidence which is to be had of that we assent unto: for which cause, even in matters divine, concerning some things we may lawfully doubt; of some things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable, and not unlikely to be true. Then are our consciences best resolved and in most agreeable sort unto God and nature settled, when they are so far persuaded, as those grounds of persuasion which are to be had will bear; which thing I so much the rather set down, for that I see how a number of souls are for want of right information in this point oftentimes grievously vexed, when bare and unbridled conclusions are put into their minds: they finding not themselves to have thereof any great certainty, imagine this proceedeth only from lack of faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them, as it doth in true believers: by this means their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguish and perplexity; whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of trial, such as the evidence is, which the truth hath either in itself or through proof, such is the heart's assent thereto, neither can it be stronger being grounded as it should be.' (pag. 73, 74.) Thus far Mr. Hooker. Therefore it is no argument to conclude that because the scripture doth not allow usury, therefore it may not be used: for if the scripture do not absolutely condemn it, it is sufficient if reason or sense do guide our belief for the practice of it.

I leave those that doubt to consider what Dr. Fenton himself saith within a few lines in the same page. Pag. 75. 'This usury which we have in hand is no principle of faith, no mystery of salvation, to be apprehended in the simplicity of belief: but a point of morality belonging to the second table, and so determinable by the rules of equity and charity.'

It is objected (pag. 77.) that 'it is scandalous, and therefore unlawful.'

Answ. If scandal be taken and not given, it is not in itself unlawful. Still he flies from the question.

Of the Unnaturalness of Usury.

A fourth reason of Dr. Fenton is, (pag. 91.) that the increase 'of money is unnatural, therefore unlawful.'

Answ. First, this is no argument of divinity from scripture, but of philosophy from Aristotle.

Secondly, if it were of force, it serves only against usury of money, but not of all other things.

Thirdly, it is confessed, that money considered as it is, a metal, is not perhaps by nature apt to generation and increase; and yet even that may be doubted of: But money considered as it is money, which art, not nature, hath produced, may be allowed an artificial increase or gain, as well as houses, ships, and many other things not natural. Policy hath ordained the value of metals to be the common rule and measure for the worth of all things

vendible, and by common estimation it is accounted in the place and stead of such things; so that in opinion and use money is both land, house, horse, corn, or any thing that is valued by it; even man himself, who in worth exceeds all other creatures, is by God's own valuation prized at a certain sum of money, and fifty shekels of silver were accepted by God in the place and stead of a man who by vow belonged unto him. Leviticus xxvii. 3.

It being then so apparent, that money is by art taken, and used for all things valuable, both by man and God himself (who had his peculiar coin, the shekel of the sanctuary, for all sacred uses, Exodus xxx. 13.) ; it follows in all reason, that since the nature of most things that are valued and sold is to bring forth an increase, that money itself also which is esteemed for them should do the like, or else art is frustrated of her intention, who found out the use of money only for the ease and benefit of trade, which proves to be a discommodity if the benefit of increase be lost by the conversion into money.

It is further objected by Dr. Fenton, 'that money may not be let for hire, as a horse, a house, or a cow, because these things are the worse for letting.'

Ans. What thinks he; may a man take hire for a house, when he binds the lessee to leave it in as good repair as he found it? Many times a horse by a moderate journey after long rest is the better; whether may the lettor take money for his hire? If this argument were sound, that no hire ought to be taken, but where the things are the worse for using, then I believe all the rent that hath been paid for land since Noah's flood hath been unjustly taken: For it will hardly appear that any acre of land is worse now than in his days; since many acres are bettered by tillage and manuring, which by lying waste are hurt; and houses also decay most for want of inhabiting. The true rule of letting is not only the lender's loss in the impairing of the thing lent, but the borrower's gain by the use of it. And we must consider, as well what the owner is the worse by the want of that use, as what the thing lent is impaired. If another use my land, though it be not the worse, yet he is the better by having the crop of it, and I am the worse by wanting that benefit of it which he made; therefore I justly challenge rent for it. The like case is for money, the borrower hath the use of it, and though the money be not the worse for using, yet the lender is the worse by missing the commodity which the other makes of it, and the borrower is bettered by the employment of it.

Also it is objected (pag. 148.) 'that money is void of all immediate use in itself to the possessor while he doth enjoy it.'

Ans. So it is with land, which immediately neither clothes nor feeds any man; but by the mediation of tillage and pasturage both are effected; and though no man immediately eats or wears money, yet, by the means of it, food and raiment are procured.

Another objection is, that money, the more it doth increase, the more it may; which is unnatural, and contrary to other increase.

Ans. It is so in other sorts of increase; for one sheep brings forth a lamb, and that sheep and lamb in time bring forth a double increase, which multiplies to a third, and so forward: so one hundred pound brings forth ten pound, and both together in time increase to produce eleven pound. The only difference is, that money is more durable than other fruitful things, which by course of nature are more perishable.

Of the Ungodliness of Usury.

'It is ungodly and impious, against the first table, because it dependeth not upon God's providence, but is assured by bonds against the act of God.'

Ans. 1. Dr. Fenton forgets that he said, 'usury belongs to the second table;' why is it here made a breach of the first?

Secondly, the usurer's security is to arm himself against the ordinary frauds, negligencies, or other follies of the borrower. If by the hand of God an extraordinary loss do happen, by the like means also an extraordinary gain may be raised sometimes, both which belong

to the borrower, except the mercy of the lender, to whom he is to trust, relieve him. And surely the usurer hath greater cause, and seems also to trust God more than any other man, and is least armed against him. He had need pray against foul weather, tempest, wind, and wreck; for although he be no husbandman, merchant, tradesman, nor labourer, yet by the thriving of all these he must live, if all or any of these miscarry, it is not his bonds many times which help him. Neither against the hand of God only is he unarmed, but against the frauds of men many times his security cannot defend him. How many have been defrauded of their principal debts by fraudulent deeds of gift, by concealing of goods, and divers other ways? It is true some few in a city may sometimes attain to a noted wealth by usury; but these are but as ciphers in comparison of hundreds, who living by the like employment of money, do scarce attain to a moderate gain whereby to maintain themselves in their first condition; and many times as skilful usurers as the best, what by the loss sometimes of interest, sometimes of principal, and other whiles of both, and many times by the lying still of their money for want of reasonable security, have proved in the end perfect beggars by this trade. And what greater argument can there be of the hazard and danger of money that is lent, than the common opinion of the world, which esteems a small revenue in land of fee simple, more safe and certain than almost a double increase in money with perpetual hazard? and for this cause land is dearer than money.

As for taking of bonds for payment, it is no more injurious to the providence of God than to have a bond or covenant of a tenant for the payment of his rent; for although some years by the unseasonableness of the year, or by some other act of God, the land yields not the rent contracted for, yet the tenant is absolutely bound to pay it without any condition of gaining so much by the land: and the reason is grounded upon great equity, and is all one, both for contracts of land and money, to be absolute.

Neither God nor nature have proportioned the valuation of lands, commodities, or moneys; no text can be brought to prove an acre must be just sold at such a price, or a commodity at such a rate, the worth of things in proportion one to another, is a human arbitrary custom, grounded upon the several necessities or opinions of each particular nation. Thus the common estimation doth allow lands, goods, and money taken with all casualties, hazards and charges, to be worth one year with another about a certain value; and it is reasonable that such a certain value should be contracted for: so that as the seller or lettor is not to participate of the extraordinary gains that may be raised, so he is not to sustain the losses if any do happen.

Of the Injustice of Usury.

It is further urged, (pag. 98.) that 'it is unjust, because it takes hire for loan, and sells charity, which should be free, so that things are not lent, but let, if they go for hire.'

Answ. 1. Dr. Fenton can shew no reason why money may not be let, as well as lent, as well as a house or a horse which may be both: I ought in great necessity to lend freely to the poor, yet this work of charity doth not hinder me from letting the same thing where there is not the like necessity.

'If the use of money for a time be worth money in buying and selling,' as Dr. Fenton confesseth (pag. 99.) the rule may better hold in letting, which is no work of charity, though both in letting and selling charity is to guide us. It doth not follow that because I must lend a shilling for a day, therefore I may not lend a pound for a year. Besides, even in letting for hire, there is often both charity and friendship shewed: As if I let a thing for half the value the use of it is worth to one whom others dare not trust with their goods. If some things which are spent in the first use may be sold for increase, why may not other things that are used be let in the same sort, since letting is but a temporary kind of selling, and selling in effect a perpetual kind of letting. If such things as are bought

this day for ten pound may be sold to-morrow for eleven pound, may not the same ten pound which by buying and selling may increase in one day to thus eleven pound, may it not by letting increase in a whole year to as much?

Nor can there be any reason shewed, since money hath a gainful use in itself (and as Solomon saith, 'answereth all things') why I may not as well let a hundred pound in money, as a hundred pound's worth of cattle, houses or lands, which I buy with my money: and because they often tell us, that 'he that bears the hazard must have the gain,' I must ask what they will say to a lease for life, wherein both parties hazard, yet but one gains.

Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, hath an argument against usury taken from the rule of our Saviour, Luke vi. 31, 'As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.' 'Nemo (saith he) sibi vellet usuras infligi, cum fratre sic agat igitur.' No man is willing to have usury taken of him, therefore he must not take himself; every man desires to borrow freely, therefore he must lend freely.

Answ. The rule of our Saviour must necessarily be thus expounded, 'Whatsoever ye will,' that is, Whatsoever you will according to right reason or common justice; for if any man be so unreasonable or so frantic as to will that others should kill him, yet my Lord of Winchester will not say that therefore that man may kill another. So he that desires to borrow freely, breaks the rule of common equity and rectified reason, by coveting his neighbour's goods; for he that desireth to benefit himself by the use of another man's goods, doth therein uncharitably desire the hindrance of his neighbour.

Also it is objected, that the 'greatness of gain which is made by usury is unlawful,' (pag. 100.)

Answ. 1. This is no proof against all increase of money; but only against excessive gains: whereas it should be proved that usury of a penny in the hundred is a sin, as well as of ten pounds.

Secondly, by this rule all gain of merchandizing is condemned, which is ordinarily far greater than that of ten in the hundred.

Thirdly, the greatness of gain by lending must be estimated by the common opinion of the country: otherwise how can any man's conscience warrant him to purchase any inheritance? Men buy land to them and to their heirs for ever, that is till doomsday; which when it will come no man knows, and yet as if every purchaser knew the hour, he bargaineth for land at fifteen or sixteen years purchase. But the last day may come within a year, or within fifteen, or perhaps not within fifteen hundred years: howsoever it be uncertain, yet the public valuation doth esteem it certain; and no man buys land at fifteen years purchase, upon condition that doomsday come not before, because perhaps then he may have a dear pennyworth: nor upon condition that if the world last longer than fifteen years that thenceforward the purchaser should pay a further sum. No, but custom thinks fit to make an absolute bargain, though by the mere act of God it may be made a dear purchase.

As the argument of the greatness of gain in usury, makes against trading or merchandizing, so thereby also bargaining for leases for term of years will be made unjust; and this may the better appear if we examine one of Dr. Fenton's examples of usury in this kind: 'If (saith he, pag. 21.) purposely to avoid the statute, I will purchase an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, with an hundred pounds for ten years, this is bargain and sale, yet the very same with usury, differing only in parchment, and manner of covenanting, subject to the same iniquity and inequality; poisoned with purpose of avoiding the statute and penalty of usury.'

Answ. 1. If only the purpose to avoid the statute, makes his case to be usury, then before the statute, it was no usury, for there could be no purpose to avoid a penalty that was not, and this is to make usury, a breach only of man's law and not of God's. Let us ask Dr. Fenton, whether a lease for years and annuity bought with money be usury, simply in itself; he dares not say it, his answer is, (pag. 129.) 'We cannot condemn it for usury,' and yet he seeth most apparently it is of the very self-same nature with lending

upon bonds, and differs only in the security: upon bond a man ties himself, upon a lease a man ties his land; in both these there is the like increase by money, and both pay alike at the end.

Secondly, this case I find put of a lease that brings in above ten in the hundred, thereby to make it more odious; but give us leave to put it in other terms, and then ask his opinion, if with a hundred pound I purchase an annuity of ten pounds per annum, and twenty shillings over yearly for ten years, is this usury because it is an increase above the principal? It is the very self-same bargain in nature with his, it differs only in the quantity of the increase. Now both by his definition and argument, as well the increase of a penny is usury, as of ten pounds in the hundred, so then by his doctrine a man may not buy a lease worth one penny more than his principal. If it be pretended that bargain and sale of leases be lawful if it be reasonable, otherwise not; then if the unreasonableness only of the bargain make it a sin of usury, then the former doctrine, which saith 'all increase is usury,' is thereby denied, and I confess that an unreasonable bargain is a sin, but of theft in general not of usury.

Thirdly, the principal purpose in buying an annuity or lease for years is to gain by a hundred pound, which since it could not safely be done by bonds, therefore by a second intention, men labour to avoid the statute, so that to gain, and, in gaining, to avoid the statute, is the purpose of such contracts, and not chiefly to avoid the statute, which might best be avoided by not purchasing at all.

Fourthly, it is no sin to avoid a statute by lawful means; if the contract of bargain and sale be in itself lawful, why should it be a vice and not a virtue thereby to avoid the penalty of the law, since laws are purposely made to force men to avoid them by lawful means.

Fifthly, whereas Dr. Fenton (pag. 129.) concludeth, that 'if simply without any pretence such annuity of rent be bought or sold, we cannot condemn it for usury.' It follows that the pretence or intention of the heart, and not the contract makes it usury: and that (as he himself confesseth, pag. 128.) 'if the intention be right, that which formally is usurious, upon the matter may in justice be equivalent to a lawful contract.' If formal usury may be no usury, we must look for a new definition of usury in the consciences of men, and not in Dr. Fenton's treatise; and if usury be committed in buying and selling, what contract will be found in the world without usury.

To instance in some other contracts, let us consider of the absolute buying and selling of land, or of purchasing an annuity for life; because these two contracts are esteemed by most men to be the lawfullest of all others, yet in both these, the just and ordinary valuation both of fee-simple land and of leases for lives is grounded and guided by usury only, and as the use of money goeth higher or lower, so the prices of these rise and fall, so that in very truth he that purchaseth land is the greatest usurer in the world, because he maketh the greatest and certainest gain by his bargain, for example: admit land is bought and sold for sixteen years purchase, and let the inheritance of the land be made away for so little a sum as the land will bring home in sixteen years; what conscience is there to keep that for ever, which in so short a time payeth the purchaser his principal? There can be no other reason yielded for this great disproportion but this, that both the purchaser and seller do equally value the use of the money, and do make the bargain accordingly. The purchase money considered with the use of it would last about a thousand years in paying yearly so much as the rent of the land is, therefore the purchaser expects to enjoy, and the seller intends to part with the land for ever, because the inheritance of the land after a thousand years is not valuable, for that ordinarily within four or five hundred years the possessions of the ancientest families come to a period or decay. In like manner, an annuity for life is bought for nine years purchase, not because a man's life is ordinarily taken to last but nine years, but because the money with the use will last almost twice nine years in paying the annuity; so that if the purchaser of annuity die within eighteen years, the grantor may be a gainer, or at the least a saver, by the bargain; but if he live above eighteen years the grantor must be at loss. This casualty of a lease for life,

wherein the buyer hopes by his own life to be a gainer, and the seller hopes by the death of the buyer to be a gainer, hath made some men, (if we will believe Thomas Aquinas) to think that a lease for life is the worst kind or double usury, because there is an usurious intention on both sides, as well in the grantor as in the grantee, to gain.

If many men who are fit for callings live idly on usury, they sin, but no otherwise than those that let their lands: they may and ought to serve God and their country in some calling, if they do not, it is no fault of usury, but an abuse of it. Neither let any man fear that usury will bring idleness in the world, for if all men be idle there can be no usury. It is the usury-employment of men by their trading that makes the use of money to be at so high a value, and many must be idle if they borrow not a stock to set them on work.

Of the Uncharitableness of Usury.

In the last chapter of Dr. Fenton his second book, I did expect some extraordinary argument against usury, because it treats of the breach of charity by usury, and the opposition between them: I did long to see it proved; but now I am come to it, I find it the shortest chapter in his book, both in quantity, and proof; the little that he saith is in effect, that usurers are commonly uncharitable. pag. 106.

Answ. I did expect to have it proved that all usury is in itself uncharitable, and he tells us that all usurers are so: It is the fault of the men, and not of the thing. Thrift which of itself is a virtue, being abused is the hindrance of charity, and yet thrift is no breach of charity: A thrifty man and an usurer may be merciful to the poor, because they are many times better able than others. If usury of itself were a breach of charity: then not to lend to usury were an act of charity: which is but a mere privation and no act at all. The reason why usurers be commonly found merciless, is for that in many men covetousness makes them usurers, and not usury brings them to be covetous. Many usurers are found well disposed to charity, and give twice as much to charitable uses as those that have twice their estate in lands, and are no usurers. Since then all usurers are not uncharitable, and those that be, are found, and not made such by usury, it is but small charity to say, that usury of itself is the breach of charity.

Londinum Heroico Carmine Perlustratum. Per Johannem Adamum Transylvanum. Dedicatumque Literarum, Peregrinorum, Virtutumque Patronis.

The Renowned City of London ; Surveyed, and Illustrated in a Latine Poem by J. Adamus a Transylvanian. And translated into English by W. F. of Grays-Inn, J. C. Dedicated to the Patrons of Strangers, Learning, and Ingenuity.

London, printed by J. R. for the Author. 167[5?]

[Quarto, containing Fourteen Leaves.]

[The Editor has not found the following poetical Survey mentioned by Mr. Gough in his *Anecdotes*. Perhaps he deemed it too slight for notice as a topographical fragment.]

QUIS metus à vestris me, Transylvania, tectis
Depulit? O regio, mihi quæ cunabula quondam
Præbebas! Sedi in vestris quàm tutus in ulnis!
Deliciasque bibi pleno quas prodiga cornu
Fundebas, O mater amans! placitissima tellus,
Et supero dilecta Deo! Vos palmitis arva,
Pampineum nemus, et spumantes nectare cellas,
Lætæque largifluis undantia musta Falernis,
Arvaque tot pecorum, necnon ditissima frugum
Testor ego mundo; Mahomet trux ille priusquam
Infandis armis nostras vastaverat oras,
Confundens totam nullo discrimine gentem.
Julia testis erit, nitidum quæ nomen ab Albo.
Derivans nunc nigra sedet sub pulvere putri

WHAT dire calamities have enforced me,
Dear Transylvania! from thy breast to flee,
Who gav'st me suck; and in whose lap I sate
Secure, possessed with a good estate?
O land of unknown plenty! where the vine
Spreads forth her branches; and affords us wine
More luscious than Nepenthe; where our fruit
With corn and cattle vied; before the bruit
Of war was heard, and the insulting lust
Of Mahomet had laid us in the dust.
Witness fair Alba-Julia, whose eyes
Like studded stars enamelling the skies
(Made her great kings, and emperors delight)
Sit now eclipsed in eternal night.

Julia testis erit, regum procerumque voluptas;
 Julia funestis jam totùm absumpta favillis.
 Hinc, (vos, O Cives, casus miserescite nostri)
 Pellimur ire domo, patriasque relinquere sedes,
 Et portas intrare tuas, Londine; relictis
 Suffugium felix, desertæque anchora genti.
 Formæ fama tuæ, et miræ pietatis, et usque
 Pectoris humani, dextræque in viscera passæ
 Pauperis, illorum et qui religione ligantur
 Tecum communi tot præ regionibus orbis
 Totius Angligenam suasit mihi viscere gentem
 Anglia magnanimum genetrix fœcunda virorum,
 Grande decus mundi, et mundi melioris imago.
 Ante alias tellus fortunatissima, salve !
 Dives agri, dives pecudum fulvique metalli,
 Et veræ pietatis amans, et pacis alumna;
 Naturæ locupletis opus, matrisque benignæ
 In gremium natæ violisque rosisque pluentis.
 Non ego nunc Latium septenâ sede superbum;
 Non formidatas Capitoli regibus arces;
 Nec Solymi tractus, cedros Libanive stupebo;
 Nec quas Hisperias verbis tot jactat Iberus
 Divitias; non auriferis quibus Indus arenis
 Producit; neque thesauros quos ubere censu
 Eruit ater Arabs, aut quos Panchaia glebis
 Extulerit gemmas cupidoque emiserit orbi.

Henceforth (dear friends) we are constrain'd to fly
 And seek for what our own home doth deny.
 To thy safe arms, [O] London, we are hurl'd;
 London the great emporium of the world,
 Whose benign soul still ready is to bless
 And succour strangers in their most distress.
 Fame of thy beauty, and great bounty too
 Extended to such exile strangers, who
 Profess the same religion, which combin'd
 With thy most liberal kindness, hath inclin'd
 Me to believe blest England doth alone
 Comprise the blessings of the spacious zone:
 England, the fertile mother of brave men,
 Gem of fair Europe! and more noble than
 Thy sister isles; O may heaven's sun still shine
 On thee the granary of the world, and mine
 Of golden ore! Indulger of just truth
 And known integrity! Whose vernal youth
 Rains down sweet blessings in abundant showers
 Exuberant as well in fruits as flowers.
 Henceforth Rome nor Jerusalem shall be
 With Libanus' wealth, of such esteem with me;
 Nor Spain, nor yet those Indies which do boast
 And pay that boasted tribute to her coast:
 Nor sweet Arabia's gums shall henceforth dare
 With thy perfumes, fair London, to compare.

O mihi præ cunctis Londinum optabile terris!
Cujus ego attonitus oculis dum culmina specto,
Confundor, tantisque stupens mens obruta cœptis.
Unde ego prima feram vestigia? quidve jubetis
Me memorare prius? vel quæ primordia cantu
Ducere? quid medio dicam? quo fine quiescam?
Tu mihi, musa, ratas urbis expandito portas,
Angustasque vias cunctas, aditusque locorum,
Ut contemplerer turrita palatia, cœlo
Æquatasque domus passim, pinnasque tremendas,
Collibus et structas juxtim sublimibus arces;
Atria, templa, domus, necnon pomeria regum;
Et populi pronis positas in vallibus ædes.
Hic erit ille locus (nec me præsentia fallunt,
Nec titubant oculi) proles ubi diva Tonantis
Londinum residet, genii regina Britanni:
Londinum, cui se submittat Roma, Quiritum
Illa triumphatrix veterum; Trinobantias ingens
Iliacâ fundata manu, recidivaque Trojæ
Gloria, Dardaniæ soboles, Priamique nepotum.
Sic veteres Britonum cecinerunt carmine bardi.
Illius at quantum à primo mutata colore
Frons divina eluit, longè meliore metallo
Ritè reformata, et melioribus edita fatis.
O urbs! O votis salve mihi mille petita,
Londinum, salve! Trinobantias inclyta, salve.

London! to me more glorious than the wide
Frame of the world; who to me, well ey'd,
Dost strike astonishment. How shall I then
Begin to speak of thee, proud pile? Or when
Shall I conclude? Blest muse, go thou before,
And as my harbinger ope ev'ry door
To my design; shew me, most ignorant, all
The pomp and glories of each court and hall;
And as well houses which in valleys lie,
As palaces whose turrets touch the sky.
This is that place (if mine eyes do not err)
Where Britain's King resides, not far from her
High streets; which city reigneth sov'reign queen
Of this great realm; to whose proud port and mien
Rome must submit. This is great Troynovant
Built by the peers of Troy, which thence may vaunt
And challenge her descent; old Priam's sons,
Whose facts fill chronicles, with those Trojan dons
New risen from their graves, do all agree
To live, and re-derive themselves from thee.
So sang the British bards in days of yore;
But now she's chang'd from what she was before,
More glorious in her habit, port, and hue;
Old Troy some centuries since, is now turn'd new.
Live, happy city, live! So often woo'd
By me some lustres since, and now renew'd,

Clara sacris templis, domibus speciosa superbis,
 Justitiæ portus, fidei lar; pacis Asydon
 Regia Mercurii, Fortunæ porta deatæ,
 Cor mundi; mundique oculus, mundique theatrum.
 En ego te primum patrio procul orbe remotus
 Aspexi; domus O procerum regumque voluptas!
 Urbs armis animisque potens, et robore gentis!
 Urbs locuples, generosa, sagax, illustris, honora,
 Urbs audita mihi longè venerataque longè,
 Nam tuæ nobilitas, et terris didita fama,
 Et Deus impellens huc me traxere volentem.
 Quis valet O charites, urbis percurrere partes,
 Vel minimâ de parte valet comprehendere totam?
 Quid laticum memorem tractus? Castella, tot arces
 Lympharum patulas? occultatosque meatus?
 Quid loquar Æonidum sublimi sede penates,
 Greshamique procul splendentia teeta Camœnis
 Addita, quæ nunc commercia publica pandunt:
 Et rediviva brevi præclara lycæa Syonis,
 Mos quibus est celebres tractare fideliter artes,
 Ingenuumque sacrâ virtute cibare juventam.
 Heic Stagyra senex Græcorum gloria quondam
 Gliscit Aristoteles; heic, magnæ Livius orbis,
 Par amor atque decus, multæque viriliter artes
 Heic exercentur sub prælectoribus æquis.

As much admir'd: Thy churches, towers, and streets
 Ravish our eyes; here great Astrea meets
 In thy tribunals, who art head, heart, eye,
 Of the whole earth, and wonder of the sky.
 Now banish'd, I behold thee as I pass,
 Storehouse of men, and arms; who hast a mass
 Of wealth to boot and (what doth more improve
 Thy fame) the seat of charity and love.
 Thy reputation, fame, and stately port
 Made me more willing to behold thy court,
 Heaven being my guide. Thine aqueducts, and founts
 Are things of weight, and worth, and our accounts
 Can't calculate (great city) each degree
 Or part of honour which belongs to thee.
 Thy conduits, streams, and cisterns being so great,
 What shall I speak of that illustrious seat
 Fair Gresham College, for some while replete
 With shops and men till Gresham's other frame¹
 Fitted, shall reinvite them to the same.
 What shall I say of Sion-College, which
 Like a great wealthy store-house doth enrich
 The minds of men, where all the liberal arts
 Concentre here, divided into parts.
 Whilst Aristotle doth possess the chair,
 Philosophers with physicians do repair

¹ [i. e. The Royal Exchange.]

Ast alii quos dexteritas monet alta docendi,
Concio docta virum, juvenesque polire peritè
Concidunt, Sophiæque favos et mella propinant.
Chloridos, O comites vivaces, spargite laurus,
Spargite purpureas violas, roresque marinos,
Instauretque melos, chelyn instruat, organon aptet,
Aptet et ad tremulos socialia carmina nervos,
Et pleno laudes Londini ebuccinet ore;
Urbem quam celebrem mens obstupescit salutat.
Tot rerum mirata vices, dum se putat orbe
Claudi alio sic cuncta nitent, sic omnia rident,
Sic cælum spectant, sic despectantque profunda.
Mœnia nulla tamen, fossarum nullus hiatus,
Non agger, plutei, non munimenta viarum,
Vallorumque sinus, tumulisque valentibus orbes
Cernuntur circum, vel quæ manus anxia traxit,
Degeneresque metus urbs hæc Lacedæmonis instar
Mœnibus haud fudit virtus, at robora præstat,
Et pietas et sancta fides, animosaque civis
Pectora sufficiunt; heic munus æthereus urbi
Fortior est vallo, vel adactæ cespite terræ
Pro muris: at quàm populosa suburbia densis
Excurrunt spatiis, Thamesis quæ navibus auctas
Alterutrimque facit faciles stationibus undas.

To drink down the distilled dew, and haste
Here, when most hungry, to get some repast.
But here Theology doth bear the sway,
And the divines have th' honour of the day:
Theology which doth sound documents give,
Both to the good and bad men, how to live.
Ye sacred nymphs, infuse in me new fire,
Retune my tongue, and teach me to admire,
And in that admiration to proclaim
Those triumphs due to London's ample frame.
Wondering at such variety of things,
My mind was taken captive, and her wings
Were imp't, not suffering her for to ascend
Those heights to which this stately pile doth tend.
Yet here I view no walls, or banks, t'amate^e
Th' insulting foe; no towers for strength, or state
Environ London; here's no rock, nor shelf,
London's a mighty bulwark of herself.
So Lacedæmon did herself make good,
Her safety scorning walls of stone or mud.
Your works of piety, worthy citizens,
Do more immure you than your walls or pens
Which do environ other towns; 'tis known
You need no external aids safe in your own.
Thames is your rampier; Thames which doth environ
One side more safely than strong bars of iron.

^e [This word, though obsolete, occurs in Johnson's Dictionary.]

Urbs O divitiis locuples, gazisque beata!
 Quicquid avent oculi, quicquid mens optat et ardet,
 Omnia posce, feres. Heic plenum copia cornu
 Explicat, orbis et heic urbem natura locavit,
 Quicquid ad humanos præbens conduxerit usus.
 Auspiciis quantis! O quanto cœpta paratu,
 Urbs exporrectos radiis irritat ocellos!
 Ordine quàm demensa nitet! quot tecta, tot arces,
 Tot propè sunt aulæ, tot penè palatia regum:
 Non Amphionios melius fulsisse penates;
 Non Cadmi jactat mendax quas Græcia sedes,
 Pergameosque lares, habitacula vel ipsa Quirini,
 Magnificentius extructas sua viderit ætas.
 Dicite, vos Cives, totique exponite mundo,
 Quanto vestra procul Trinobantias emicat igne.
 Nil hoc vile loco, nil non laudabile vidi,
 Nil aut plebeium, nil vel commune notavi;
 Nec nisi marmoreum, laterumve rubore superbum.
 Illum ubi perficiet gnavæ solertia dextræ,
 Londinum nulli cedit, sed grande per orbem
 Regnabit cunctis urbs præstantissima terris;
 Urbs ortu melior, sese formosior ipsa;
 Tot populi nova facta sui, patriæque parentum
 Glorificabat opus, longosque loquetur in annos,
 Culmina venturis rite argumenta poetis.
 Advena miratur nova rostra, viasque pererrans,

Blest city, whose commodious and sweet site
 Invites the eye to wonder, and delight;
 Thou being cramm'd with blessings in such store,
 That Heaven could not well give, or earth ask more.
 Oh! with what splendour, and prodigious state
 Doth she the eyes invite! and yet amate
 Them, dazzled with her lustre, where the port
 Of every brave built house doth seem a court.
 I don't admire Amphion's palaces
 Nor Cadmus' towers, nor such lies as these
 Which bragging Greece obtrudes, since I dare say
 Quirinus liv'd not in so fine and gay
 Structures, as now this city here and there
 Presents the eye, and suggests to the ear.
 Tell me, brave citizens, and let th' whole earth
 Admire the freshness of her late new birth.
 Fair Troynovant! the glory of this Isle!
 All things being rich, and nothing mean, or vile.
 And what the marble wants, brick doth advance
 To paint thee of a ruddy countenance:
 That when thou art quite finish'd, thou shalt reign
 Empress of realms, and sit sole sovereign,
 Without a rival; thy proud situation
 For strength and state engaging every nation
 To pay thee tribute; poets too in days
 To come hereafter, will proclaim thy praise.

Diffidit sibi ceu delusus imagine rerum,
 Quotidie graviora tuens potiore renasci
 Aspicit Augustam nisu, cœloque minari
 Turritas ædes, fora, tecta, domosque recentes,
 Atque novis demum venientem sæcula Trojam
 Exorsis. Indum trans Euphratemque rubentem
 In melius veluti longæva renascitur ales,
 Cætera pennigerum studio quam turba veretur
 Virginitas cui perpetuis stat florida seclis,
 Ipsa sibi semper genetrix, semperque propago
 Deponit senium florem sumptura juventæ
 Pulchrior ætherias meliorque resurgit in auras,
 Effulgens cristis, et versicoloribus alis,
 Æquet ut æterni vitalia tempora secli.
 Sic Augusta suis augustior undique cunis,
 Abstergis oritur maculis, recipitque nitorem;
 Quotidie melior, vix ut generosior ulla
 Structuris, opibusque suis præclarior orbe
 Audiat; æternis urbs commemoranda Camænis.
 Quas ego nunc operas! Quæ ferramenta! quot artes
 Hinc, illinc video, quæ se molesque manusque
 Objiciunt, oculus non sufficit unus et alter.
 Heic durâ variæ fabricantur abietæ puppes,
 Æquorei currus, lintres aplustra, carinæ,
 Transtraque cum lembis, et propugnacula vasto
 Oceano gliscunt turritaque castra profundi.

The staring stranger, and the stander by,
 Will gaze, and turn all senses to its eye;
 And with a liberal voice now bid adieu
 To brave old Troy, and welcome in the new.
 As when the phoenix putting off old fate
 (Beyond the mighty river of Euphrate)
 Puts on fresh years, the birds on every side
 Flock to behold the beauties of their bride;
 Who propagates herself, her midwife womb
 Being, at once, her cradle, and her tomb.³
 Whilst she, in feathers glittering like gold,
 Array'd in new robes, doth resign the old
 Rags of mortality, which once were worn,
 But now cast off as useless and forlorn.
 So this unpattern'd sovereign, whose site,
 And state, are all men's wonder and delight,
 Enthroned sitting, hears the minstrel throngs
 Of bards and poets, praising her in songs.
 What works do I see here? What immense bars,
 And engines, fit as well for peace as wars?
 Not far from hence the lofty ships do stand,
 The props, and watery bulwarks of this land;
 With oars, and scullers, masts, and many a boat
 Beyond the rules of number, or my note.

³ [Alluding to the rebuilding of London after the great fire.]

Longius ingressus vigili dum plurima mente
 Obvia, contemplor turres super alte nitentes,
 Condentesque caput video sub cardine lunæ :
 Juxta, celsa domus metuendo robore cincta
 Machina quam latis circumriget horrida fossis ;
 Hinc, illinc cumulis tot propugnacula summis,
 Murorumque minæ, non expugnabile Castrum
 Munitu, capite Augusto minitatur Olympo,
 Et speciem prope mentis habet, qua scilicet alto
 Quadruplicata Pharos Thamesinas despicit undas.
 Hæc domus à Latiis dudum fundata dynastis,
 Ante salutarem sancta de virgine partum.
 Julius a magno cui missum nomen Julo
 Audiit ; Ausonius primâ qui voce monarcha
 Sæpius hic posito solidus requiescere ferro
 Exutus galeam, musis mulcere labores,
 Quantum quove die fausto perfecit ausu,
 Aut quò progressus victor, quæ sceptrâ subegit,
 Et quæ post Thamesin restant vincenda Sabrinque
 Retulit in fastos, et Commentaria rerum,
 Gestaque bellorum per se, sacraverat ævo
 Ipse suæ vindex famæ provector, et autor,
 In calamo vates magnus bellator in armis
 Maximus, Ausonii vis robustissima regni :

Hence, passing farther, I contemplate towers
 Almost as high as Heaven ; whose guns, in showers
 Of iron-shot, command both far and near.
 Not far from which stands a renowned pier
 O'er which the noble Tower exalts her high
 Turrets, which are near neighbours to the sky :
 I'the midst of which great London's land-mark lifts
 Her head above the opposite hills and cliffs.
 She stands four-square ; and yet doth seem but one
 Compacted piece, hewn out of solid stone,
 Made by the Latian lords, before the birth
 Of Christ did bring salvation to the earth ;
 A structure so antique, we must forbear
 To nominate the time, or quote the year.
 They say that Julius Cæsar, the first head
 And Emperor of Rome, (whose fame doth spread
 Throughout the world) when he was in this isle
 Laid the foundation of this stately pile :
 Here to delight himself in the soft charms
 Of the nine sisters, he put off his arms ;
 And thus retired could accompt how far
 Each day he had proceeded in the war.
 Here he compil'd his Commentaries, who
 Was a great scholar, and a conqueror too.
 He was his own fame's champion, and, in spite
 Of fate, will live, and be preserv'd to light
 Of future ages. Here great Cæsar's Tower
 (A noble structure of both might and power)

Cæsaris illa domus, vestris dum fulminat oris
Parendique docet leges, et jura Britannis.
Quid loquar ingentes muros, vel ahenea muris
Fulmina flammivomo longe metuenda metallo?
Quidve Bolos-pyrios pandam, vel Punica mala
Commemorem, vel cum parmis, armenta, sarissas?
Bellacem O gentem! Cui pectora didita Marti
Sub pace, et pugnis observantissima regum
Pro quibus audebant quàm maxima ferre pericli
Damna, nec instantem juxta exhorrescere mortem.
Ite per historias; fastos scrutate Latinos,
Romuleas aquilas dum signa Britanna sequuntur
Fausta triumphantum fixerunt arma per orbem.
Quicquid ubique manu magnum gessere Quirites
Seù fors Illicum, seù Pathica regna tueri,
Aut Orientis opes, aut Afras quærere messes
Extremosque truci populos contundere bello
Esset opus; legiones semper adesse Britannos
Victores voluere, nihil sine testibus illis
Ingens ausuri; fortunatissima belli
Expertis toties eventa, gravesque labores
Pro fama, pro laude viros in utrumque paratos
Vincere vel mediis cecidisse viriliter armis.
His adjuta viris succrevit Roma, suumque
Imperium terris, nomenque æquavet Olympo.
Digredior, dextrumque peto, quâ lenis in altum

Stands like some stately Pharos, whose chief end
Is even as much to threaten, as defend.
What shall I mention her magnific walls,
Round which stand iron guns, with equal balls,
With their artillery. O nation firm
In feats of war, nor yet in peace inerme.
O nation! faithful to thy kings; for whom
Thou ne'er didst fear to meet thy direst doom.
Ransack all histories, and angles too,
And tell me truly whate'er Rome did do
Great, without English aids, who still did stand
Firm to the Romans, when they did command,
In Parthia, or Illyria, or in quest
If of the spoils of Afric, or the East,
The British legions still the camp supply'd,
Having been long so exercis'd and try'd:
In eminent dangers resolute and bold,
Apt to endure hunger, heat, or cold.
And scorning in the greatest pinch to fly,
Whose motto was, 'to conquer or to die.'
Rome by these aids, (whose city stood on seven
Proud hills) did raise her name as high as Heaven,
And still successful wheresoe'er she came
Made her dominions ample as her fame.

But I digress, and, on the eastern side,
I spy a place once of great note and pride.

Surrigitur clivus suasit deflectere cursum
 Compita per, pars longa mihi de mænibus urbis
 Objicitur, spectat quâ linea recta triones.
 Hæc Constantinus, Constanti maxima proles
 Condidit et totam muris ingentibus urbem
 Præcinxit, fossasque dedit, molesque tremendas.
 Urbs at in immensum postquam succrescere cœpit
 Sedibus amplificata suis, pars ista remansit,
 In populi pars hinc mutata cubilia cessit,
 Subruta pars etiam Thamesinis concidit undis.
 Hic ille Augustus divum genus, orbis Asylon,
 Delicium populi, patriæ servator, et autor
 Constantine tibi tua tanta Britannia debet
 Quanta triumphati quondam caput Ilias orbis
 Debuit Augusto, aut Lacedæmon quanta Lycurgo.

Huc observus et huc, quo me trahit obvius ardor,
 Innumeras video plateas, quæ fœdere facto
 Commoda mechanicis tot mercibus obvia præbent.
 Heic inter sese magnâ vi Brachia miscent
 Brontes, et Steropes, et nudus membra Pyracmon,
 Hi desueta putri longum ferrugine tela
 Horrentisque situ galeas, ad martia ducant
 Vulnera, perpetuis subiguntque nitescere flammis.
 Parte aliâ artifices video qui fortè sedendo
 Exercent operas, vigili manuumque labore
 Difficilem quæerunt per amica silentia victum.
 Sunt hi pannifici, fullonum densius agmen
 Qui pro sorte suâ, sed non sua vellera tractat :

Where Constantine the Great did raise a pile,
 Which in the days of yore retain'd the stile
 And impress of his name, till big, and bold,
 Buildings more new, quite justled out of old ;
 And swelling Thames too, swallowing up a good
 Part, left no sign, where that old structure stood.
 Blest Constantine ! the darling and the love
 Of mankind ! dear to earth, and heaven above ;
 To whom thy Britain owes herself as far,
 As Rome to her Augustus ; or in war
 Great Lacedæmon to Lycurgus ; who
 Was her first light, and legislator too.

Thus in my progress whilst I do advance
 My tired steps, I seemed in a trance
 To view artificers in such a long
 Series of shops so huddled in a throng.
 Here knocks the joiner, there the blacksmith beats
 The batter'd anvil, and with labour sweats
 Clothing the stubborn steel, and rusty blade
 With a brighter habit than before they had.
 On the other hand artificers do sit
 Who get their living by their hand and wit.
 These are the clothiers, and the dyers, who
 Teach th' innocent wool to put on every hue.

Heic varios discit mentiri lana colores.
Heic quoque pistorum, lanique sub ordine justo,
Artificesque alii quos nunc describere longum est.
Heic juvenes tranant patulas, sudore plateas;
Heic quoque matronam possis vidisse frequentem
Prodiga quæ persæpe sui, quoque parca soporis
Pervigiles agitat gnavo sub pectore curas
Quid sit opus facto? fas utile? quidve decorum?
Sustentasque pios sub paupertate penates
Primo thoro surgit, repetit postrema cubile,
Conjugis ut possit parvos educere fœtus,
Gallinæ in morem quæ pullis forte relictis
Allatura cibos, patulos spaciatur in agros
Sollicitè et victum vel cum discrimine vitæ
Apparat, incolumès tepidâque sub alite condit.
Londinum O felix! urbs o sata sydere dextro,
O miris cumulata bonis! non largius ullis
Indulsit natura locis; comprehendere mente
Nec valeo paribus tot commoda pingere dictis.
Quid loquar innumeras pulsantes sydera sedes?
Plumb-Aulæve, canam granaria vasta? vel Aulam
Maxima Guilda tuam? stricto quâ pondere leges
Jura legunt, juste et scelerum peccata rependunt.
Hinc, tutrix totam prudentia temperat urbem,
Justitiamque suo sapientia dirigit orbe.

Bakers, cooks, butchers, too, with many more
Tradesmen stand here, which I can't count or score:
In hope of gain here young men trace each street,
And the grave matrons at the market meet,
And mindful of the main, how to safe keep
Their credits whole, do often break their sleep;
And to this purpose in their morning-gown
First in the house are up, and last are down.
Anxious and careful to enhance their store,
And make provisions for their young and poor:
Much like some clucking hen, which in great hoe,
For her small chicken wanders to and fro;
Searching the yard, the stable, and barn-doors,
And here and there pecks corn from the floors;
Which to her little brood she gladly brings
Fed first, then foster'd under her warm wings.
Thrice happy London in thy pleasant seat,
Who art with bliss redundantly replete!
How should I praise thee then? Whose beauties are
Beyond my pen, or mortal man's compare.
How shall I praise thy structures, or descry
Thy Leaden-Hall, old London's granary?
Or thy renowned Guild-Hall? Where the law,
Well executed, keeps bad men in awe.
Here Justice, like a queen enthron'd, doth sit,
To whom for love all good men do submit,

Londinum Perlustratum :

Ipse aulas reliquas alio commendo labori
 Illaque Dædaleæ longum miracula formæ
 Greshamiæ monumenta manus, urbisque novata
 Et mercerorum conjunctis sumptibus, ingens
 Illud opus quod nunc Regalis Cambio dicta est.
 Si ne fata sinent ac indulgentia patrum
 Annuet his cœptis, tum pars prodibit in orbem
 Altera quæ Londine tuæ magnalia famæ
 Exponet graviore Chelys; fanumque stupendum
 Occiduum Sancto Petro per secla dicatum
 Alb-Aulæque domum regum memorabile tectum,
 Atque suburbanis legum collegia vicis.

The bad for fear; for regent Wisdom here
 Sitteth possest, in her own orb and sphere.
 The other halls perhaps I may compile
 Hereafter, if my patrons shall but smile⁴
 On these my labours; I shall then proclaim,
 With a more vocal trump, the mighty frame
 Of the Exchange, which the proud monument stands
 Of noble Gresham, and the mercers hands.
 Then shall I speak of Paul's; and England's best
 Cathedral, great St. Peter's in the west;
 With brave White-Hall, the palace of great kings,
 And the Inns of Court, and Chancery; with such things
 As may comport with the magnificence
 Of London's trophies and our time and tense.

FINIS.

⁴ [From the specimen here given of Transylvanus's poetry it is not unlikely the 'patrons' refused their 'smiles.']

True Copies of all the Latine Orations, made and pronounced at Cambridge, on Tuesday and Thursday, the 25th and 27th of Februarie last past, 1622. by the Vice-chancellor and others of that Universitie. In their Entertainment of the excellent Lord, Don Charles de Coloma, Ambassador for his Catholike Majestie of Spaine, to the King's most excellent Majestie; and of the most illustrious Lord, Ferdinand, Baron of Boyscot, Ambassador from the most renowned Princesse, Isabella, Clara Eugenia, Arch-duchesse of Austria, &c. to the Kings most excellent Majestie. As also of an Oration made and pronounced by the Vice-chancellor the 19th of March last, to the Kings most excellent Majestie, wherein mention is made of the said Ambassadors. With their Translations into English.

Published by command.

London, printed by W. Stansby for Richard Meighen, and are to be sold at his Shop without Temple-Barre at the signe of the Legge, over against the Chequer Taverne betwixt Arundell house and Stand bridge. 1623.

[Quarto, containing Sixteen Leaves.]

Oratio Vicecancel. Cantab.¹ habita coram Illustriss. Dominis Legatis cùm primùm intrarent Collegium S. Trinitatis. 25 Feb. 1622.

ILLUSTRANDO terrarum angulo tam exiguo, satis abundè fuisset sydus unicum; sed geminos soles, bina (quod in præsentiarum obtigit) astra primæ magnitudinis, ex Hispanico præsertim cœlo, Athænis his nostris affulgentia, istud quidè miratur atque adorat triumphans Cantabrigia. Scilicet, ex hoc ortu aspectuque novo benignorum syderum revocatur, alma mater nostra academia in memoriam antiqui beneficii, seque (quod monent optimæ notæ scriptores) à Mæcenate quodam Hispano agnoscit oriundam. Cantaber multis retro sæculis ædificavit, Cantaber philosophis hanc frequentari fecit academiam; ille protoplasta noster fuit, ille fundamenta jecit Britannicorum studiorum; vosque (illustrissimi heroes) seri lici nepotes Cantabri, avitis jam nunc tamen institistis vestigiis, perque cœnum, et salebras et cætera impedimenta viarum ingens (quasi fastigii loco) decus addidistis academiæ. Utinam profectò Attalicæ opes, Persisique apparatus, suppeterent gratis animis quo vestras tam augustè possemus quam sanctè debemus, cupimusque venerari Excell. vest. Verùm, quâ estis peritiâ rerum omnium singulari, non nescitis quam curta sit ubique (ferè) gentium suppellex academicorum. Porro quâ estis et animorum et fortunarum magnitudine, præter vota salutantium, officia comitantium, anthemata cantantium, argutias disputantium, facetias ludentium, aliaque molesti itineris levamenta, à misellis Cantabri alumni expectatis nihil.

¹ [The vice-chancellor at this period appears to have been Jerome Beal, D. D. Master of Pembroke-hall and prebendary of Chichester.]

Hac magnanimitate V. freti, procancellarius, et senatus omnes academicus, in occursum, venerationemque V. celsitudinem fidenter procedimus. Neque solùm de adventu utriusque salvo, faustoque gaudemus impensè, sed pro morâ etiam offensarum omnium experte, proque abitu demum sero, ac saturo voluptatum vovemus integerè.

The Vice-chancellor his Oration, when he first met the Ambassadors, with the chief Doctors of the University, at their entrance into Trinity College. 25th Feb. 1622.

FOR the illustrating of so small a corner of the world, one star were abundantly sufficient; but that two suns (as at this present it happeneth) two stars of the first magnitude; especially from out the Spanish sky, should shine upon this our Athens, this surely our triumphing Cambridge admires and adores. For from this new rising and aspect of benign stars, our sacred mother the university is put in mind of ancient benefits, and (as best authors have recorded) acknowledgeth herself sprung from a Spanish Mæcenæ. A Spaniard many ages since built this university, a Spaniard made it frequented with philosophers. He was our first parent, he laid the foundation of our British studies; and you (most illustrious lords!) although his long-descended nephews, yet still Spaniards, do tread in your predecessors steps, and through foul ways, rough passages, and other impediments of travel, have added an exceeding glory (as perfection and top of all the rest) to this university. Truly, I wish that our grateful minds were stored with the wealth of Attalus, and pomp of Persia, whereby we might as magnificently, as we are religiously obliged and desire, honour your excellencies. But in your singular knowledge of all things, you are not ignorant how short and poor in all places the provision of academians is. And also in the greatness of your minds and fortunes, besides the hearty wishes of those that salute you, the duties of those that attend you, the anthems of singers, the subtilties of disputants, the conceits of comedians, and such other recreations after a tedious journey, you expect nothing from the poor foster-children of Cantaber.

Trusting in this your magnanimity, we, the vice-chancellor, and whole senate of the university, do confidently proceed to meet, and honour your excellencies; neither do we only exceedingly rejoice for the safe and happy arrival of you both, but we do also heartily pray for your abode here without any offence, and that your departure may be late, and full of all contents.

Oratio Edmundi Stubbes, in interiore parte Collegii habita, coram Illustriss. Dominis Legatis. 25 Feb. 1622.

CUM primùm amplitudinis vestræ adventus jam propinquior aures nostras perbeaverat illustriss. domini, nescio, quæ ambitio statim invasit singulos lætitiæ suæ molem aliquam expressam dare. Nunc vero postquam præsens hic splendor oculos percellit nobis quam repente omnium admiratio in stuporem abit et silentium? Misello tantùm mihi hujus oneris fœlix infœlicitas incumbit uni, istarum ædium communem gratulationem effari paucis, quam non possum plurimis. Quæ enim eloquentiæ vis, quis apparatus, qui triumphus non ducam his angustiis temporis, sed diuturnitate quantumvis maximâ excogitari potest qui tales mereatur hospites? Cæteras virtutum laudes ubique gentium audietis: nobis humanitatis hodiernæ beneficium, sat operis est agnoscere, quòd cùm gravissima regnorum negotia subeatis, musis vacare placeat, et reipub. literariæ: cùm sacram majestatis speciem referatis et personam, adeoque aulis principum excepti quàm magnificè, post tamen privatos lares visere non dedignemini. Auspicatò igitur ædes has vestras introite, vestras inquam, nec Minervæ minùs futuras, imò verò magis, quòd utraque Pallade nunc primum gloriosæ, tam Marte quàm Mercurio; quodque novum Camænis

nostris accumulavit decus hodie, uno aspectu tres Apollines intuentur. Quid multa? plures verborum remoras non patitur magnitudo vestra, nec itineris jam peracti tædium; satis superque longam, etiam per nives viam transiistis modò, et oratione prolixâ magis secundo jam lassare, pro officio scelus esset, et piaculum. Hoc unum adjicio, quod et nobis justum videtur, et Serenissimo Jacobo nostro progratum fore novimus; nos omnes alacres lætosque, excellentiæ vestræ præstituros, quicquid possumus, reipsa. Sed votis plusquam aut eloqui exprimatur, aut silentio.

The Oration of Master Stubbes, at the entrance of the Ambassadors into the House, 25th Feb. 1622.

AS soon as the near approach of your noble presence, had, with the report thereof, thoroughly blessed our ears, (most illustrious lords!) I cannot say what ambition possessed each one of us, to make known some proportion of his joy. But now, when the present splendour thereof strikes upon our eyes, how suddenly all our admiration is changed into amazement and silence! The happy misfortune of this burthen, to pronounce the common joy and welcome of these houses in few words, which I am not able to do in many, doth light upon me alone the meanest of them all. For what force of eloquence, what preparation or triumph could be invented, I will not say in this shortness, but even in the greatest length of time, that might deserve the access of such guests! You shall hear the praises of other virtues in all nations; it is labour enough for us to acknowledge the benefit of this day's favour from you; who, undergoing the greatest affairs of kingdoms, are pleased to give some time to the muses, and this commonwealth of learning; who, presenting the sacred majesty of princes, and their person, and so to be magnificently received in their courts, yet disdain not to visit these private dwellings. Enter then happily into these your houses; your's I say, and thereby no whit less belonging to Minerva; nay, rather more, for that being now first of all made glorious with either Pallas, as well Mars as Mercury; and that which this day doth heap new glories upon our muses, they behold at once three Apollos. What should I say? your greatness doth not brook any farther delays of speech, neither the painfulness of your new-finished journey; it is more than enough that you have past even now a wearisome way through the snow, and it would, instead of good manners, be a crime and heinous offence to tire you again with a tedious oration. This I do only add, which we know to be requisite for us, and very acceptable to our most renowned king, that we shall with all alacrity and joy, perform those real duties we are able, unto your excellencies. But that must rather be expressed in our wishes, than either with our speech or silence.

Oratio Henr. Molle,² Socius Col. Reg. 25 Feb. 1622.

Amplissimi illustrissimique viri,

QUANTUM vobis debeat academia hac nostra vestro cogitatu opus est ut dignoscatis, cùm nos neque beneficii vestri capaces, neque referendæ gratiæ ullo modo pares simus. Sicut enim qui è tenebris et longo situ ad solem subitò educuntur, caligat iis acies atque oculis hebescent, sic nobis evenit, quibus, in obscuritate et situ scholastico degentibus splendor hic vester (qui oculis nostris inopinatus apparet) perstringit animorum aciem, et retardat dicendi facultatem. Quid enim tam splendidum, tamque magnificum quàm cernere uno intuitu viventes et spirantes imagines duorum totius Europæ potentissimorum, atque invictissimorum principum, Hispaniarum Regis, atque eodem innumerosissimo

² [Master Henry Molle, fellow of King's College, was afterwards one of the proctors in the university, viz in 1633, and was public orator in 1639.]

stemmate prognatæ serenissimæ Infantæ, clarissimæ καὶ εὐγενεστάτης Isabellæ Claræ Eugenïæ Archiducis Austriacæ? Sed hoc parum est ut communem nostrorum omnium matrem academiam invisatis, nisi etiam eò facilitatis descendat insignis vester in litteras favor, ut privatum hoc domicilium præsentîâ vestrâ cohonestetis. Mos antiquis fuit ut in omni expeditione de viâ ad delubrum aliquod deflecterent, quò meliùs iter suum auspicarentur, quod vos (Summi Viri!) non minùs benignè facitis, quàm prudenter; qui, ad regem nostrum sacerrimum profecti, fœliciùs omnia successura creditis, si has divinarum artium ædes (quas literatissimus rex suas nuncupare non dedignatus est) obiter salutetis. Regem fundatorem olim gloriamur, regium opus conspicietis, vel fundamenta potius regii operis; quæ, si vel ex mente, vel ex dignitate suæ ipsius molis extracta essent, minùs erubescerent cùm vos (Magni Hospites!) gremio suo exciperent, sed

—————pendent opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes, æquataque machina cœlo.

Quæ tamen omnia vix jam è pulvere excitata gestiunt percipere admirandam vestram humanitatem, quæ, quo minùs illa, apparet magis. Et cùm nihil ipsis desit præter animam, quâ lætitiâ suam exprimant, nos animæ vicem illis supplebimus; vivum theatrum hodiernæ celebritatis, et viva futuri monumenta, quæ fœliciores hanc lucem celebrent, et posteritati tradant celebrandam.

The Oration of Master Hen. Molle, Fellow of King's College, uttered in the King's Chapel, 25th Feb. 1622.

Most noble, and most illustrious lords,

How much this our university is indebted unto you, it is needful that you should conceive by your own imagination; since we are neither capable of so great a benefit, nor in any sort worthy to receive it. For as those who, from some dark and noisome place, are suddenly brought forth into the sun, find their sight to fail them, and their eyes to wax dim, so doth it fare with us; to whom, spending our time in obscurity and scholastical retiredness, this your brightness (that unlooked for doth beat upon our eyes) dazzleth the light of our understanding, and hindereth our faculties of speech. For what splendour and magnificence can there be like to this; at once to behold two living and breathing images of two of the most potent and invincible princes of all Europe, the King of Spain, and the most renowned Infanta, issuing from the same boundless stock, the most famous and royally descended Isabella Clara Eugenia, Arch-duchess of Austria! Neither is it enough for you to visit the common mother of us all, the university, except your singular favour to learning descend so far, as to honour with your presence this our private house. It was a custom among the ancients, in all their journeys, to turn out of the way unto some temple, that they might more happily undertake their voyage; which ye, most excellent lords! with no less wisdom than benignity, do at this present; who, going to our most sacred king, believe that all things will more prosperously succeed unto you, if by the way you salute this temple of divine arts, which a most learned king disdained not to call his. We glory in a king our founder; it is a kingly monument which you behold, or rather the foundation of a royal work; which, if they had been finished according to the intention of the builder, or the dignity of their pile, they would be less ashamed to receive you, so great guests, under their roof; but

The works do hang half finish'd, and the high
Walls, battlements, and pile rear'd to the sky.

But yet all, as it is, scarce raised out of the dust, triumphs to have part of your admirable

humanity, which, in their smallness, doth the more appear. And since nothing is wanting to them but a soul, whereby they might express their joy, we will supply that part, and become both a living theatre, and living monuments of this day's solemnity, to celebrate this most fortunate hour, and deliver it to be honoured by all posterity.

Oratio Matthæi Milleri in Aulâ Clarensi, 27 Feb. 1622.

HISPANIÆ simul Austriæque adventum Britannia gratulatur plurimum. Parcite, viri illustrissimi! et errori quem fecistis veniam date, si splendore vultus vestri hallucinata, in legatis dominos, in dominis patrias, videat et agnoscat academia, quæ totius regni contemplando oculus, loquendo lingua est. Tum quòd publicum academix gaudium privata meis verbis loquatur domus, id vero, facile ignoscet, opinor, eadem illâ benignitas vestra, quæ prior ipsa domum privatam publico planè honore, eoque amplissimo condecoravit: quæque natali relictâ sede, insulam hanc nostram, regiamque urbem salutare non contenta, inde academiam invisere, tum collegia lustrare singula, pauperes denique Musarum lares nostros, Aulam Clarensensem adire dignata est. Quo nomine, tanto nos plus cæteris debemus, quanto illorum alii, quò vos invitent, monumenta majorum habent multifaria; nos unicum habemus, quod quidem prædicandum omnibus, quod omnibus ostentandum erit, quod et vobiscum attulistis, et apud nos relinquitis, humanitatis, et amoris vestri monumentum. Alii alia vobis præbent spectatu digna; nobis ipsi longè pulcherrimo estis spectaculo. Nam quicquid sublime, aut magnificum, quicquid ingenuum, aut liberale, de gente utrâque, de principibus, populisque vestris, aut legimus unquam, aut audivimus, ejusdem in vobis hodie egregium sanè specimen, et exemplar præsens, præsentem intuemur; ex quo tantam profectò voluptatem capimus, ut non libenter tam citò nos inde avelli pateremur; nisi metus esset, ne pro oculorum nostrorum deliciis auribus vestris tædium et nauseam reponamus. Id ne fiat, gratias duntaxat, quod superest, solennes agimus, quod, hodiernâ præsentia vestra tam honorificâ, ex aulâ perparvâ ingens fecistis amplissimorum trium regnorum collegium: aut si antiquum retinere nomen religio est, aulam hanc nostram reddidistis certè aulicam, et Clarensensem longè quàm antè clariorem, ipsi scilicet viri verè aulici et clarissimi. Dixi.

The Oration of Master Matthew Miller, of Clare Hall, 27th Feb. 1622.

BRITAIN doth give a most hearty welcome at once to Spain and Austria. Bear with us, most excellent lords, and pardon the error which yourselves have made, in that our university, in speculation the eye, in speech the tongue, of the whole kingdom, having her sight dazzled with the splendour of your looks, doth behold and salute the princes themselves in their ambassadors, and in the princes their countries. So, likewise, that our particular house should express the general joy of our academy, I think, may easily be forgiven by that gracious favour which did freely of itself first honour this private house, even with public, and that most ample, respect; you not being contented only to leave your native soil and to salute this our island and royal city, and afterwards to visit our university, and take particular view of each college; but have vouchsafed also to enter into this poor dwelling of the Muses, Clare Hall. In which regard we are more obliged unto you than all the rest; by how much each of them hath more various monuments to invite you to behold them, when we have only one, which we indeed shall celebrate and expose to the eyes of all men, even that which yourselves have brought with you, and leave here with us—the monument of your courtesy and love. Others afford you other objects worthy your sight, yourselves being the most pleasing spectacle we can look upon. For whatsoever we have read or heard to be high and magnificent, ingenuous or liberal in

either nation, in your princes or people, we have an extraordinary mirror and pattern thereof, even now placed before our eyes, by your presence, whence surely we receive so great comfort, that we could not endure to be so suddenly deprived thereof: but for our fear lest we should repay your ears with tedious and displeasing discourse, for these delights which you have presented to our eyes, which to avoid, we only (as the last part of our duty) give you solemn thanks, for that with this day's so honourable presence of yours, you have of this little hall made a great college of three most mighty kingdoms. Or if any scruple be to be had of omitting the ancient name of this our hall, you have made a court, and have more illustrated than ever it was before, Clare Hall, being yourselves indeed lords truly courtlike and most illustrious.²

Oratio Edwardi Lloyd³ in artibus Magist. Collegii D. Joan. Evang. Socii.
27 Febr. 1622.

Splendidissimi, et siquid majus dici possit, illustrissimi viri,

IN umbratilem hunc, Helicon, et sacrum Musarum domicilium, grati advenitis. Iners sanè et vecors esset Apollineus chorus, si ob vestrum adventum non tripudiaret; et quàm inanis esset ille Cantabrigiæ titulus, ut Britannia diceretur oculus, si vos intueri non liceret, cùm tam excellens sensibile non destruit (quod garriunt philosophi) sed perficit academiae visum. Mater academia anxia sanè priùs, et multis cruciatibus oppressa jacuit; tantam enim nuperrimè enixa est bacchalaureorum multitudinem, ut non mirum sit, quod ei doloris ponderi qui partum sequitur, mœsta succubuerit; sed cùm vester ei innotuit adventus, sese læta erigens, pullatos istos deposuit vultus; tantas vester splendor, in enervatam præ partus dolore academiam, effudit vires, ut quæ lugubris antea, hilari jam et læta vos accipiat frontem. Quantum enim gestit academia, unum hoc pro cunctis loquatur collegium; quod serenissima Domina, Margareta, Richmondiæ Comitissa, Henrici Septimi mater, et à qua regia prosapies jam deducitur, antiquitùs fundavit: nos inquam superstes Margaretæ soboles, adventui vestro maximè gratulamur; ita ut præter benignum istud χαῖρε quod Cæsar noster serenissimus Jacobus vobis impertiri jussit, nos, qui è Margaretæ cineribus, Catholicâ pietate et zelo ardentibus, expullulavimus Musarum lusciniæ, nostrum pariter Pegaseium salve, vobis offerimus. Quid enim? Nonne nos qui sumus et Jacobi subditi, et Margaretæ progenies, celsitudinem vestram utriusque nomine acciperemus? Cum et vos (viri heroici!) vere μεσσηγής, ac Mercurii instar, gemino nos intuemini vultu; unâ enim ex parte vestrum respicitis Hispaniarum Regem, quem, si in vivis esset unicè adamaret Margareta; alterâ verò, nostrum Jacobum, quem et nos piè colimus; ita ut illud Suetonii quod in uno Cæsare plures erant Marii, de vobis (splendidissimi Domini!) vice versâ verum sit; in unoquoque enim vestrum mihi videor videre duos Cæsares, hunc serenissimum Britannia, illum Hispaniarum Regem; hic Defensor Fidei est, ille Rex Catholicus; qui duo si tanquam Castor et Pollux, duo propitia sidera, junctim effulgeant, magnum reipub. Christianæ, tot discordiarum fluctibus miserrimè agitatæ, allaturi sunt emolumentum; ita ut tunc orbis Christianus nullius infidelis frontis nubeculam pertimescat, et residuus nullus ἀταξίας aut contentionum pulsus in repub. Christianâ immurmurabit: Utriusque igitur (et gentis et regum deliciæ) hæc qualiscunque sit oratiuncula instar prologi sit, in quo nostræ tantum lætitiæ argumentum describitur; exultantes vero academiae motus subsequens actus ad vivum exprimat. Dixi.

² [The verbal playfulness of the original, in the closing sentence, is quite lost in the translation.]

³ [Master Edward Lloyd, fellow of St. John's College, was afterwards one of the proctors in the university, viz. in 1627.]

The Oration of Master Edward Lloyd, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Saint John's College: pronounced the 27th Feb. 1622.

Most splendid, and, if more may be said, most illustrious Lords.

YE are come most acceptable into this shadow of Helicon, and sacred dwelling of the Muses. Surely slothful and senseless were Apollo's quire if it danced not at your coming. And how vain were the title of Cambridge, in being styled one of the eyes of Britain, if it were not lawful for her to behold you; since so excellent an object destroyeth not, (as philosophers babble) but perfecteth the sight of this university. Truly our mother, this academy, hath of late been grieved and oppressed with many torments; for it is not long since that she brought forth so great a number of bachelors, that it is no marvel if she sorrowfully faint under that burthen of grief which followeth child-birth: but when your coming was made known unto her, she, joyfully raising herself, cast aside those black and mourning shews; your splendour infused so great strength into our university, enfeebled with the pangs of child-birth, that she which mourned before, now receiveth you with a cheerful and glad countenance. For how much the university rejoiceth, let this one college declare for all; which the most renowned lady, Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry the Seventh, and from whom our royal progeny is derived, many years since founded. We, I say, the surviving issue of Margaret, do congratulate your coming; so that besides the benign *χαῖρε* which our Cæsar, most renowned James, commandeth to be given unto you, we who have sprung from the ashes of Margaret, burning with catholic piety and zeal, nightingales of the Muses, do likewise offer unto you our Pegasian salve. For what! should not we, who are the subjects of James, and progeny of Margaret, in both their names receive your excellencies; since also you (heroical lords!) are true admirers of the Muses; and like Mercury, behold us with a two-fold countenance; for with one part you behold the King of Spain; whom, were Margaret living, she would singularly love; and with the other, our James, whom we also piously adore; so that the saying of Suetonius, that in one Cæsar there were many *Marii*, may by conversion be verified (most noble lords) in you; for in each of you there seem to appear two Cæsars, the one, the most renowned King of Britain; the other, of Spain; the one, Defender of the Faith; the other, the Catholic King; which two propitious stars, if like Castor and Pollux, they should jointly shine, would bring great benefit to the Christian commonwealth, miserably tost with so many waves of discord; so that then the Christian world should not need to fear the frown of any unbelieving brow, and no pulse of disorder or contention should be left to vary in the Christian commonwealth. Let therefore (ye delights of either nation and king) this poor speech, whatsoever it be, serve instead of a prologue, wherein the argument of our joy is described, but let the following act express to life the joyful motions of the university.

Oratio Edmundi Eade habita in Collegio Caio-Gunuellensi, 27 Feb. 1622.

DATE veniam (illustrissimi clarissimique Domini!) excellentias vestras in transcurso hoc vestro salutandi: adeò enim necesse est Musas nostras, aut humanitatis prorsus oblivisci, aut eandem tam amplâ oblatâ occasione exercere. Nam quantum Musæ viris nobilitate generis, et virtute clarissimis (quorum humeris velut Atlantæis cælum literarium sustentatur) semper olim debuerunt, et etiamnum debent, si nos muti essemus, ipsi collegiorum nostrorum parietes loquerentur: præ aliis verò nobilissimis viris legationes obeuntibus longè plurimum debent Musæ: utpote quorum pacificis et lætis legationibus factum est, quòd tranquillo literarum otio fruimur. Et si de transmarinis gentibus loquendum sit, nulli certè magis arctè quàm Hispaniarum genti devinctos nos esse oportet fateamur. Siquidem ex ea Cantaber serenissimus olim princeps, ante annos mille et septingentos, (ut antiquitates Cantabrigienses in archivis suis habent) hûc profectus, hic primus academiam

fundavit, eidemque nomen propè suum imposuit, cujus primùm beneficio hîc bonæ literæ disci et doceri cæperunt; ita ut auspiciata illa honoris, antiquitatis, bonarum literarum initia, ea quidem omnia Hispaniarum genti accepta agnoscimus. Vestris itaque excellentiis multis gratulamur nominibus; vel vestræ à tantis principibus legationis causâ, quàm universo Britanniae fortunatam faustamque futuram speramus et optamus, vel gentis Hispanicæ gratiâ, quæ nobis Cantabrigiæ authorem peperit; vel denique vestræ nobilitatis, et benignitatis peculiaris ergò, qui, inter tanta negotia in transitu, hoc vestro Musas nostras invisere, et illustrissimo vestro conspectu beate dignati estis. Vos (illustrissimi heroes) fœliciter pergite, et quæcunque meditamini fausta et fœlicia serenissimo regi, et regno Magnæ Britanniae, eadem faxit Deus ut vobis, et universæ genti Hispanicæ, succedant prosperè.

The Oration of Master Edmund Eade, of Caye's³ College, 27th Feb. 1622.

VOUCHSAFE us the favour (most illustrious and noble lords!) of saluting your excellencies in this your passage by us; for necessarily must our Muses so do in this so honourable occasion, or shew themselves forgetful of the duties of humanity. For how much the Muses in all times past, and also at this present, do owe to men most eminent in nobleness of blood and virtue (whose shoulders, Atlas like, uphold the heaven of learning) though we were silent, the very walls of our colleges would speak. But, above all others, the Muses are by far most indebted to those most noble persons which perform embassages; since by their peaceful and happy negotiations we enjoy the quiet and repose of learning. And if we are to speak of nations beyond our seas, surely we must in justice confess ourselves more strictly obliged to the Spanish than to any other. For (as it is registered in the ancient records of Cambridge) Cantaber, a most renowned prince of Spain, more than seventeen hundred years since, coming from thence unto this place, first founded this university, and gave it (in a manner) his own name; by his goodness therefore and liberality, good letters and discipline first began to be both taught and learned here; so that we acknowledge ourselves to have received all those fortunate beginnings of honour, antiquity, and learning from the Spanish nation. Therefore by many titles we congratulate your excellencies; either in respect of your embassy from so great princes, which we wish and hope shall prove fortunate and happy to all Britain, or in regard of the Spanish nation, which was mother to the founder of Cambridge; or lastly, for your own nobility and peculiar favour, vouchsafing, in so weighty employments as you pass by, to visit and make happy our studies with your most illustrious presence. Go on then happy, most illustrious heroes! and whatsoever you shall purpose, as good and profitable for our most renowned king and kingdom of Great Britain, God grant the same may also prove prosperous both to you and to the whole Spanish nation.

Oratio Domini Georgii Herbert,⁴ Oratoris Academiae Cantabrigiensis, habita coram Dominis Legatis cùm Magistro. in Artib. titulis insignirentur, 27 Feb. 1622.

Excellentissimi magnificentissimi domini,

POST honores eximios, præfecturas insignes, legationes nobilissimas, aliosque titulos æquè nobis memorantibus, ac merentibus vobis gratissimos, salvete tandem Magistri Artium; et quidem omnium aulicarum, militarium, academicarum. Cujus novi tituli accessionem summè gratulantur excellentiis vestris Musæ omnes, Gratiæque; obsecrantes, ut deponatis paulisper vultus illos bellicos, quibus hostes soletis in potestatem redigere, lenioresque

³ [*Id est Caius.*]

⁴ [This is not noticed by Herbert's biographers, Isaac Walton, or Oley.]

aspectus, et dulciores assumatis; nos etiam exuentes os illud, et supercilium quibus caperata severioremque philosophiam expugnare novimus, quicquid hilare est, lætum, ac lubens, vestram in gratiam amplectimur. Quid enim jucundius accidere potest, quàm ut ministri Regis Catholici ad nos accedant? cujus ingens gloria æque rotunda est atque ipse orbis: qui utrasque Indias Hispaniâ suâ quasi modò connectens, nullas metas laudum, nullas Herculeas columnas, quas jam olim possidet, agnoscit. Jamdudum nos omnes, nostrumque regnum gestimus fieri participes ejus sanguinis, qui tantos spiritus solet infundere. Et quod observatione cum primis dignum est, quo magis amore coalescamus, utraque gens Hispanica, Britannica, colimus Jacobum. Jacobus tutelar divus est utrique nostrum; ut satis intelligatis, excellentias vestras tanto chariores esse, cùm eo sitis ordine atque habitu, quo nos, in hoc regno omnes esse, gloriamur. Quin et serenissimæ Principis Isabellæ laudes, virtutesque vicinum fretum quotidie transnatantes, litora nostra atque aures mirè circumsonant. Necesse est autem ut fœlicitas tantorum principum etiam in ministros redundet, quorum in eligendis illis judicium jampridem apparet. Quarè, excellentissimi, splendidissimi domini, cum tanti sitis et in principibus vestris, et in vobismetipsis, veremur ne nihil hic sit, quod magnitudini præsentiae vestræ respondeat. Quis enim apud nos splendor, aut rerum, aut vestium? quæ rutilatio? certe, cùm duplex fulgor sit, qui mundi oculos perstringat, nos tam defecimus in utroque quàm excellentiæ vestræ abundant. Quinimo artes hic sunt quietæ, et silentio cultæ, tranquillitas, otium, pax omnibus præterquàm tineis, paupertas perpetua, nisi ubi vestræ adsunt excellentiæ. Nolite tamen contemnere has gloriolas nostras, quas è chartis et pulvere eruimus. Quomodò possetis similes esse Alexandro Magno nisi ejus res gestas tradidisset historia? Seritur fama in hoc sæculo, ut in sequenti metatur: prius excellentiis vestris curæ erit; posterioris largam messem vobis hæc tenuia boni consulentibus, vovemus.

The Oration of Master George Herbert, Orator of the University of Cambridge, when the Ambassadors were made Masters of Arts, 27th Feb. 1622.

Most excellent and most magnificent lords,

AFTER many singular honours, remarkable commands, most noble embassages, and other titles most pleasing, as well to us remembering, as to your deserving them, we at last salute you Masters of Arts; yea, indeed of all, both courtly, military, academical. The accession of which new title to your excellencies all the Muses and Graces congratulate; entreating that you would a while lay aside those warlike looks, with which you use to conquer your enemies, and assume more mild and gracious aspects; and we also putting off that countenance and gravity, by which we well know how to convince the stern and more austere sort of philosophy, for respect to you, embrace all that is cheerful, joyous, pleasing. For what could have happened more pleasing to us, then the access of the officers of the Catholic King? whose exceeding glory is equally round with the world itself: who tying, as with a knot, both Indies to his Spain, knows no limits of his praise, no, not as in past ages, those pillars of Hercules. Long since, all we and our whole kingdom exult with joy to be united with that blood, which useth to infuse so great and worthy spirits. And that which first deserveth our observation, to the end we might the more by love grow on, both the Spanish and British nations serve and worship James. James is the protecting saint unto us both; that you may well conceive, your excellencies to be more dear unto us, in that you are of the same order and habit of which we all in this kingdom glory to be. The praises also and virtues of the most renowned Princess Isabel, passing daily our neighbouring sea, wondrously sound through all our coasts, and ears. And necessarily must the felicity of so great princes redound also to those servants, in the choice of whom their judgment doth even now appear. Wherefore most excellent, most illustrious lords, since you are so great both in your princes and yourselves, we justly fear that there is nothing here answerable to the greatness of your presence. For amongst

us what glorious shew is there, either of garments, or of any thing else? what splendour? surely, since there is a two-fold brightness which dazzleth the eyes of men, we have as much failed as your excellencies do excel, in both. But yet the arts in quietness and silence here are revered, here is tranquillity, repose, peace, with all but book-worms; perpetual poverty, but when your excellencies appear. Yet do not ye contemn these our slight glories, which we raise from books and painful industry. How could you be like great Alexander, unless history delivered his actions? Fame is sown in this age, that it may be reaped in the following; let the first be the care of your excellencies; we for your gracious acceptance of these poor duties wish and vow unto you of the last a plenteous harvest.

Domini Vicecancellarii Valedictoria Oratio, 27 Feb. 1622.

Illustrissimi heroes, benignissimi domini,

VIDETIS ut atrati, mœrentiumque ritu, valedicamus abituris, quos, in adventu ipso, cum omnibus lætitiis lubentiisque purpurati accessimus; scilicet juvari mirum in modum, imò planè beati diutinâ tantorum Mercuriorum morâ novimus academiam. Verùm intelligimus tamen, haud Alexandris dolium, sed Diogenibus, idoneum esse commorandi locum. Philosophis lycea, Deis cæli, principibus metropoles aulæque congruunt. Eò sors melior et fata sublimiora vestras trahunt excellentias: Eoque (quandoquidem ita stat sententia) pergite fœlices, quadrigis albis, avibus bonis; cumque ad transmarinos Musarum præsidēs, et magnos exterarum nationum principes fausto pede perveneritis, mementote, quæsumus, voluntatum, vel potiùs obliviscimini infirmitatum Cantabrigiæ. Siquid vel apud seniores fortuitò lapsum, vel apud juniores temerè præcipitatum est uspiam, Constantini Magni ad effigem charitatis paludamento obtegite. Cantabri alumni de magnatibus inurbanè habitis, apud magnates ne malè audiant, clementiæ vestræ est, satagere. Deo intereà, æternumque pro pace amicitiaque regnorum, pro salute gloriæque legatorum, gratitudinis nostræ est vota fundere.

The Oration of the Vice-chancellor upon the departure of the Ambassadors,
27th Feb. 1622.

Most illustrious heroes, and most gracious lords,

YE see how we come in blacks, after the fashion of mourners, to take our farewell of you, whom, at your first arrival, with all cheerfulness and delight, we received in scarlet; for we knew that our university was wonderfully to be recreated, yea, plainly, to be beatified with the long abode of so great Mercuries. But withal, we know the tub is no fit place of residence for Alexander, but for Diogenes: philosophers best sort with their academies, the Gods with the heavens, and princes with their chief cities and courts. Thither better fortune and more exalted fates withdraw your excellencies; and thither (since you are so resolved) go happily, drawn with white horses, and best ominous birds. And when with fortunate course you shall approach those presidents of the Muses on the other side our seas, those mighty princes of foreign nations; remember, we beseech you, the hearty affections of Cambridge; or rather blot out of your memories her weak expressions thereof; and whatsoever errors the seniors have committed by chance, or the juniors by rashness, after the example of great Constantine, cover with the cloak of your charity. It belongeth to your clemency carefully to endeavour that the foster sons of Cantaber incur no sinister report with great potentates, for their homely entertainment of so great persons. In the mean time it is an office of gratitude in us, to pour forth our vows and prayers to the Almighty, and that eternally, as well for the peace and amity of the kingdoms, as for the safety and honour of their ambassadors.

Oratio Valedictoria habita coram Dominis Legatis in Collegio Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis, in presentia Doctorum, per Carolum Chauncy Mag. Art. et Socium illius Collegii. 27 Feb. 1622.

Viri illustrissimi,

SUMMO cum studio, et perquam gratâ recordatione nunquàm non agnoscemus humanitatem vestram, quibus (ut ex adventu vestro etiam iterato conjicimus) pro judicii vestri candore placuit, nostras esse aliquid putare nugas: neque nostram verò lætitiâ, quæ non arctissimis pectoris augustiis circumscribi potest, celare volumus qui in hisce Musarum ædibus, per se quidem si spectentur satis spatiosis, sed, si cum vestrâ amplitudine conferantur, sanè perexiguas, in his inquam Musarum ædibus, quasi maxima quædam in minimo, tantos heroes hospitio excepimus: qui senatum populumque Musarum tali coronâ donatum et decoratum vidimus, vel Alexandri diademati præferendâ. Sed quid de coronâ verba facio? in cœlo profectò se quis esse suspicetur, qui tot luminibus, et quasi stellis nobilitatis, sapientiæ, fortitudinis, se undiquaque cinctum conspicetur. Et certè quàm hoc unum spectârunt modò cogitationes nostræ, ut concentu nostro, velut harmoniâ cœlorum Pythagoricâ, quæ in aures vestras suaviter influeret, ita animos vestros permulcere, ita sensus vestros *και ἡδύσμασι και ἐδέσμασι* pascere possemus, ut vestra etiam celsitudo in cœlo esse videretur? Verùm orbes illi cœlestes, ut vælocissimè moveantur, tamen mensis saltem unius, aut anni, aut plurium annorum spatium requirunt, ut circulum suum et harmoniam possint conficere: quantò minùs ab orbiculo (ut ita loquar) academico in hoc vestræ apud nos commorationis biduo tantum negotium expectare potuistis? Quamobrem id à vestris clementiis summopere contendimus (viri inclytissimi) ut siquâ in re ingrato aliquo et injucundo sono vestras aures offendimus, errata saltem leviora velo humanitatis vestræ contegatis; neque ex imberbis juventutis laboribus, quos percepistis, vel de Cantabrigiæ, vel de collegii istius, dignitate judicetis, sed cogitate potius quanta sit horum gravissimorum virorum facundia, et quasi suadæ medulla, quanta in suggestis et pulpitis fulminatio, quàm mira in disputationibus theologicis subtilitas, et quàm invictum robur! Illos si audivissetis nulla hæc fuisset veniæ deprecatio; illos si audivissetis vel Aristarchi ipsius judicium non detrectâsemus: verùm ut se res habent, humillimè coram indulgentiæ vestræ genibus procumbit oratio nostra. Sed et alia etiam nos urget infœlicitas, quòd tam subitò tantorum virorum consortio, vel potius præsidio carendum sit: nam nihil mirum videatur, si, cum vestras excellentias, velut radios à sole in speculum transmissos, recepimus, radiis tam fulgentibus ad solem, id est, regem præclarissimum, recollectis, atra nos doloris caligo et obscuritas involvat. Nihil mirum, inquam, videatur, si, cum vestras excellentias, velut sanguinem purissimum, et spiritus vitales, diffusos à corde ad cerebrum, id est, à serenissimo rege ad academiam, intromisimus, si spiritibus ad cor ipsum remeantibus, nos in subitum pallorem, squalorem, et *λειποθυμίαν* incidamus. Sed unicum hoc nobis solatium superest, quòd relictâ Atheniensium arce pulcherrimâ radii ad solem, id est, cor cœli, se recipiant; et quod deserto cerebro spiritus vitales ad ipsum cor, et solem hujus microcosmi, augustissimum nempe Jacobum, revertantur. Illius majestas verè regia, incredibilis prudentia, et stupenda planè in principe eruditio, facilè supplere possunt, si quid in academiâ defuit. Illi igitur, velut academiarum omnium, quotquot sunt in Christiano orbe epitome, et compendio, vel potiùs alteri academiæ cuidam maximæ et florentissimæ vos jam restituendos esse, solidum gaudemus gaudium. Et quod superest (heroes nobilissimi) vestræ celsitudini iter faustum, cœlum propitium, fœlices nobis omnibus in vestris tanti momenti negotiis comprecamur, Deumque impensè rogamus, ut dominationes vestras ad reip. Christianæ emolumentum, et ecclesiæ totius militantis incolunitatem et tutamentum benignè conservet, ac tueatur.

The Oration of Master Charles Chauncy, Master of Arts and Fellow of Trinity College, 27th Feb. 1622.

Most illustrious lords,

WHO (as we conjecture by your second coming) have been pleased, in the candour of your judgments, to think our trifles to be something, we shall ever with greatest affection, and most thankful remembrance, acknowledge your favours: neither are we willing to conceal our joy, which can no ways be confined in the narrow straits of our breasts, who have in these dwellings of the Muses, spacious enough if considered by themselves, but, if compared with your greatness, surely of small capacity, who have, I say, in these dwellings of the Muses, received (as greatest things contained in the least) so great heroes for guests: who have seen this senate and commonwealth of the Muses rewarded and beautified with such a crown as may well be preferred before great Alexander's diadem. But why make I mention of a crown? surely, well might he think himself to be in heaven who should behold himself circled on every side with so many lights, and, as it were, stars of nobility, wisdom, fortitude. And surely, how much our cogitations have been bent on only this, that with our consent of voices, as with some Pythagorical harmony of the heavens, which might sweetly flow into your ears, we might so please your thoughts, so feed your senses with all dainties and delicious food, that your excellencies might also think themselves in heaven. But those celestial orbs, how swiftly soever they are moved, do yet require the space at least of a month, or of one or many years, to the perfecting of their circle and harmony; how much less could you expect so great a work from this (as I may say) small academical orb, in this your two days abode with us? Wherefore (most famous lords) we earnestly entreat your clemencies, that, if in any thing we have offended your ears, with any ungrateful and unpleasant sound, you would vouchsafe to cover, at least our smaller errors, with the veil of your benignity; and that you judge not of the dignity either of Cambridge, or this college, by the labours which you have received from beardless youth, but that you rather think how great is the force of speech, and as it were pith of eloquence of these most grave persons, how great is their thundering in chairs and pulpits, how admirable their subtilty in theological disputations, and how invincible their force. If you had heard them, there were no need of this request for pardon; if you had heard them, we would not have declined the censure even of Aristarchus himself; but as things now are, this our prayer most humbly prostrateth itself at the feet of your clemency. But another infelicity also presseth us, that we must so suddenly be deprived of the presence, or rather protection of so great persons; for let it seem nothing strange, if, since we received your excellencies as rays cast on a mirror from the sun, that those so bright shining rays being called back unto the sun, that is, unto our most renowned king, we are overwhelmed with a black and darksome mist of sorrow: let it, I say, seem nothing strange, that if we received your excellencies as most pure blood and vital spirits, diffused from the heart unto the brain, that is, from our most renowned king unto this university, that the spirits flowing back unto the heart, we fall into a sudden paleness, horror, and deadly swoon. But yet we have this comfort left, that those rays departing from this most beautiful fortress of Athenians, reflect themselves unto the sun, that is, the heart of heaven; and that those vital spirits, though they forsake the brain, reconvey themselves unto the very heart and sun itself of this our little world, that is, to our most imperial James. His truly royal majesty, his incredible wisdom and learning, even to amazement in a prince, can easily supply whatever hath been wanting in our academy. Therefore, because ye are to be restored to him as to an epitome and sun of all academies the Christian world contains, or rather as to some one more great and flourishing than all the rest, we feel a joy most solid and complete. And that which now remains (most noble heroes) we jointly wish unto your excellencies a prosperous journey, fair weather, and happy success unto us all, in your affairs of so great importance, and earnestly

beseech the Almighty, that he would graciously vouchsafe to preserve and protect your lordships to the good of the Christian commonwealth, and to the weal and safety of the whole militant church.

Oratio Domini Vice-cancellarii Cantab. habita coram Serenissima sua Majestate, 19 Mar. 1622.

Serenissime potentissimeque rex !

SOLENS divali tuo more, ipsas hodie et spes et vota vicisti academicorum. Quid enim ? Satis haud fuit duo corusca sydera (Mercurium Brabantiae, Martemque Hispaniae) benignis luminibus illustrasse Cantabrigiam, quin ipsius quoque Jovis fierent prodromi ? quin astrorum, coelique Britannici, summus imperator nobis continuo oriretur ? Impares profecto sumus gratiae istius plenitudini, planèque in augustissimâ hac lucis copiâ deficiat acies necesse est, nisi quos vitae jamdudum nostrae, libertatum, fundorum, reddituumque fecisti compotes, splendoris nos etiam tui (qui solus potes) capaces velis, facere. Voluisse autem, vel hinc liquido patet, quod praeclarum illud par syderum placuerit, hic tanquam phosphoros tuos clementer praemittere, quò assuefierent paulatim, lippientes nostri oculi, adque venientis majestatis excellentissimumque jubar, per minores illos ignes, gradatim quasi convalescerent.

Pronae itaque venerantur Musae tuae Cantabrigienses, tertium hunc Jovis sui aspectum longè faustissimum, beatasque se exinde ter et amplius gloriantes, mensem hunc Martium (qui, curriculo non tam solis quàm fortunarum certè nostrarum, auspicia facit) hactenus mutari gestiunt ne porro dicatur Martius, sed vel de hac nostrae foelicitatis affluentia, Academicus aeternum audiat, vel potius, de hac vestrae majestatis affluentia, nuncupetur Basilicus. Dixi.

Dum petit infantem princeps, Grantamque Jacobus
Quisnam horum major sit dubitatur, amor
Vincit more suo noster: nam millibus infans
Non tot abest, quot nos regis ab ingenio.

An Oration made to his Majesty at Cambridge by the Vice-chancellor of the University on Wednesday the 19th March, 1622.

Most renowned, and most mighty king,

DOING according to your usual god-like custom, you have this day exceeded both the hopes and wishes of us academians. For what ? was it not enough that two bright shining stars (the Mercury of Brabant, and Mars of Spain) should, with their gracious rays, illustrate Cambridge, except they had been made forerunners also of Jove himself ? except the high commander of the stars, and British heaven, should immediately rise upon us ? Surely, we are not fit for the fulness of this grace, and needs must our eye-sight fail in this most imperial abundance of light, except you (who only can) would vouchsafe after the enabling us to enjoy our lives, liberties, lands, and revenues, to make us capable also of your light. And that you have been willing, plainly appears in that you have been pleased graciously to send hither before, that famous pair of stars, as messengers of your light ; that our dim-sighted eyes might by little and little grow accustomed, and by these lesser fires, as it were by degrees, get strength against the approach of that most excellent beam of your majesty.

Therefore, your Cantabrigian Muses, prostrating themselves, reverence this the third most happy aspect of their Jove, and glorying that they are thereby more than thrice

blessed ; they joyfully desire that this month (which, not so much by the course of the sun, as surely of our fortunes, causeth these solemnities) until this time known by the name of March, may be changed, so that it may no more be called March, but either from this affluence of our felicity for ever be named Academical, or rather, from this affluence of your majesty, be styled Regal.

While prince to Spain, and king to Cambridge goes,
The question is, whose love the greater shows :
Ours (like himself) o'ercomes ; for his wit's more
Remote from ours, than Spain from Britain's shore.

FINIS.

The Legend of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. By Chr. Middleton.

London: Printed by E. A. for Nicholas Ling, and are to be solde at his shop at the West doore of S. Paule's Church. 1600.

[Quarto, containing Twenty-three Leaves.]

From the circumstance of the author's having dedicated his work to Sir Jervis Clifton, a most acute and intelligent correspondent in the Censura Literaria¹ has conjectured, that he was a Bedfordshire man:—but all is conjecture at present respecting his biography; the customary sources of information having failed to record him as a poet. Yet though the history of his life is veiled in total obscurity, some of his writings have survived to register themselves; and the present is deserving of more extended fame. It is obviously written on the plan of those legendary poems contained in the Mirror for Magistrates, and may be found inferior to none in that once popular collection; if Sackville's Induction be excepted, and parts of his Complaint of Henry Duke of Buckingham. Middleton might indeed have intended to try his poetic strength with the occasional lord of misrule, George Ferrars, who in the aforesaid Mirror, edit. 1578, had printed a metrical history thus entitled:—How Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, protector of England during the minority of his nephew, King Henry the Sixth, by practise of his enemies, was brought to confusion.

In the name of Christopher Middleton were published the following pieces. 'A short Introduction for to learne to Swimme; gathered out of Master Digbie's booke, of the Art of Swimming², and translated into English, for the better instruction of those who understand not the Latin tongue.' 1595, 4to.
'The Historie of Heaven: containing the poetical fictions of all the Starres in the firmament, gathered from all the poets and astronomers.' 1596, 4to.

¹ Vol. iii. p. 256.

² Sir Everard Digby De Arte Natandi.

To the right woorshipfull Sir Jarvis Clifton, Knight.

Sir,

THE ancient enemy to Learning (Ignorance) hath left off his old liverye, russet jerkins and leather hose; and, to deceive the world (like Esop's asse in a lion's skin) thrusts in himselfe sometimes like a gentleman, sometime like a souldiour, and sometimes like a lawyer; and, like catterpillers at the springe, bites off blossomes of trees and corruptes the buddes of flowers. And although the young fruites of my labours grewe not by the banks of Hellicon, nor were ever wat'ed at Aganippie's welles, yet, simple as they are, loath I was a greate while to turne them abroad into the world, without armour, against this enemy. And, almost in dispaire, I was, by a gentleman, (your Woorship's wel-willer, and my very good friend,) perswaded to shrowde these simple lynes under your shadow; who, being yourselfe dayly conversant in the histories of ancient times, are alwayes willing and ready to countenance and support the poore remnants of depressed learning, that are left for our times, would, like the seavenfolde shield of Ajax, retort such dartes to them that throw them: whereupon I am bolde to presume upon your Wor. favour for my defence, which I doubt not but to find; and when more leasure gives liberty to my penne, I will indeavour painfully to requite this curtesie, which so impudently I now crave.

Your Wo. in all duty to command

CHR. MIDDLETON.

Ad Christopherum Middletonum Hexastichon.

*Illustri Humphredi genio tua Musa parentans,
Vera refert, generosa canit, memoranda revolvit
Virtuti, et laudi statuam dans, dat simul ipsi:
Non opus est vestræ Musæ, tum, carmine nostro,
Nec opis est nostræ, radiis involvere Phæbum;
Quid satis ornatam Musam phalerare juvabit?*

ROB. ALLOTT.^s

To his friend, Master Chr. M. his Booke

Like as a man, on some adventure bound,
His honest friends, their kindnes to expresse,
T' incourage him, of whome the maine is own'd,
Some venture more, and some adventure lesse:
That if the voyage, happily, be good,
They his good fortune freely may partake;
If otherwise it perish in the flood,
Yet, like good friends, theirs perish'd for his sake.
On thy returne I put this little forth,
My chaunce with thine indifferently to prove;
Which though, I knowe, not fitting with thy worth,
Accept it yet, since it proceedes from love:
And if thy fortune prosper, I may see
I have some share,—though most returne to thee.

MICH. DRAYTON.

^s [The imputed compiler of 'England's Parnassus;' a well known common place, printed in 1600.]

Middleton's Legend of

To the Author, &c.

Oft have I seene, in some feign'd historie
 Of loftie knights, or lowly shepheards, writ,
 Whereas invention runnes at libertie,
 Arte, judgement, reading, spirit shown, and wit:
 Yet, in a legend like Duke Humphrey's knowne,
 Where witte's inviron'd in with veritie,
 Sildome have seen more art or judgment showne,
 More reading, spirit, wit, and poetrie.
 But Orpheus, with his harpe melodically,
 In canzonets; and heaven's azure frame,
 For heaven's historie most hermonicall.
 In spheres' sweet musicke sings yet of thy name.
 Then hev'ns and him I wrong:—thei'l give thee merit,
 For judgement, wit, for reading, art and spirit.

Another of the same.

To Duke Humphrey's Attendants.

Yee dayly wayters on Duke Humphrey's table,
 And hourly walkers by Duke Humphrey's shrine,
 If that for meager famine yee be able,
 Right to peruse a wel-pen'd wittye line,
 Wait, walk no more, on's table, by his shrine;
 But, with Duke Humphrey's legend (gentles) dine.

JOHN WEEVER.⁴

THE LEGEND OF HUMPHREY DUKE OF GLOCESTER.

YE powers divine, directors of our wits,⁵
 Send some small current from those silver springs
 By whose faire banks the heaven-borne muses sits,⁶
 And, to the bubbling streames, sweet ditties singes;
 Following whose course, my meaner muse may see
 How she shall write this famous history.

Doe not direct her in those muddy streames,
 Where now swims many wits, whose worth affords
 Sinfull foule subjects, detestable theames,
 Set foorth in worse and more detested words,
 Whose sound even sinfull men refuse to heare,
 As objectes farre unfit for any eare.

But in a better vaine direct my verse,
 Obscure not her intent with such a blot,
 Since she indevours truely to rehearse
 A story of times past, now neere forgot;

⁴ [The author of a small and very scarce vol. of Epigrams, published in 1599.]⁵ [Wit was formerly used for *understanding* or *intellect*.]⁶ [The agreement of substantive and verb in the singular or plural number was little regarded by some of our earlier poets.]

Grace her with words, then, of no meaner worth,
Then was the man whose story she sets foorth.

So shall his name, by your assistance, rays'd
From darke oblivion, shew it selfe againe,
As one deserving better to be prays'd
Then some, whose lives recorded now remaine,
For meaner vertues mightily renown'd,
Whilst his great workes in ruyne are nye drown'd.

What time this land, disquieted with broyles,
Wearied with wars, and spent for want of rest,
Sawe her adjoyning neighbours free from th' spoyles
Wherewith her selfe herselfe had disposest
Of peace and plenty, which men most desire,
And in their steeds brought famine, sword, and fire,⁷

Labouring now to restore her great decayes,
Like to a sea-beate barke, new com'd to shoare,
Seekes for a quiet harbour, where they may
Mend and repayre what they had lost before :
So fares it with this land, that, thus distrest,
Was almost left unpeopled, unpossest.

But that the fortunes of a blessed king
Embalm'd and cur'd the woundes it had sustain'd ;
As when the sonne, accompanying the spring,
Brings life to the dead earth, in which remain'd
No hope of summer, for, in killing frost,
Were all her powers decay'd, her vertues lost.

Henry, the first-borne to his countrey's good,
After he had reliev'd this ruin'd state,
Fighting against the French, that had withstood
The right his auncestors had wone of late,
Cropt in his chiefest time, dyes this faire king,
Preventing th' harvest of so sweet a spring.

And in his kingdome, now growne great againe,
Almost too mighty for to be controwlde
By a young king, that did retayne the name
Of his dead father, yet scarce twelve months olde ;
Too heavy was (God knowes) for such a hand,
The scepter that did sway this head-strong land !

But yet, supported by his uncle's care,
Humfrey, Gloster's Duke, (for so they call him,)
To ryper yeares sprung up our kingdome's heyre,
Protected from all harmes that might befall him
During his nonage, by the carefull heed
Of watchfull Gloster, born for this good deed :

Whose holy life, good workes, and vertuous deedes,
I leave as subjects fit for greater wits ;
For greater are the vertues that proceedes
From kings, then meaner men ; and better fits

⁷ [Shakspeare, in the chorus to his play of Henry the Fifth, introduces
‘Famine, sword, and fire, leash'd in like hounds.’]

Middleton's Legend of

A loftier stile, whose wit and judgement ripe,
Then an unlearned shepherd's oaten pipe.

O were my penne but able to set downe
Great Gloster's vertues (as indeed they were;)
How would the world, bewitch'd with his renowne,
In imitation strive for to come neere
His worthy deedes; whereof who were possest,
Themselves might justly thinke were haply blest.

Looke as the starres, when as the world's great light
Rowses him from his melancholie bed,
Drawing the duskie curtaines of the night,
Wherein the earth lay sadly mantelled,
Pluckes in their pale heads, as asham'd and sorry
He should so farre exceede themselves in glory.

So did the world (wherein this worthy was)
Admire the more then common gifts he had;
Wondring how such a worke should come to passe;
And with abundant mellancholie sad,
Frets out their lives in envy and dispaire,
For with his life no life could ere compare.

And had he not been royall in his birth,
Yet had his matchlesse learning, and his wit,
From meaner rootes, as fayre a branch brought foorth,
For king-borne blouds to shrowd them under it;
For wit and learning are two angels wings,
By which meane men soares up to mighty things.

Ah! woe the while! our age neglects that fame:
Would our great men would immitate his course!
Then should their vertues adde unto their name
More noblenesse, and, after death, inforce
A new live's date, whose lymits should extend
Beyond all ages, after time shall end.

His youth not vainely spent in idle sports,
Such as be-witches young men's fantasies;
But seriously attending the resorts
Of learned councellors, men of great degrees,
Made him an Atlas, abler to sustaine
The heavy burden of his Cousen's raigne.

By how much straighter springs the new set pine,
By so much, hope men of a fayre encrease;
But way-ward plants, that crookedly decline,
That they should proove good trees, all men surcease
The hope they have of any further good,
And lets them dye, regardlesse, in the wood.

So when the impes, that springs from royall stockes,
Keepes a straight passage through their vertuous youth,
O! how that shew all mens desires provokes,
That should increase still to a fairer growth;
Untill it proove a goodly, broad-spreed tree,
To shade poore shrubs from wrongs and injury.

So had men's hopes in him their full effect,
His godly youth sprung to a vertuous age;
Whose matchlesse care was spent in the respect
Of countries welfare; and he did ingage,
His substance and himselfe, to doe much good
To th' poore, and such as most in daunger stood.

And happy was the King, whose infancy
Was guided by so good a man's direction;
Whose care was not his owne commodity,
Nor for to satisfie private affection;
But to performe the charge he had in hand,
Protect the King, for th' quiet of the land.

Then was not justice collour'd with deceit,
Kept downe by might, wrought unto great men's wils;
Nor was her schooles peis'd^s down with golden waights,
And shee that should correct, colour men's ills;
But who did well, by him were well regarded,
And wicked men with their deserts rewarded.

Then ruffling pride, as light as vanity,
Rouz'd from her soft, secure, luxurious bed,
Banisht from hence, liv'd in obscurity,
As one exilde, from whence she first was bred;
And what sinnes else were great, were all defac't,
And, in their steeds⁹, religious vertues plac't.

But see to what a fraylty we are borne,
When as our best estate is soon'st declyn'd;
Fayre days have end, and their delights out-worne,
Succeeds dark nights, cold stormes, and blustering wind;
Few men there were, that had, or ere shall have
Fortune continue constant to their grave.

As stormes of hayle falls on the ryphen'd corne,
All unexpected to the husbandman,
And shakes the full-fraught eares, that had out-worne
Colde, heate, drought, wet, and what soever can
Decay the earth's increase, and now did stand
Expecting but the gladsome reaper's hand.

So fares it with this Duke, whose young dayes spent
In vertuous studies and true holines,
Sets downe himselfe now with a full intent
To spend his weary age in quietnesse;
Thinking his holy life should this have found,
Peace, tending on his body to the ground.

But, O sad times! where nought but misery
Stands ready to make pray on each estate;
Sometime she tends them from their infancy,
Untill she sees their whole life ruinate;
Other men lets she grow to th' top of all,
Intending so to worke their greater fall.

So Pompey, in the midst of victory,
All unexpected, hapned on his end;

^s [Qu. Poised?]

⁹ [For steeds.]

And Cæsar, in his greatest majesty,
 Untimely murthred by his neerest friend :
 Such are mens best estates, more wretched they,
 In greatest pompe most subject to decay.

And did the troubles of this world but tend
 On wicked men, it were a juster doome ;
 But soonest doe their injuries extend
 To holy lives, that hindering too soone
 The course of vertue, 'fore it grew too great,
 They may themselves establish in her seate.

And had it not been so with this great man,
 In what a glorious current had he runne :
 Even from the royall spring where he began,
 Downe to the sea of honour ; nor there doone,
 Had turn'd the strong tydes by his vertues force,
 And made them strive to follow on his course.

Why doth my labouring Muse so far proceede,
 Exemplifying of his worthy life,
 And numbring his good gifts? because indeed
 She's loath to enter into such a strife
 As she must doe, comparing but the ruth
 Of his sad age with th'onor of his youth.

These were the younger sort ; but graver men,
 Whose plots and drifts sorts not to their effect,
 With false surmizes, slyly settles them
 To draw the King's minde into some neglect
 Of the Duke's rule, and by that enterprise
 Intise his youth to follow their advise.

And since the world's first age, what age was seene
 Wherein some fury, rowz'd from th' deepest hell,
 Possest not men's conceits? and still hath been
 Ready to plot and practise any ill :
 Nor ever shall there be an age so cleare,
 But in her smooth face shall some faults appeare.

For as the brightest flame hath darkest smoake,
 Bodyes their shadowes, clearest springs their mud,
 Whose envious quallytyes oft times provoke
 Them to be ill, who else would still be good ;
 Mud spoiles the spring, smoake oft obscures the flame,
 And vitious men envies at vertue's name.

And which is more admir'd, even 'twixt two friends
 Rises sad discord, I¹⁰ and such as were
 Link'd in the bonds of blood, whose deedes should tend
 To mutuall friendship, and should cleave as neere
 As twin-borne bretheren whil'st they are intoombe
 Within the compasse of their mother's wombe.

Great Henry Bewfoord, Bishop of Winchestere,
 Neerely ally'd both to the Duke and King,
 A man ambitious, haughty, not sincere
 And holily affected, seekes to bring

¹⁰ [This personal pronoun was frequently used by our elder writers for *ay* ; and is so here.]

By bad devises, underneath his hand,
The King, the nobles, th' commons of the land.
And having now inricht himselfe with store
Of what was needfull for his great attempt,
As money, friends, authority, and power
Of men, that nothing could his will prevent
His great intendments, what so ere they were,
But Gloster's fore-sight, in his dayly care,
Kindles the first fire of that wofull age,
Whose flames coupling themselves with new allyes,
Which many after times could not aswage,
But still fresh fewell brought it new supplyes,
Till this poore country, spent with civill jarres,
Want brings at length a weake end to their warres.
Now, lyon-like, he forrages the land,
And being lord-chaunc'ler, practizes his will,
Keeps lawes and government at his commaund,
And commaundes all ; for no man would rebell
Against his edicts, nor durst be so bold,
But live content to be by him controwld.
Whose tyranny when Gloster once espies,
Like a good subject, labours to prevent
The further mischiefes that might else arise,
And in an open court of parlament
Drawes articles ; wherein he had exprest
The bishop's wrongs, which all would have redrest.
Nor like the winde and tyde, when they doe meete
With envious oppositions, doe affright
The lesser streames, running for to regreet
The ocean empire ; so do these two fight :
One labours to bring all things to his will,
The other's care workes to prevent that ill.
The Bishop, like the proude insulting winde,
Disturbs the quiet streame where Gloster runnes ;
Gloster, as fitting such a royall minde,
Defends himselfe against intruding wrongs :
The meaner sort of men, whilst things thus are,
Dismayde and trembling, hides their heads for feare.
And whilst in this state did this land remaine,
Now quarrels 'twixt their men did still arise,
Wherein were great harmes done ; many were slaine,
Nor was there any man that could devise
Meanes to prevent the mischiefes that thus falles
Upon their heads, in these uncivill braules.
Ah, what a woe was this ! to see those dayes
When they that should keep peace, is meanes 'tis broken ;
Whilst guiders strive, their government decays :
Some thought this strife was but a fatall token
Of those sad times which presently insu'd,
Whose woes a many after ages rew'd.

Yet, Gloster, thou wert guiltlesse of that wrong,
 Thou stoodst for thy defence, he strove t' offend;
 Medled with nothing but what did belong
 Unto thy office; whilst he did contend
 To keep downe the young King, to displace thee,
 And bring this land to servile villany.

And hadst thou borne with this his foule offence,
 What a soule-killing mischiefe had it bin?
 Who suffers such vilde deedes, and doth dispence
 With the bad dooers, cherishes the sinne;
 For errors, left unpunisht, are profest,
 And being not defended, is deprest.

But auncient Bedford, whose deep piercing sight
 Perceives the issue of this kindling fire;
 How both sides dayly gathers to them might,
 Whose flames ere long were likely to aspire
 Unto their highest buildings, and pull downe
 The royall worke that yet was scarce begun:

He labours with the King to make a peace,
 Now when their infant warres were scarce begun;
 The cause once gone, th' effects thereof surcease,
 And mischiefes, being prevented whilst they're young,
 Cannot braunch forth themselves to doe that hurt
 That time, their natures, and bad men would worke.

"Great King, (quoth he) the pole whereon our world
 Is mooved, and by whom we sayle our course;
 Forgive my tongue's presumption, that growes bold
 Heere in thy sacred presence, to rehearse
 In this unseemely manner that I doe,
 Th' clog of my minde and th' subject of my woe.

"It is a story full of grieve and ruth,
 An unexpected, sad, and harsh discourse,
 Of home-borne troubles, which I know for truth
 By gentle suffrance will grow dayly worse:
 The force of fire and water, not contrould,
 Would mercilesse consume and drowne the world.

"Ever since that unlucky dismall houre,
 In which your royall Father left this life,
 Have I been Regent of your forraigne power,
 And know th'event of wars and th'end of strife;
 And therefore feare, least that ill hap should chance
 To us, that warres have brought to wofull Fraunce.

"And you, great lords, Gloster and Winchester,
 To whome I am bound in kindred and in love,
 Heere, before God, the King, and you, I sweare
 It is no partiall grudge or hate doth moove
 My minde to this; but care of countries peace,
 That, whilst we warre abroad, home broyles may cease.

"It is the strife and hatred 'twixt you two
 That my love labours now to reconcile;

And 'tis the oath I made and th' due I owe
Unto my Sovereigne, that thus makes me toyle
To keep this furious streame within her bound,
Least, breaking forth, her neighb'ring friends be drown'd.

" And the great reason why I moove it heere,
Rather then to your selves, is, for I know
The lyon's count'nance better keeps in feare
The meaner creatures, and to him they bow
Their dutious knees, content with his decree
Who else betwixt themselves would nere agree.

" Now doe I turne me to your sacred seate
Where all the vertues have their residence,
And on my aged knees, with teares intreate
A gracious favourable audience.
It is a worke of charity, God knowes !
The reconsilement of two mortall foes.

" A deadly hatred's growne betwixt these two,
But from what roote it springs I cannot tell ;
Nor can I learne, but I suspect it now,
And, 'fore't be long, I feare shall know too well—
'Tis from some private quarrell of their owne
That all this publike quarrell is now growne.

" Which to represse, put to thy sacred hand
Unto these sever'd branches of thy kinde ;
The powerfull words of Kings may more commaund,
Then the affections of a subject's minde :
I know, great King, they both will be content,
If thou but speak'st, to surcease and relent."

The King lookes on them with a sad aspect,
And thus begins—" In care and grieve of soule,
Deare uncles, am I urged to correct
My subjects' faults, and must at length controule
Their sinnes with judgments such as they deserve,
When words and good perswasions will not serve.

" Such is my minde, that I could hart'ly wish
There were no lawes, so no man would offend :
O what a world were that of joy and blisse,
When to doe well all creatures would contend !
Good princes sorrow more in punishing,
Than evill subjects in committing sinne.

" But, since our first creation, we have still
Beene subjects unto sinne, therefore the law
Was first ordain'd and given, to keep our will
From following sinfull lusts, to live in awe ;
That those bad men whom no good meanes could mend,
For terror of the law might feare t'offend.

" Then, for the honour of our auncientry,
Whose happy soules in fayre Elizium
Repos'd in rest, lives to eternity ;
Whether, ere it be long, we all shall come :

Let not my time be stain'd with such a sinne
As th' vengeance-craving discord of my kinne."

With that speakes reverend Gloster, whose gray hayres,
The auncient signes of honour, did presage
A guiltlesse soule, in humble words declares
What he suppos'd incens'd the Bishop's rage,
And how himselfe had patiently out-borne
His injuries, disdainfull words and scorne.

"Great King, (quoth he) heere at thy princely feete
Doe I throw downe my selfe and my good cause,
And of thy sacred Majesty intreate
If I be guilty, or have broke the lawes
Of God or thee, or kins-man-like affection;
Let me be punisht by my foe's direction.

"The articles I gave, in th' parliament,
Containing many wrongs that crav'd redresse,
So help me God! was not with an intent
To prejudice his person, or possesse
Your princely minde with any wrong conceipt;
But to redresse those wrongs the worlde thought meete.

"And had he not been wilfully stubborne
Against my private exhortations,
Glad had I then been I might have forborne
Those publike kindes of exclamations;
For well he knowes, oft have I privately
Persuaded him to more humility."

With that the Bishop, swelling with disdaine
His workes should come in question, like darke skies
Whose mellancholy show presages raine
And boystrous stormes, in angry words replyes—
For his aspiring minde could not sustaine
Reprooffe, but held th' reproovers in disdaine.

"Eternall Time! (quoth he) why hast thou chang'd
Thy golden progresse for a leaden way?
Why have dayes, nights, and houres, thy servants, rang'd
Though these deep myry steps, and still doe stray
In this bad world, whose rude unmembred forme,
Begot by Time, was too untimely borne.

"On Nature, the great mother of us all,
Who in abortive birth brought foorth our age,
And, looking on her childe, foresaw 'twould fall
To this disordred and unnat'rall rage
Of brotherhood, and therefore would not stand
To set it into parts, head, foote and hand;

"But left it out of order, like a beare
That brings deformed creatures to the light,
So bore she us, and loath she was to reare
The frame in order, least it should in spight
Of Time and her, the father and the mother,
In civill discords, one undoe another.

“ But Fortune, the commaunder of all kindes,
Although our parents thought they should prevent
This fatall mischiefe, yet this Empresse mindes
Nothing shall hinder her in her intent,
But takes th’ advantage of our formelesse course,
And makes our mischiefes by so much the worse.

“ For had our limmes been in their severall places
Brought into order, then the face had stood
Without th’ controulment and the base disgraces
Of meaner parts, in lovely brotherhood;
And the poore feete had been content to tread
Those paths they were directed by the head.

“ I have done nothing but what I might doe,
What th’ holy church commaunds, you esteeme wrongs;
In times fore-past, well wot I, ’twas not so,
And times to come shall teach you, what belongs
Unto your dutyes better than you doe,
Or fret your stubborne hearts away with woe.”

With that good Gloster, who no more could heare
Of these proude braves, answers the Bishop thus—

“ I would the times were eyther as they were
When as our late dead King raign’d over us,
Or he that doth his royalties inherite
Had but his Father’s yeeres and lofty spirit!

“ How wold he stop these fowle words down thy throate,
That thus defil’st the stocke from whence we came;
Thou sing’st a raven’s harsh untuned note,
Unlike an eagle’s bird, and without shame
Compar’st our roote and th’ branches thence brought foorth,
To a mishapen, foule, untimely birth.

“ Which makes me thinke, that from our royall nest
Some fatall night-crow stole away a bird,
And in his place unluckily possest
Some of her owne foule, blacke, and hell-borne brood:
How otherwise should such a deede be done?
Parents so good should have so bad a sonne?

“ From the sweet rose springs not foule stinking flowers,
Nor doth the spreading vine bring foorth blacke slowes:
Like things from like proceede in shape and power,
The kingly eagle hatches not fowle crows:
Thy royall mother nere brought thee to light,
But some ill-boading fierce and ugly spright.

“ Forgive me, King, that I dare be so bolde
Heere in thy presence; for I must confesse
Patience is Anger’s subject, and contrould
With every fury which men would redresse,
But cannot do’t, for she is gentle, mylde,
Ore-com’d and kept downe, like a strengthlesse childe:

“ Whereas thou urgest me, that I neglect
My duety to the church, and that I grudge

Her holy lawes should be of such respect ;
 For that his sacred Majesty be judge
 How I have ever strove, with all my might,
 To keep religion and the churches right :

“ But against thee, a bad unworthy guide
 For such a thing of worth, am I so stoute,
 And, God defend, least thy unruly pride
 Bring her in perill, if not roote her out ;
 So strong-built ships, in carelesse masters hands,
 Are split and beate asunder on the sands.”

When he had done, the King prolongs his speach—
 “ Sorry I am, my raigne should thus begin
 With civill discords, and the hateful breach
 Of kinsmens love, then which a deadlier sinne
 Was never bred. What peace is like to be,
 When kindred with their kindred disagree ?

“ Be rul'd by me ; let no offences grow
 'Mongst meaner men, exempld by your lives ;
 Forget your griefes ; and doe not further sow
 These seedes of discord : whosoever strives
 For troubles, he gaines nothing in this life
 But woes, disquietnes, hatred and strife.”

With these, and such like motions, they were brought
 At length to compremitt “ theyr injuries ;
 Which Gloster truely ment, but th' other sought
 To over-reach him with his subtilties :
 And so he did at length, but still pretends
 All should be quiet, and they two be friends.

Then harmlesse Gloster, glad of those good dayes,
 (For he, good man, wisht not the bishop's ill)
 Goes forward in his office, and assayes
 To roote up other weedes that were as ill,
 Though not so mighty ; so, the weedes being dead,
 The flow'rs might sooner grow and better spread.

So rav'nous woolves oft in disguised skins,
 When in their owne shapes they dare not be seene,
 Deceives the harmeles sheep, and often wins
 Great conquests from good men, that have not been
 Inur'd to subtilties and deep deceipts,
 Catch'd in silke nets, nor poyson'd with sweet baytes.

And thus consorts his auncient enemies,
 Envious Winchester, and many more,
 The Duke of Suffolke, and a company
 Of hell-borne villaines, such as he before
 Nere knew, nor nere offended ; but 'tis so,
 Whom men suspect least, breeds them oft most woe.

O that good gifts, plac't in so good a creature,
 Should both be subjects unto such as they ;

Or that injurious wrongs should worke by nature
To bring true honest dealing to decay.
But so it is, fayre colours soonest soyle,
Things of best prise are subject most to spoyle.

And for on him their worke cannot prevaile,
They change their plot, and goe another way
To grieve his aged minde; and doe assaile
Him in an other kinde; for oft, they say,
The wrongs that men have done unto their friends,
Unto their substance and themselves extends:

But more than to his friend th' accuse his wife; ¹²
A vertuous lady, one of good account;
Layes treasons to her charge, seekes for her life,
Sayes, her conspiracies doe farre surmount
The common faults of men, and she hath been
A traytor unto God, and to the King.

They charge her that she did maintaine and feede
Soul-killing witches, ¹³ and convers'd with devils;
Had conference with sprits, who should succede
The King; and, by their meanes, had wrought some evill
Against his royall person; and had sought
To end his life, and bring the state to nought. ¹⁴

Upon surmises thus she was arraygn'd,
Witnes suborn'd, and she condemn'd for it;
And from her husband closely is detain'd;
And that their doings might succeed, more fit
To their desires, it is 'mongst them thought meete,
Shee should doe open pennance in the streete;

And, after that perform'd, be banisht hence
Into the Isle of Man; and there should live
A guiltlesse exile, for a small offence
Or none at all; and who so ere did give
That unjust sentence, hath ere this his doome
Amongst th' condemn'd, where comfort nere shall come.

All this her husband saw, but could not mend;
Saw his sun setting in a dusky cloude,
That did presage a darke and lowring end
Of his olde dayes, and he disdain'd to shroud

¹² [This was Jaqueline, daughter to Earl William of Bavaria, and the heiress of Hainault and Holland. She had been induced by the Duke of Burgundy, to wed his cousin the Duke of Brabant, an old and ill-suited mate, for whom she soon testified a dislike, and taking refuge from him in the court of Henry V. she espoused his brother Duke Humphrey, without waiting for any ceremonial of divorce. This event is considered by Mr Andrews as the origin of our failures in France, from its having alienated the affection of the Duke of Burgundy from the English party. Hist. of Great Britain, ii. 36.]

¹³ [The same expression occurs in Shakspeare's Comedy of Errors, act i. scene 2. 'Soul-killing witches' that deform the body.' On which Dr. Johnson has this note, 'By soul-killing I understand, destroying the rational faculties by such means as make men fancy themselves beasts.']

¹⁴ [The duchess was accused, in concert with a witch and a magician, of having made a waxen figure of Henry with intention to consume it by fire, and thence, by sympathetic influence, to cause the King's decease. On this charge her imputed accomplices were put to death; and she, after doing penance at St. Paul's, was exiled to the Isle of Man. See Stowe and Andrews, *ubi supra*. The device is noticed in Brand's Pop. Antiq.]

His head in meaner shades, whose usurp'd power
Might drive away that imminent foule shower.

Yet hopes he, that the King will not forget
What his deserts had wonne, and what he was;
Or, at the least, his honour would not let
His deare friends and his neere allyance passe
Through such a hell of undeserved woes,
That nere deserv'd the penalties of lawes.

And thus he mooves it, whilst the flouds of griefe
Did, Nilus-like, oreflow the di'mond shoare
Of his wet eyes, whose hope was not reliefe
Of their sad case, but rather wisht for more
Aboundant sorrow, by which they might be
Drown'd in darke pitchy gulfes, and nere more see.

Men rather fast to death, then they will take
A poyson'd nutriment; a sicke man's heart
Desires death, rather than his health should make
Way for a worse disease, whose bitter smart
Would worke his greater griefe; even they doe so
Wish blindnesse before sight, to see more woe.

" If pittie (quoth he) sit in princes' hearts,
As it should doe, or mercy have her seate
By judgement's side, to mittigate the smart
Of punishment too heavy and too great,
Let these two gentle gods looke then on mee,
That aske their help, with teares in misery.

" Hatefull oppression hath usurpt, great King,
Thy place, and wrung out of thy royall hand
The sword of justice, and stands mennacing
Of cruell punishments unto this land,
Whose guiltlesse eyes were nere open'd to see,
Since thou wert king, the face of tyranny.

" 'Tis not thy fault, for thou art just and kinde;
Witnes my selfe, that doe complaine of wrongs.
I am opprest, great king, and yet I finde
That thou art guiltlesse, and dost—what belongs
Unto a guiltlesse soule—wish all were right;
But wishing helps not wrongs, nor resists might.

" Remoove the pillars on whose base doth stand
A mighty building, and all comes to thrall;
Take out the staffe from an olde man's weake hand,
And then his aged body must needs fall.
Take steeridge from a ship, or do not guide it,
And on some rocke the silly barke will split.

" The base whereon my aged frame hath stood,
The staffe whereon I stay'd my trembling arme,
The rudder that did guide me, and with good
And wholsome counsell kept my age from harme,
Is gone; what then may I suspect to have,
But sodaine fall to an untimely grave?

“ Where would I were in peace, for heere is none,
And lesse I feare will be ; which makes my minde
Thinke, happy are our fathers, that are gone
Where sure they shall a better kingdome finde :
Truely said Ovid, that no man should say—
His life was blest before his latest day.

“ Against my wife (God knowes a guiltlesse soule)
Is past, a heavy judgement undeserv'd,
Which yet thy royall power may controule,
And by that meanes their lives may be preserv'd
That lives to doe thee good ; who, were they gone,
I prophecie thy quiet raigne were done.

“ Pitty speakes to thee for her guiltlesse case ;
And Mercy sayes, the doome is all too great ;
Judgement it selfe would be content to cease,
If but thy sacred tongue vouchsafe t'intreate :
For 'tis most fit, say they, we should dispence
With those that have committed no offence.

“ For lawes were made to punish evill men,
And cherish up the good, such as live well ;
This being so true as 'tis, why doe they then
Make equall justice 'gainst her selfe rebell ?
Keep it in order, King ; for all men say
That things brought out of course will soone decay.”

The King, heavy to heare this sad discourse,
Descends his royall throane whereon he sate,
Takes up his uncle, and to make restraint
Of his increasing griefe, 'gins to intreate
Him with good words, and his desire is
He could but doe that good which he doth wish.

“ My noble aunte (quoth he) suffers these ills
Without my privity, and they have got
Such strong commissions for to worke their wils
Under our seales, that rightly can I not
Recall the worke ; nor will they licence me
To pardon her pretended traytory.

“ Good uncle, well you know I have given over
All government, and have discharg'd my soule
Of worldly cares, and cannot well recover
That right againe ; and if I should controule
What they have done, 'twold sure stir up their wrath
To execute my ruyne and your death.”

Gloster with this, amaz'd that he should heare
His kingly cousin give him no reliefe,
What he would gladly speake he doth forbear,
His mouth is lockt, and the grim porter, Griefe,
Keeps in the sad words that he faine would speake,
Controules his tongue, and makes her powers too weake.

Thus the King, sorry he cannot releeve him,
Comforts his griefe with teares, and so they part ;

The woes that Gloster hath, doe no lesse grieve him
 Then the good Duke, and cleaves as neere his heart:
 True friends have feeling of each other's woe,
 And when one's heart is sad, all their's is so.

The Duke lookt up, and saw the King was gone,
 And the roome empty; time and place affords
 A fit occasion for a man to moane,
 And quiet silence licenses his words
 To talke to woode and stones, and empty ayre,
 For to his plaints no man would lend his eare.

"For want (quoth he) of witnes, I must make
 You sencelesse things recorders of my woe;
 Friends and acquaintance flye, and will not seeke
 Redresse for wrongs; the lawes are altered so,
 That men, which of all creatures should live best,
 Are of all law and justice dispossessed.

"Would! you (quoth he) could utter what I say,
 That the remembrance of my teares might last
 To unborne ages; and when you decay,
 You could tell your succession what hath past
 In these ill times; then would I tell a tale
 Of so much ruth, that flint and steele should waile.

"I prophecy a time shall shortly be,
 And well is me, I shall not see the day
 When, all too late, with sorrow they shall see
 What 'tis to do injustice, and to sway
 The sword awry; for, next to tyranny
 Come warres, dissensions, civill mutiny.

"Once did Astrea leave the world before,
 Because the world grew weary to do well:
 Once gone againe, I feare she'll nere come more,
 Nor set her helping hand for to refell
 These growing mischiefes, but let them increase,
 Till men have quite forgot the name of peace.

"When as the sunne forsakes his cristal spheare,
 How dark and ugly is the gloomy skye?
 And in his place ther's nothing will appeare
 But clowdes, that in his glorious circuite flye:
 So, when a King forsakes his royall place,
 There still succeeds oblique and darke disgrace.

"Let not the ayre be moov'd, and 'twill infect;
 Let not the water runne, and it will stinke:
 Disturbe the course of justice by neglect,
 And the poore world corrupts; and I doe thinke
 The want of right, to us like plague will bring,
 For not to rule is not to be a king.

"And where there is no guide, the people perrish;
 As pruning to the vines, lopping to th' trees,
 Weeding to th' corne, corne, vines, and trees, doe cherish,
 So should kings rule inferiour degrees;

Least stinking weedes and bryers themselves do nourish
In that good ground where better herbs should flourish.

“ Forgive me, heavens ! that I doe not amend
Th’ abused youth of this well-meaning King ;
It is my charge, yet can I not defend
Him from these daungers he is falling in ;
But frowne on them, great God ! his youth that leade
In paths of sorrow so misordered.

“ And, gracious Time, tell to the world to come
By whom his royall youth was so misled ;
Least ignorant of it, I be by some
Condemn’d for doing of so bad a deed :
For well I know, with such a foule offence,
Nor God, nor mortall men will ere dispence.”

With that, a servant of his comes and sayes—
How that his Wife had gone through London streete
In publike pennance, and was led away
By Sir John Stanley, whom, if he would meete
He must make haste, or else (quoth he) she is gone
In wofull exile her hard hap to moane.

Hereat, the Duke awakt, as from a sleep,
Or as one rising from a colde dead swound,
Forbeares his furthur words, and’s faine to keep
What else he would have said, till he have found
So fit a time againe ; for he must goe
To see his wife, and comfort her in woe :

And over-takes her, even at that same shoare
That bounds this island from the ocean’s force,
A place whereas they never met before,
Upon whose bankes pass’d such a sad divorce,
Betwixt these two, as never since hath been,
Nor th’ sunne, that all doth see, had ever seene.

There, like two streames that, parted at their spring,
Runnes in two severall channels all their way,
And, at the last, theyr twin-borne currents bring
Into one bed, where long they cannot stay
To greet each other, ’fore that time perforce
Drives them downe to the sea, and ends their course.

So meetes these two, even where they may not bide
To feede their sorrowes with sad tales of woe,
For they were subjects to the time and tyde
That tarried but their parting ; she must goe
To wayle her woes upon a forraigne shoare ;
He stay behinde, poore man ! to suffer more.

“ Good Ellinor (quoth he) for thou retain’st
That tytle still, though ignominious wrongs
Have ceaz’d upon thy fortune, and destaines
Thy vertues, and leaves nothing that belongs
To such a lady, but thy poore bare name,
And that disgrac’t too with reproach and shame.

" Although the sunne be oft eclipsed in cloudes,
 Yet, that vale drawne, he shewes himselfe againe;
 Oft misty fogges the heav'n's great glory shroudes,
 But they desolve, and the faire starres remaine;
 The christall streames are oft defilde in mud,
 But cleares againe, and makes their waters good.

" So are we subject to the rust of times,
 Dishonors, and disgraces; but they fade;
 And we shal one day shake them off, and clime
 Up to our owne estates; for we are made
 Reprochfull, that of our selves are not so,
 And therefore shall we live t'outlive this woe.

" The melancholie seaes will give thee leave
 To mourne thy fortunes, whilst Orion-like
 The deep-string'd sighes and teares shall quite bereave
 The ocean of her people, and shall strike
 Them with remorse, who being all gath'ed there,
 Reasonlesse things shall pittie what they heare.

" And I will leave men's companies a while,
 And, under cipres shades, to beastes and birds,
 Trees, stones, and rivers sit; and there beguile
 Consuming time, till, to my wofull words,
 They frame lamenting notes, whose heavy ditty
 Shall alwaies end their mournfull stops in pittie.

" So lands and seas, poore fishes, beastes, and birds,
 Hard stones, strong trees, and silver-running streames,
 Shall sympathize our woes, greeve at our words,
 And wish that they our sorrows might redeeme;
 Whilst wicked men that wrought our misery,
 Feeles not the sting of hard extremitie.

^ " As for the heavens, they have seene our wrongs
 And in their good time will revenge this deed:
 There Justice sits, and renders what belongs
 To men's deserts, and what is there decreed
 She executes on earth, they will not blisse¹⁵
 Those bloody hands, bad mindes, that wrought us this.

" When ere I sleep, my dreames shall be of thee;
 And when I eate, how bitter is the bread
 Which I must taste without thy company?
 And, waking, if I see not thee I am dead.
 Thus, sleeping, waking, eating, all I doe
 Without thee, doe all aggravate my woe."

With that he stopt; for teares commaundes his tongue
 To cease, whilst they succeeding in their course
 Perfect his grieve, for these two parts belong
 Unto true sorrow; wordes and teares have force
 To move compassion in the savage mindes
 Of brutish people, reason-wanting kindes.

" Great Duke, (quoth she) depressed by my fall,
'Tis not eternall banishment from hence
Me ought dismayes, but that hard hap withall,
That exiles me from thee; so one offence,
Or rather none, and I that never ment
To doe them wrong, have double punishment.

" Forget thou to lament, and let me grieve,
For if we sorrow both, we both shall dye:
'Twere good that one endeavour'd to relieve
With chearefull words the other's misery.
Leave thou to mourne, and I shall better see
A hopefull time of my recoverye.

" It were no reason thou shouldst beare the weight
Of my misdeeds, but I myselfe alone
Will undergoe the burden, 'tis my right;
Let it then goe with me, least when I am gone
The envious mindes of enemies repine—
This land shall harbour any thing that's mine.

" Who lives in Egipt must say blacke is white,
Because their beauty is a sun-burnt skinne;
So must thou change thy minde, and in dispite
Of vertue, teach thy olde tongue to begin,
An unus'd note; for who so hath to doe
With deep desemblers, must desemble too.

" If thou'lt doe ought for me this lesson learne,
So shall good Gloster live in better ease;
For, if the envious eyes of foes discerne
Thou grievest at my exile, it will displease
Theyr humours, and set them a worke to see
How they may hurt thee as they have injur'd me.

" But foolish as I am, why doe I strive
Teaching a river to ascend a hill?
To turne the course of nature, and to drive
The spheares of heaven backe against their will?
To teach thy tongue that never stept awry
Now, in thine age, to flatter, fawne, and lye?

" My reason is, because I would preserve
Thy life from the danger it scarce can misse;
Men are not measur'd now as they deserve,
But as the bad conceits of tyrants is;
From whose unrighteous doome faire heav'ns defend
Thy holy life, that hopes the better end!"

With that Sir Thomas Stanley, her sad guide,
Breakes off their intermissive pittious teares—

" Lady (quoth he) the due observant tyde
Hath fil'd the hollow vast and empty shoares
Of this our haven, and his swift-foote course
Bends backe unto the sea his matchlesse force.

" Full loath, God knowes, am I to be the man
Appointed to dissolve so strong a bond,

As linkes true love; yet will I what I can
 Labour to keep it still, except commaund
 (That over-rules good meaning) make a way
 To bring it to a sodainer decay."

" Call but to minde, Sir Thomas, (sayes the Duke)
 What 'tis to part true friends; and thou shalt see
 'Tis such a sinne as gentle kinde rebuke
 Forsakes, and sayes—'tis worthier to be
 Reserved for punishment we cannot give
 Eternall fire whose furies ever live.

" Yet, I confesse I doe thee wrong, good knight,
 Thou art commaunded to convey her hence;
 And, being a subject, must obey the might,
 Of mighty men's commaunds, though't be offence
 To God and all good men; for all men say—
 Kings were made to commaund, subjects t'obey.

" Yet, use her well, to quallifie the deed;
 Smooth oyles desolves hard stones, faire words inforce
 Pitty in flinty hearts; there will proceede
 From thy kinde usage reasons of remorse
 To moove the heavens to forgive this sinne,
 And to remoove the plagues thou'rt falling in."

With that they parted, for they might not stand
 On longer tearmes, nor would their sorrows let
 Their wordes dilate their griefes, but doth commaund
 Their dutious tongues to silence; and they set
 Milde quiet Patience before theyr eyes,
 And to her shrine doe solemne sacrifice.

Now where's the dolefull Muses, that should play
 In tragick sceanes, the parting of these two?
 Will none assist me? then well may I say
 It is indeede a story of such woe,
 As if but tongues and pennes should strive t'expresse,
 Their paines, would make the sorrow but seeme lesse.

Then as we wonder at the countlesse starres,
 Numberlesse sands, the infinite increase
 Of men, birds, beastes, and all things that inferres
 An admiration: so, let our tongues cease
 To talke of what we cannot comprehend,
 As wond'rous things whose numbers have no end.

This done; the Duke repayres to th' court againe,
 Performes his office, labours to forget
 These sorrows; but, alas! the growing paine
 Of this deep festred wound will never let
 His thoughts, or deeds, or life, have any peace,
 Till thoughts, and deeds, and life, and all shall cease.

Then sought the nobles for to match their King
 In marriage with some prince of his estate,
 So that from him more royall seede might spring
 To weare the English crowne, and propagate

The common wealth; for subjects most desires
A royall issue to succeed their syres.

And he by private meanes, without th'consent
Of his protector Gloster, willing is
To marry; and withall was well content
That William Duke of Suffolke, one that was
His uncle's foe, should betroth in his name
One borne unto smal wealth and to lesse fame.

Margaret, daughter to Reynard, Naples king,
Inriched by this match, who else was poore;
A king onely in name, without the thing
That makes men mighty, and in steed of dowre
They buy her of her father, with more store
Of lands and goods then ere he had before.

Looke! as great Cynthia in her silver carre
Rides in her progresse round about her spheare,
Whose tendance is the fayre eye-dazling starres
Trouping about her chariot, that with cleare
And glorious shewes, makes every eye delight
To gaze upon the beauty of the night;

Or, as the spring comes to regreete the earth,
Clad and attended with the world's delight,
So is the Queene in majesty brought foorth,
Tended with princes; that a fayrer sight
This land of ours a long time had not seene,
And well't had been for them had that not been.

And though the Duke, unwilling was to have
His kingly Cousen marry with this Queene,
Yet since 'twas done, it was too late to crave
Assistance to disjoyne them; that had been
But labour lost, a toyle unto no end;
Wise men let faults ore-passe they cannot mend.

And what his duety and his service ought her,
That he perform'd; and ever was content
To doe her good, and his endeavour brought her
More friends, who else in greevous discontent
Had put on armes against her, but that they
Saw him content, and for his sake they obey.

But, as most women else, even so was she
Unconstant, and that wavering power did guide
Her fickle thoughts, that nothing could agree
With her conceipt but new devises, pride
And women's toyes, who children-like affected
Love's trifles, whilst good things are quite neglected.

Good Duke, to what misfortune wert thou borne!
How was the heavens conjoynd at thy birth!
Thy yonger times might better have out-worne
These troubles, that thy latter yeares brought foorth:

But subtile Fortune turn'd her fatall hand
Against thine age, not able to withstand.

But whether 'twere the fortune of the place,
(Th' Dukedome of Gloster) that thus crost thy blisse,
I know not—but I gesse; for all the race
Almost of Dukes that were instal'd in this
Unlucky Duke-dome, made an end, like thee,
By hard and unexpected casualty.

Thomas of Woodstocke, and Hugh Spenser's thrall,
May be great reasons to perswade this thing;
And thine, and, after thee, an other's fall,
That was once Duke there, though he dyed a King,
Richard the Third; yet was his life so bad,
That he deserv'd a worse death then he had.

Yet let thy soule forgive this sinne of mine,
That puts thee in amongst a company
Of wicked men, whose lives were worse then thine;
Though death amongst you all dealt equally;
For he's unpartiall, and with one selfe hand
Cuts off both good and bad—none can withstand.

The Queene, that now had lent her youthfull eares
To the vaine pleasures of these foolish times,
To be imploy'd, considered not the cares
That troubles graver heades, whose wisdoms climes
To higher steps of judgement, and nere cease
Striving to keep their idle lives in peace.

The droane should dye, did not the toylesome bee
Worke to supply her need; the silly snake
Had starv'd in colde, had he not bin set free
From the congealed frost, whose force did make
Passage for death, in his friend's bosome warmed,
From frost and snow and killing winter armed.

Yet see, how these kinde favours have an end;
The drone starves the poore bee that got her meate,
The venom'd snake requites his carefull friend
By stinging him, that did procure the heate
That preserv'd her; so did the Queene requite
The Duke's kinde deeds, with mallice, wrath, and spite.

For whilst he labour'd in the common-wealth,
And sought their good by governing the King;
Incroaching danger comes on him, by stealth,
And, ere he wist, had slyly drawn him in,
Such is the manner of bad-minded men,
They worke their hurt that seekes to preserve them.

Now holde they secret counsels, to invent
How the Duke's person might be brought in daunger;
Perswade the King against him, with intent
Sooner to spoyle him, but he now no stranger

To their devises, seekes in what he may,
To keep himselfe from falling to their pray.

To plead his guiltlesse case, it was no boote
They knew it well enough, but would not know it;
That all men were his foes was out of doubt,
Yet the King lov'd him well, but durst not show it.
Ther's almost none dare come to him to cheare him,
And even his servants feared to come neere him.

And that his honour might the sooner fall,
They tooke away his office; for, say they,
The King's at age, and needs no help at all
Of a Protector, but himselfe shall sway
The scepter: nor was it convenient
He should live under others government.

With this the Duke (as willing to resigne
As they were to desire it) on his knees
Yeeldes up his charge, and though he did devine
Some ill-ensuing mischeefe, and he sees
All men looke sadly on him, yet he rests
Contented, and turnes all things to the best.

" Great King, (quoth he) that from thine infant spring,
Thorow the channell of thy youthfull time
Hast runne securely, without daungering
The hope of manly yeares, and now canst climbe
Up to thy throane thy selfe, without my hand,
And there hold all things at thine owne command;

" Heere doe I yeeld mine office; which, God graunt!
Thy princely hand may holde even to thy grave,
But sore I feare me, some will seeke to scant
The royall power such a King should have,
And greedy of that gaine, without all shame,
Keep from thine hands all thine, save thy bare name.

" Yet hope I, thou shalt have a fayrer raigne;
For me thinkes, that this royall name of thine
No meaner bounds or lymits should containe,
Then all this western world: how long a time
Hath victory been seated on thy throane,
And stayes thine aunswere ere she will be gone!

" Let times to come, that talkes of thy renowne,
Speake no lesse good of thee then of thy syre;
And as tho'art heyre unto his land and crowne,
Be so unto his vertues; let th' desire
Of honor, conquest, time-consuming fame,
Advaunce another worthy of that name.

" Whose memory when stones and toombes of brasse
Deep graven epitaphs and hollow graves
Shall quite consume, and their memoriall passe
Downe to the shady groves and darksome caves
Where dead oblivion dwells, in whose blacke brest
Lyes buried all that former times possest,

" Thy name, like to the still induring sunne,
 Shall out-live all, and be the world's great wonder :
 I, and when sunne and moone, and starres have done,
 And their concordant spheares broken asunder,
 Thy light succeed their lights ; and as now we
 Admire thy glory, so they may doe thee.

" I see no reason why thou should'st not flourish
 As thy great grand-sire did, and be as good ;
 For that same clime and earth and ayre doth nourish
 Thee, that fed them ; the issue of their bloud
 Thou art : ah ! why then should we feare,
 That thou shouldst be lesse famous than they were ?

" There is no reason ; for after that th' spring,
 Ther's no man doubts but harvest comes of course,
 When as the dusky morning doth begin
 To breake the night's thick fogges, and, by his force,
 Desolve the shady cloudes, the night out-worne,
 We're certaine of a faire succeeding morne.

" But I shall never see that happy day,
 For leane-fac'd death, tended with painefull houres,
 Hangs on my weary limmes, and makes his way
 Through hollow bloodies vaines, whose weakned powers
 Scarse able to support this carefull head,
 Sayes—'fore that day—old Gloster shall be dead !"

And he foretolde his end : for t'was not long
 Ere many sev'rall treasons were pretended
 Against him, and by fierce injurious wrong
 He's charged with offence, that nere offended ;
 Yet this his hope is, Heaven will harbour them
 That are unjustly punished heere 'mongst men.

That they accuse him of, is, he devised
 New punishments for such as did offend,
 Such as our lawes inflict not, and he prized
 Before them other lawes, which in the end,
 Say they, will over-turne our settled state,
 And leave this now-good kingdome ruynate.

Of these he is accused ; for these arrested ;
 Committed to the Tower ; there layde in prison ;
 And though with teares and prayers he oft requested
 He might but know his fault, for law and reason
 Play both the advocates upon his side,
 But their requests is lawlesly deny'd.

For grieve of which hard dealings, some men say,
 The good Duke dy'd there ; but some others gesse
 His auncient enemies devis'd a way
 There to cut off his dayes, and dispossess
 The worlde of her chiefe good ; ô times accurst
 That spoyles the best things to preserve the worst !

Like to a morne, whose evening shuts in cloudes,
 Making a darke end of a glorious day,

Falles this good Duke ; and, in his ending, shrouds
The beauty of his youth ; yet all men say
His sun-bright vertues shewed through this dark vayle,
And poysoned envie's deadly ayne did faile.

For he lyes buried in famous regestry,
Where, save himselfe, scarce any are retained ;
Other great men have writ their memory
On walles and stones, and yet their names remained
Nothing like his, whose epitaph is plac't
In men's conceits, that never shall be rac't.¹⁷

¹⁷ [*i. e.* razed, erased.]

A Character of England : as it was lately presented in a Letter
to a Noble man of France.

London : Printed for Jo. Crooke, and are to be sold at the Ship in St. Paul's
Yard, 1659.

[Duodecimo, Sixty-six Pages.]

In volumes VI. p. 135, and VII. p. 377, of this publication, two Characters of Scotland have been given, in a sufficiently sarcastic vein. Another now before me, attributed to James Howell, the epistolarian, perhaps, on traditional authority, I forbear to insert ; from its vulgarity and virulence. But as the 'Character of England' which precedes it, in the same little printed collection, (a loan from my kind friend Mr. Haslewood) is free from many of the coarse blemishes that disfigure Howell's tract ; as it abounds with sensible observations ; and as it may be read by many individuals, even at the distance of a century and a half, with some national benefit ; it is here submitted to the perusal of the candid and considerate. A foolish flippanant answer to it, is said to have been written by a Dr. Chandler of that time.

To the Reader.

WHEN I first chanced upon this severe piece, and had read it in the language it was sent me, I was so much concerned with the honour of our country, that it was my resolution to suppress the publication of our shame ; as conceiving it an act of great inhumanity. But upon second and more impartial thoughts, I have been tempted to make it speak English, and give it liberty, not to reproach, but to instruct our nation: remembering what the wise man hath said, 'Open rebuke is better than secret love.' Prov. xxvii. 5.

The truth is, I cannot say but the particulars are most of them very home, and which we may no way evade, without acknowledging, at least, that the gentleman (whoever he were) made notable use of his time: but best of all, by setting up an effectual redress of what is amiss. And though I doubt not, but one might easily retort, in as many instances, upon defects as great, if not greater, of that nation, (for he that finds fault had need be perfect,) yet were it then fittest to do it, and to revenge this charitable office, when we shall have first reformed ourselves.

Farewell.

A Character of England, &c.

My Lord,

YOU command me to give you minute account of what I observed, and how I passed that little time which I lately spent in England: a country whose *character* you so greatly desire to be informed of, in a conjuncture (as you rightly deduce) of so strange vicissitude and wonderful alterations. And to whom, my lord, should I more readily submit? First encouraged to make this excursion by your lordship, as [one] who had formerly beheld and so much admired the splendour and magnificence of this court and kingdom, in its greatest acme and lustre.

But, my lord, I cannot imagine that you should esteem me either of years or capacity to inform *you*; whose judgment is so mature and correspondence so universal, as that there is nothing which can escape your cognisance, not only in that island, but in all the world besides. But since you oblige me not to dip into the transactions of the state, the effects of providence, time, notices of a superior orb, (and in which you cannot be instructed by so weak an instrument as your servant,) and demand only the little remarks of my hasty and desultory peregrination; though I cannot pretend to improve your lordship's knowledge, yet I may hope to give it diversion and an essay of my obedience.

It must be avowed that England is a sweet and fertile country:

Terra potens armis, atque ubere gleba;

That the fields, the hills and the valleys are perpetually clad with a glorious and agreeable verdure: that her provisions are plentiful, her staples important, and her interest very considerable: not omitting the most beautiful ladies, I had almost said, of the world, but for a just respect due to the illustrious circles of our court, where the beauties of conversation so far transcend the tinctures of lilies and roses. But these, my lord, are not the *memoirs* which you demand. I will therefore hasten to my post.

After a short passage from Calais, we came on shore at Dover; where the *people* of the town entertained us with such suspicious and forbidding countenances, whispering, and stiff postures, that I should never have believed so great a difference in the addresses of two nations could have been produced by so short a trajection; and in a part continually accustomed to the faces of strangers; had not the contrary humours of our contiguous neighbours, the Spaniards, made it possible, in so many pleasant instances.

But I was amazed when we had taken post, and scarce out of the village, at the acclamations of the boys, running after and affrighting our horses, hooting, and crying out—"French dogs! French dogs! a Mounseer, Mounseer!"—by a particular expression of welcome, which other people would interpret derision. But in this triumph, though somewhat late ere we set out of Dover, we attained as far as Rochester the first night: where, how new a thing it appeared to me, to see my confident host set him down, cheek by jowl, by me, belching, and puffing tobacco in my face, you may easily imagine: till I afterwards found it to be the usual style of this country; and that the gentlemen who lodge at their inns entertain themselves in their company, and are much pleased with their impertinences.

Arrived at the metropolis of civility, *London*, we put ourselves in coach with some persons of quality who came to conduct us to our lodging; but neither was this passage

without honour done to us: the kennel-dirt, squibs, roots, and rams-horns, being favours which were frequently cast at us by the children and apprentices, without reproof. Civilities, that, in Paris, a gentleman as seldom meets withal, as with the contests of carmen, who in this town domineer in the streets, o'erthrow the hell-carts, (for so they name the coaches) cursing and reviling at the nobles. You would imagine yourself amongst a legion of devils, and in the suburbs of hell. I have greatly wondered at the remissness of the magistrate and the temper of the gentlemen; and that the citizens, who subsist only upon them, should permit so great a disorder; rather joining in the affronts, than at all chastising the inhumanity. But these are the natural effects of parity, popular libertinism, and insulinary manners.

I find, as you told me, my lord, London to be a town so nobly situated, and upon such a river, as Europe certainly shows not a more useful and agreeable. But, with all this, a city consisting of a wooden, northern, and inartificial congestion of houses: some of the principal streets so narrow, as there is nothing more deformed and unlike than the prospect of it at a distance, and its asymmetry within the walls. Their fountains, which are the pride and grace of our streets, and plentifully supplied in this city, are here immured, to secure the waters from (I know not what) impurities: but, certainly, it does greatly detract from the beauty of the *carrefours*,¹ and intercepts the view.

Amongst the pieces of modern architecture, I have never observed above two, which were remarkable in this vast city: the portico of the church of St. Paul's, and the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, of which I remember to have heard your lordship speak. But you would be amazed at the genius of this age, that should suffer this goodly and venerable fabric to be built about, and converted into rascally warehouses; and so sordidly obscured and defaced, that an argument of greater avarice, malice, meanness, and deformity of mind, cannot possibly be expressed. Nothing here of ornament, nothing of magnificence, no public and honourable works, such as render our Paris, and other cities of France, renowned; and visited by all the world: emulating even Italy herself for her palaces, uniform and conspicuous structures. But O! how loathsome a Golgotha is this Paul's! I assure your lordship, that England is the sole spot in all the world, where, amongst Christians, their churches are made jakes and stables,² markets and tippling-houses: and where there were more need of scorpions than thongs, to drive out the publicans and money-changers: in sum, where these excellent uses are pretended to be the marks of piety and reformation.

I had sometimes the curiosity to visit the several worships of these equivocal Christians and Enthusiasts. But I extremely wondered to find those whom they call *Presbyterians*, and that would imitate us of the religion in France and Geneva, to have their discipline so confused and different. In this remark, my lord, to be somewhat more particular, you will not be displeased: because it was a thing you so much recommended to my especial notice. For they observe none: they pray and read without method, and, indeed, without reverence or devotion. I have beheld a whole congregation sit on their —, with their hats on, at the reading of the psalms, and yet bareheaded when they sing them. In divers places they read not the scriptures at all; but up into the pulpit, where they make an insipid, tedious, and immethodical prayer, in phrases and a tone so affected and mysterious, that they give it the name of *canting*: a term by which they do usually express the gibberish of beggars and vagabonds. After which, there follows the sermon, (which, for the most part, they read out of a book) consisting, like their prayers, of speculative and abstracted notions and things; which, nor the people nor themselves well understand. But these they extend to an extraordinary length, and pharisaical repetitions: and well they may; for their chairs are lined with prodigious velvet cushions, upon which they loll and talk, till almost they sleep: I am sure till their auditors do. The minister uses no habit of distinction or gravity; but steps up in *querpo*:³ and when he lays

¹ [Cross-ways.]

² [During the civil wars many churches were converted into stabling.]

³ [Or *cuerpo*: meaning—without a cloak or cassock.]

by his cloak (as I have observed some of them) he has the action rather of a thresher than a divine. This they call 'taking pains:' and indeed it is so, to those that hear them. But thus they have now encouraged every pert mechanic to invade, affront, and out-preach them: and, having uncanceled all manner of decency, prostituted both their persons and functions to usurpation, penury and derision. You may well imagine by the manners of the people and their prodigious opinions, that there is no catechism, nor sacraments, duly administered. The religion of England⁴ is preaching and sitting still on Sundays. How they baptize I know not: because the congregation is dismissed, and they agree in no form. And for the other sacraments, no man gives or receives alike: and it is so seldom done 'in remembrance of Christ,' that in some parishes, I have heard, they can hardly remember when they received it. Generally, I have no where seen goodlier outsides of churches. What they are within, I cannot so well say: for their temples are as fast as was that of Janus after the first Punic war, unless it be upon Sundays, when they blow the brazen trumpet of sedition, not the silver ones of the tabernacle.

I have discoursed with some concerning this sealing their churches in the week-days. They are ready to retort upon us in France: not considering that our churches are solitary, and in some places many leagues distant from the towns; that we are under a persecution, and so necessitated to omit the public morning and evening service: which I remember to have heard several of our divines deplore the defect of, as of many other decencies, which *here* they can have no pretence against. But such of their churches as I have frequented were dammed up with pews; every three or four of the inhabitants sitting in narrow pounds or pulpits, by themselves: for they are all turned preachers now. In short, there is nothing more unlike to our reformed churches in France, and, I think, in all Europe beside: the apprehension of popery, or fondness to their own imaginations, having carried them so far to the other extreme, that they have now lost all moderation and decorum. And I have been herein, my lord, the more industrious to inform myself of each particular, because it seems yet to be the most public religion of the state. Some of their own party, I have heard, deplore this confusion: but certainly, they themselves gave the first occasion to these monstrous liberties, by a rigid and uncharitable discipline; primarily, it seems, introduced by the Scots, and so refined upon by these, as there are few or none that will submit to the tyranny; but every one takes his own course, and has protection for it. Some well natured abused men, I have met withal amongst them; but, if I mistake not, for the greater ingredient, ambitious, ignorant, over-weening, sour and uncharitable, *ne quid asperius*, combining with the interest of the times; and who, to render themselves powerful, have, in compliances with the spiritual pride of the mechanics and corporations, connived at those many and prodigious schisms and heresies, which are now spawned under them in such numbers as give terror to the state.

I omit to tell your lordship that few take notice of the Lord's Prayer. It is esteemed a kind of weakness to use it: but the Creed and the Decalogue are not once heard of in their congregations; this is 'milk for babes,' and these are all giants. They do frequently solemnize their late national deliverances, and some days of Christian bloodshed with all possible severity: but they think it gross idolatry to join with the whole Christian Church, of all professions under heaven, in the anniversaries of our blessed Saviour's incarnation, passion, resurrection, and the descent of the Holy Ghost: spiritual, eternal, and never to be forgotten mercies. Would your lordship believe, that this madness should advance so far, as to disturb the French church there? which, you know, does in all places observe those signal deliverances and blessings, both by preaching, prayer, sacraments, and exhortations, apposite to the occasion. What think you will be the issue of this goodly reformation?

I could tell you of the mysterious *classes* of the Tryers: their ridiculous, insidiary, and presumptuous questions: their unheard-of animosities against their brethren of the church

⁴ [Or rather, of those sectaries who divided the Christian church into fatal schisms.]

of England; suffering themselves to be rather torn in sunder by the sectaries, Demetrius and the craftsmen, whilst they contend about trifles and mere shadows.

Concerning the *Independents*, all I can learn is—They are a refined and apostate sort of Presbyters: or rather, such as renounce all ordination; as who having preached promiscuously to the people, and cunningly ensnared a select number of rich and ignorant proselytes, separate themselves into conventicles, which they name congregations. There is nothing does more resemble this sect than our Roman missionaries, sent out *in partibus infidelium*: for they take all other Christians to be heathens. These are those great pretenders to the spirit; into whose party does the vilest party living no sooner adscribe himself, but he is (*ipso facto*) dubbed a saint; hallowed, and dear to God. These are the confidants, who can design the minute, the place, and the means of their conversion: a schism full of spiritual disdain, [low?] in charity and high in posture, if any such there be on earth. But every alteration of state, destroying the interest of the versatile contrivers, they are as ready to transmigrate into the next more thriving fraternity, as the souls of Pythagoras into beasts; and may then perhaps assume some other title. This is a sad but serious truth, and no little menaces the common Christianity, unless timely prevented.

But, sir, I will no longer tire your patience with these monsters (the subject of every contemptuous pamphlet) than with the madness of the Anabaptists, Quakers, Fifth-monarchy-men, and a cento of unheard-of heresies besides; which at present deform the once renowned church of England, and approach so little the pretended reformation, which we in France have been made to believe, that there is nothing more heavenly wide.

But I have dwelt too long on this remark. I return to where I digressed. For I was viewing the buildings, which are as deformed as the minds and confusions of the people: for if a whole street be fired, (an accident not unfrequent in this wooden city) the magistrate has either no power, or no care to make them build with any uniformity: which renders it, though a large, yet a very ugly town; pestered with hackney-coaches and insolent carmen, shops and taverns, noise, and such a cloud of sea-coal, as, if there be a resemblance of hell upon earth, it is in this volcano on a foggy day. This pestilent smoke, which corrodes the very iron and spoils all the moveables; leaving a soot upon all that it lights, and so fatally seizing on the lungs of the inhabitants, that the cough and the consumption spare no man. I have been in a spacious church where I could not discern the minister for the smoke, nor hear him for the people's barking.

There is within this city, and in all the towns of England (which I have passed through) so prodigious a number of houses where they sell a certain drink called ale, that I think a good half of the inhabitants may be denominated ale-house keepers. These are a meaner sort of *cabarets*.⁵ But, what is most deplorable, where the gentlemen sit, and spend much of their time, drinking of a muddy kind of beverage, and tobacco, which has universally besotted the nation, and at which (I hear) they have consumed many noble estates. As for other taverns, London is composed of them: where they drink Spanish wines, and other sophisticated liquors, to that fury and intemperance, as has often amazed me to consider it. But thus some mean fellow, the drawer, arrives to an estate; some of them having built fair houses, and purchased those gentlemen out of their possessions, who have ruined themselves by that base and dishonourable vice of ebriety. And that nothing may be wanting to the height of luxury and impiety of this abomination, they have translated the organs out of the churches, to set them up in taverns; chanting their dithyrambics and bestial bacchanalias to the tune of those instruments, which were wont to assist them in the celebration of God's praises, and regulate the voices of the worst singers in the world; which are the English in their churches, at present. I cannot but commend the reformed in Holland, who still retain their organs in the churches, and make use of them at the psalms, without any opinion of superstition: and I once remember to have heard the famous Diodati⁶ wish they might be introduced even

⁵ [Or taverns.]

⁶ [Professor of theology at Geneva, where he died in 1652. Charles Diodati, the friend of Milton, was his nephew.]

at Geneva. A great error undoubtedly in those who sit at the helm, to permit this scandal : to suffer so many of these taverns and occasions of intemperance, such leeches and vipers, to gratify so sordid and base a sort of people with the spoils of honest and well-natured men. Your lordship will not believe me, that the ladies of greatest quality suffer themselves to be treated in one of these taverns, where a courtesan in other cities would scarcely vouchsafe to be entertained. But you will be more astonished when I shall assure you that they drink their crowned cups roundly, strain healths through their smocks, dance after the fiddle, kiss freely, and term it an honourable treat.

But all this, my experience, particular address, and habitudes with the greatest of that nation has assured me, that it is not the pastime only of the inferior and meretricious sort ; since I find it a chief suppletory at all their entertainments to drink excessively ; and that in their own houses, before the ladies and the lackeys. It is the afternoon's diversion : whether for want of better, to employ the time, or affection to the drink, I know not. But I have found some persons of quality, whom one could not safely visit after dinner, without resolving to undergo this drink-ordeal, and endure the question.⁷ It is esteemed a piece of wit to make a man drunk, for which some swilling insipid client, or congiary, is a frequent and constant adjutant. Your lordship may hence well imagine, how heavy, dull, and insignificant, the conversation is ; loud, querulous, and impertinent.

I shall relate a story that once happened in my presence at a gentleman's house in the country, where there was much company and feasting. I fortun'd to come at dinner-time : and after the cloth was taken away (as the manner is) they fell to their laudable exercise. But I, unacquainted then with their custom, was led up into a withdrawing-room, where I had the permission (with a noble person who introduced me) to sit and converse with the ladies, who were thither retired : the gentleman of the house leaving us, in the mean time, to entertain his friends below. But you may imagine how strangely I was astonished, to see within an hour after, one of the company that had dined there, entering into the room all bloody and disordered, to fetch a sword which lay in one of the windows, and three or four of his companions, whom the fumes of the wine had inspirited, pursuing and dragging him by the hair ; till, in this confusion, one of their spurs engaged into a carpet, upon which stood a very fair looking-glass and two noble pieces of porcelain ; drew all to the ground, broke the glass and the vases in pieces ; and all this in such an instant, that the gentleman and myself had much ado to rescue the affrighted ladies from suffering in the tumult. But at last we prevailed, and brought them to terms : the quarrel concerning a health only, which one of them would have shifted. I don't remember, my lord, ever to have known, or very rarely, a health drank in France : no, not the king's : and if we say, *à votre santé, Monsieur* ; it neither expects pledge or ceremony. 'Tis here so much the custom to drink to every one at the table, that by the time a gentleman has done his duty to the whole company, he is ready to fall asleep. Whereas, with us, we salute the whole table with a single glass only. But, my lord, was not this, imagine you, an admirable scene, and very extraordinary ? I confess, the lady of the house, being much out of countenance at what had happened, proffered to excuse this disorder, and I was as ready to receive it : till several encounters confirmed me that they were but too frequent, and that there was a sort of perfect debauchees, who style themselves Hectors ; that in their mad and unheard-of revels, pierce their veins to quaff their own blood ; which some of them have done to that excess, that they died of the intemperance. These are a professed atheistical order of *bravos*, composed for the most part of cadets, who spending beyond their pensions, and to supply their extravagancies, practise now and then the highway, where they sometimes borrow that which they often repay at the gibbet. An ignominious trade, unheard of amongst our gallant *noblesse* ; however fortune reduce them.

But I know not whether I might not here match these valiant heroes with an avowed society of ladies, and some of them not of the meanest for birth, (I even blush to recount it

⁷ In France they give a certain torture to ale-factors, by pouring such a quantity of water into their mouths, which they call *giving the question* ; and I, (by translation) *drink-ordeal*.

of that fair sex) who boast of making all advantages at *play*; and are become so dexterous at it, that seldom they make a sitting without design and booty. For there is here, my lord, no such thing as courtship, after the decent mode of our circles: for either being mingled in a room, the gentlemen separate from the conversation of the ladies—to drink, as I before related: or else to whisper with one another at some corner, or bay-window:⁸ abandoning the ladies to gossip by themselves. Which is a custom so strange to a gallant of our nation, as nothing appears more barbarous and unbecoming: and this, in effect, must needs be the reason that those beautiful creatures can so little furnish; that they want assurance, address, and the charming discourse of our *damoiselles*, which are faculties so shining and agreeable in their sex, with us in France. And in truth, even the gentlemen themselves are greatly defective as to this particular; ill courtiers, unpliant, morose, and of vulgar dress; generally not so polished, free, and serene, as is universally found even amongst the most inferior of our nation. I am not ignorant that they impute it to a certain levity in us; but it is a mistake in them; and that, because they so hardly reform it, without some ridiculous affectation; as is conspicuous in their several modes and dresses, which they vary ten times for our once: every one affecting something particular, as having no standard at court, which should give laws and do countenance to the fashion: The women are much affected with gaudry: there being nothing more frequent, than to see an ancient lady wear colours; a thing which neither young nor old of either sex do with us, save in the country and the camp: but widows at no time. And yet reprove they us for these exorbitances. But I have often disputed the case:—either we do ill, or well: if ill, why then do they ape us? If well, why do they reproach us? The truth is, they have no moderation, and are neither so lucky nor frugal as our ladies are, in these sumptuary expences: and whereof the magistrate takes so little cognisance, that it is not an easy matter to distinguish the lady from the chambermaid; servants being suffered in this brave country to go clad like their mistresses: a thing neither decent, nor permitted in France, where they may wear neither lace nor silk. ‡

I may not forget to acquaint your lordship, that though the ladies and the gentlemen are so shy of one another, yet when once they grow acquainted, it passes into expressions and compellations extremely new to our usages, and the style of our country. Do but imagine how it would become our ladies to call *Monsieur N.* *Jack N.* What more frequent than this? “*Tom P.* was here to-day. I went yesterday to the *Course*⁹ with *Will R.* and *Harry M.* treated me at such a tavern.” These are the particular idioms and graceful confidences now in use; introduced, I conceive, at first, by some comrades, one with another. But it is mean and rude, and such as our lackeys would almost disdain in Paris; where I have often observed two chimney-sweepers accost one another in better forms, and civiler addresses. But to be confident and civil, is not a thing so easily understood, and seems a peculiar talent of our nation. However, the ladies are not more obliging and familiar than the lords are difficult and inaccessible. For though, by reason of my birth and quality, my recommendations and addresses, I found some tolerable reception amongst them; yet I observed that they kept at such a surly distance with the gentlemen, even of family, that methought I never beheld a ruder conversation; especially, when comparing their parts and education, I found them generally so much inferior, as if a lord were indeed other than a gentleman, or a gentleman not a fit companion for a king. But this must needs be the result of an ill and haughty institution, and for that most of these great persons are in their minority, and the age wherein they should be furnished with the noblest impressions, taught only to converse with their servants, some sycophants, and under the regiment of a pedant, which imprints that scornfulness and folly, and fits them with no better forms, when they should produce themselves, and give testimony to others, as well of their superiority in virtue, as in birth and dignity.

But this is, my lord, a particular, which I have heard you often complain of, and which we do frequently take notice of, at their coming abroad into our country; where, for

⁸ [In modern language, *bow-window*.]

⁹ A place near Paris, like Hyde Park.

want of address, and fit persons to introduce them, they seldom return more refined than they came. Else they could not but have observed, that there is nothing which makes the distinction of nobles in France but the title; and that his majesty himself does them the honours, which here they usurp upon their equals. But, my lord, they are sufficiently punished for it in England: where (to me) they appear so degenerate, for want of this humility and free conversation, by which, and their other vices, they grow now so much despised, that the gentlemen need seek no revenge. For though, as I told you, the gentlemen are most of them very intemperate; yet the proverb goes—‘as drunk as a lord.’ But, my lord, as there is no rule so general but it does admit of exceptions, so should I give my own experience, as well as your lordship’s, the contradiction, to make the censure universal: there being, even amongst these, some few, and in particular my Lord N. and N. &c. whom I esteem to be very noble and accomplished persons, as who have learned (by the good fortune of a better education) how to value the conversations of worthy men; and who indeed do sufficiently verify all those attributes which are due to their qualities, and therefore whom this paragraph doth no ways concern. Nor should I be less severe and unjust totally to exclude even some of the ladies from the advantages of this period; whose perfections and virtues claim an equal right to all that I have here spoken, out of a due presentiment of their merits and excellencies. It was frequently during the last winter, that I was carried to their *balls*, as where indeed I hoped to see what should appear the most of gallant and splendid amongst the ladies; nor really did my expectations deceive me. For there was a confluence of very great beauties, to which the glistering of their jewels (which upon these occasions they want not) could add nothing, save their weight: the various habits being so particular, as if by some strange enchantment, they had encountered and come out of several nations. But I was astonished to see, when they were ready to move, that a dancing-master had the boldness to take forth the greatest ladies; and they, again, the dancing-master: who performed most part of the ball, whilst the gentlemen that were present were least concerned, and stood looking on. So, as it appeared to me, more like the Farce of a Comedy at the *Hotel de Bourgogne*,¹⁰ than a ball of the noblesse. And, in truth, their measures, when any of them were taken out, made me somewhat ashamed to lead a lady, who did me the honour; for fear, though my skill be very vulgar in that exercise, they should have taken me for a dancing-master, who had haply employed my youth so ill, as to have some advantage of the rest in that faculty. This favour is particular to the dancing-masters in this country: and reason good, for they ride in their coaches, and have such ample salaries, as maintains both their prodigality and insolence, that were insupportable in France; where these trifling fellows do better know themselves, are worse paid, and less presumptuous. Nay, so remiss are the ladies of their respect, in this instance, that they not only entertain all this, but permit themselves likewise to be invited, and often honour these impertinent fantastics, by receiving the ball at their petty schools.

When this ceremony was ended, some of the gallants fell to other recreations; and, as far as I understood, were offering at that innocent, yet salt and pleasant diversion, which in France we call *raillerie*. But so far were they from maintaining it within the decencies of laws, which both in that and our *Characters*¹¹ we observe; that, in a little time, they fell so upon personally abusing one another, that there was much ado to preserve the peace: and, as I heard, it was the next day the product of a quarrel and a duel.

I did frequently in the spring accompany my Lord N. into a field near the town, which they call Hyde Park: the place not unpleasant, and which they use as our *Course*: but with nothing that order, equipage, and splendour; being such an assembly of wretched jades and hackney-coaches, as, next a regiment of carmen, there is nothing approaches the resemblance. This park was, it seems, used by the late king¹² and nobility, for the freshness of the air and the goodly prospect. But it is that which now, besides all other

¹⁰ The playhouse in Paris; as once ours at Blackfriars.

¹¹ A witty and a civil description of one another’s persons.

¹² [Charles the First.]

excises, they pay for here in England; though it be free in all the world beside: every coach and horse which enters, buying his mouthful, and permission of the publican who has purchased it; for which the entrance is guarded with porters and long staves. The manner is, as the company returns, to alight at the Spring-Garden: so called, in order to the Park, as our Thuilleries is to the Course. The enclosure not disagreeable; for the solemnness of the grove, the warbling of the birds; and as it opens into the spacious walks at St. James's. But the company walk in at such a rate, as you would think all the ladies were so many Atalantas, contending with their wooers: and, my lord, there was no appearance that I should prove the Hippomenes; who could, with very much ado, keep pace with them. But, as fast as they run, they stay there so long, as if they wanted not time to finish the race: for it is usual here, to find some of the young company till midnight; and the thickets of the garden seem to be contrived to all advantages of gallantry, after they have been refreshed with the collation, which is here seldom omitted; at a certain *cabaret* in the middle of this paradise: where the forbidden fruits are certain trifling tarts, neat's tongues, salacious meats, and bad Rhenish; for which the gallants pay sauce, as indeed they do not at all such houses throughout England. For they think it a piece of frugality beneath them to bargain, or account for what they eat in any place, however unreasonably imposed upon. But thus those mean fellows are, as I told your lordship, enriched; and beggar and insult even the gentlemen. I am assured that this particular host has purchased, within few years, 5000 livres¹³ of annual rent: and well he may; at the rates these prodigals pay. Whereas in France, a gentleman esteems it no diminution to manage even these expences with reason.

But, my lord, it is now late, and time to quit this garden, and to tell you that I think there is not a more illustrious sight in the world than to meet the divinities of our court marching up the long walk in the Thuilleries; where the pace is so stayed and grave, the encounters so regular and decent, and where those who feed their eyes with their beauties, and their ears with the charming accents of their discourse and voices, need not those refreshments of the other senses; finding them all to be so taken up with these.

I was curious, before my return, and when I had conquered some difficulties of the language and customs, to visit their judicatures: where, besides that few of their gown-men are to be compared to those of the robe in our *Palais*¹⁴ for elocution, and the talent of well-speaking: so neither do they at all exceed them in the forms and colours of their pleading: but (as before I spake of their raillery) supply the defects of the cause with flat, insipid, and grossly abusing one another. A thing so trifling, and misbecoming the gravity of courts, (where the lawyers take liberty to jest men's estates away, and yet avow their avarice), that I have much admired at the temper of the judges, and their remissness in reforming it. There was a young person, who, at my being there, was very much cried up for his abilities; and in whom I did not observe that usual intemperance, which I but now reproved. And certainly, it springs either for want of these abilities, which the municipal laws of this nation, (consisting most of them in customs like our Normandy, whose ancient dialect their books yet retain), are so little apt to furnish; or the defect of those advantages, which the more polished sciences afford us: without which, it is impossible to be good orators, and to maintain their discourses without diversion to that vile impertinency.

But what is infinitely agreeable in this country are the *Bowling-greens*, and the *Races*: which are really such pleasures abroad, as we have nothing approaches them in France, and which I was extremely delighted in. But the verdure of the country, and delicious downs it is, which renders them this pre-eminence. And indeed it is to be valued, and doth (in my esteem) very much commute for the less benignity of that glorious planet, which ripens our vines in France.

The horses and the dogs, their incomparable parks of fallow-deer, and laws of chase, I extremely approve of: but upon other occasions, all Englishmen ride so fast upon the

¹³ 500 per annum of our monies.

¹⁴ Where they plead as at Westminster.

road, that you would swear there were some enemy in the *arrière*; and all the coaches in London seem to drive for midwives. But what did much more afflict me, is their ceremony at the table: where every man is obliged to sit till all have done eating, however their appetites differ, and to see the formality of the voider; which our withdrawing-rooms in France are made to prevent; and might so here, if they knew the use of them to be—that every man may rise when he has dined, without the least indecency, and leave the sewers to their office.

I have now but a word to add, and that is the tediousness of *Visits*: which they make here so long, that it is a very tyranny to sit to so little purpose. If the persons be of ladies, that are strangers; it is to look upon each other, as if they had never seen any of their own kind before! And here, indeed, the virtue of their sex is eminent; for they are as silent and fixed as statues. Or if they do talk, it is with censure, and sufficient confidence: so difficult it is to entertain with a grace, or to observe a mediocrity.

In sum, my lord; I found so many particulars worthy of reproof in all those remarks which I have been able to make; that to render you a veritable account of England, as it is at present, I must pronounce with the poet—

Difficile est Satyram non scribere.

The Plot of the Play, called “ENGLAND’S JOY.” To be playd at the Swan this 6. of Nov. 1602.

This curiosity is neatly printed on a broadside, and preserved in a volume of miscellanies appertaining to the time of Queen Elizabeth and King James, &c. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. Four plots of early plays have been given in Reed’s Shakspeare: but those were used as stage-directions for the prompter. The present seems to have been intended rather for the use of the audience, and as a substitute for the ancient Chorus. Two notices in Dodsley’s Old Plays (second edition) point at this drama, and at Nicholas Breton as the probable author. I cite the following, as taken from Suckling’s Goblins; 1646.

1st Thief. Let me see:—the author of the ‘Bold Beauchamps,’ and ‘ENGLAND’S JOY.’

Poet. The last was a well-writ piece, I assure you:
A Breton, I take it, and Shakespear’s very way.
I desire to see the man.

The following allusion is from John Taylor’s ‘Cast over the Water to Wm. Fennor?’

‘And poore old Vennor, that plain dealing man,
‘Who acted ENGLAND’S JOY at the old Swan.’

‘The above books (says a note, perhaps by Isaac Reed) though they may be different titles belonging to one only, I have not been able to discover. From Ben Jonson’s Masque of Augures, 1621, ENGLAND’S JOY seems to have been a dramatic work—since three of those gentlemen are mentioned, that should have acted in that famous matter of ENGLAND’S JOY, in six[teen] hundred and three.’

This skeleton of its scenery and actors determines it to have been a sort of political pageant.

FIRST; there is induct, by shew and in action, the civill warres of England, from *Edward* the Third to the end of *Queene Marie's* raigne, with the overthrow of Usurpation.

2. Secondly, then the entrance of *ENGLAND's JOY*, by the coronation of our soveraigne Lady *Elizabeth*: her throne attended with Peace, Plenty, and civill Pollicy: a sacred prelate standing at her right hand, betokening the serenity of the Gospell; at her left hand, Justice: and at her feete Warre; with a scarlet roabe of peace upon his armour, a wreath of bayes about his temples, and a braunch of palme in his hand.

3. Thirdly, is dragd in, three Furies, presenting Dissention, Famine, and Bloudshed, which are throwne downe into hell.

4. Fourthly, is exprest under the person of a Tyrant, the envy of *Spayne*, who, to shew his cruelty, causeth his souldiers dragge in a beautifull Lady, whome they mangle and wound, tearing her garments and jewels from off her: and so leave her bludy, with her hayre about her shoulders, lying upon the ground. To her come certaine gentlemen, who seeing her pitious dispoylment, turne to the throne of England; from whence one descendeth, taketh up the Lady, wipeth her eyes, bindeth up her woundes, giveth her treasure, and bringeth forth a band of souldiers, who attend her forth: this Lady presenteth *Belgia*.

5. Fifthly, the Tyrant more enraged, taketh counsell; sends forth letters, privie spies, and secret underminers; taking their othes, and giving them bagges of treasure. These signifie *Lopus*, and certaine Jesuites, who afterward, when the tyrant lookes for an answer from them, are shewed to him in a glasse with halters about their neckes, which makes him mad with fury.

6. Sixtly, the Tyrant seeing all secret meanes to sayle him, intendeth open violence and invasion, by the hand of Warre; whereupon is set forth the battle at sea in 88, with England's victory.

7. Seventhly, hee complotteth with the Irish rebelles, wherein is layd open the base ingratitude of *Tyrone*, the landing there of *Don John de Aguila*, and their dissipation by the wisdom and valour of the Lord *Mountjoy*.

8. Eightly, a great triumph is made with fighting of twelve Gentlemen at barriers, and sundrie rewards sent from the throne of England, to all sortes of well deservers.

9. Lastly, the Nine Worthyes, with severall coronets, present themselves before the throne, which are put backe by certaine in the habite of Angels, who set upon the Ladie's head (which represents her Majestie) an emperiall crowne, garnished with the *sunne*, *moone*, and *starres*: and so with musicke, both with voyce and instruments, shee is taken up into Heaven; when presently appears a throne of blessed soules; and beneath under the stage, set forth with strange fire-workes, divers blacke and damned soules, wonderfully discribed in their severall torments.

Worke for Cutlers : or, a Merry Dialogue betweene Sword,
Rapier, and Dagger. Acted in a Shew in the Famous Uni-
versitie of Cambridge.

London, printed by Thomas Creede, for Richard Meighen and Thomas Jones;
and are to be sold at S. Clement's Church without Temple-barre, 1615.

[Quarto, Seven Leaves.]

That punning species of gladiatorial wit, with which the following dramatic dialogues abound, is likely to have procured them academical admirers, in the time of our first James, when scarce a word—

*' to royal favour had pretence,
' But what agreed in sound, and clash'd in sense.'*

The particular occasion which introduced these pieces as parts of a university-shew does not appear: but they are curious specimens of the taste of a former age in its scholastic entertainments.

Enter Sword.

Sword. **N**AY Rapier, come forth: come forth, I say. I'll give thee a *crown*, though it be but a *crackt* one. What, wilt not? Art so hard to be *drawn forth*, Rapier?

Enter Rapier.

Rap. S'foot! thou shalt know that Rapier dares enter; nay, Back-Sword.

Enter Dagger; he holds Rapier's hands behind him.

Rap. Who's this behind me?

Dag. 'Tis Dagger, Sir. What, will you never leave your quarrelling?

Rap. Well, Sword: Dagger hath defended you a good many times. But 'tis no matter: another time shall serve. Shall I get you out Sword alone, that I may have you *Single-Sword*.

Sword. Yes: if you'll be *Single* Rapier too.

Dag. Nay, Sword, put the case of Rapier's aside, that there were two of them: I hope you were able to *buckle* with them.

Sword. I'll tell you what: if I go into the field with him, hang Sword up if I do not cut Rapier's *points*, and lash him when I have done. Nay, you shall find Sword *mettle* to the very back. S'foot! my teeth be an *edge* at him.

Dag. If you offer but to *thrust* towards him, Rapier; I'll strike you down.

Sword. Hang him, I defy him, base Spaniard!

Rap. Defy me; sirrah Sword, Rapier spits i' thy face. Dar'st meet me i' the fields, cravenly capon!

Sword. Capon?

Rap. Aye, Capon! so I say, Sir

Dag. Why any man may see that thou art well *carv'd*, Sword: and yet, methinks that Rapier should not speak of that; for it's an hundred to one if he be not *gilt* too.

Sword. Well, Rapier, if thou goest into the fields with me, I'll make a capon of you before I have done with you. You shall ne'er come home *uncut*, I'll warrant you.

Dag. Nay, you shall find Sword a notable *cutter*.

Rap. He a cutter! Alas, he ne'er went into the fields yet, but he was soundly *hack'd* before he came out.

Sword. Ne'er talk you of *hacking*: for it's a hundred to one if you have not the *Foyl*, Rapier.

Rap. S'foot! if you be so *short*, Sword; Rapier ne'er fears you. Come along.

Dag. Nay, ne'er go: for if you do, I'll send one after you which shall *scour* you both. The Cutler can do it. I have seen him *handle* you both bravely.

Sword. The Cutler. Alas! we are the best friends he has: and if it were not for us, the Cutler might soon shut up his shop.

Dag. Alas! Sword, you need not talk of his shutting up of shop. An, if it had not been for him, you had *broken* by this time, Sword. Nay, ne'er talk: for you know he can hold your nose to the *grind-stone*, when he list. And as for you, Rapier, you know he *brought you up* first; and if you stay'd with him still, it might have been better for you.

Rap. Better for me! Alas, he knew not how to *use* me.

Dag. He used you too well, indeed: for when you were with him, he furnished you with *silver* and every thing; but now you are *worn out* of all fashion. You are even like a lapwing: you are no sooner *hatch'd*, Rapier, but you run abroad presently from him.

Rap. Yet I scorn to run away from him.

Sword. But it were more wisdom than to stand: for the Cutler is a man as well armed as any man I know; and has as good skill in's weapons.

Rap. Ha, Sword: is the wind in that door? Faith, now I see which way you stand *bent*, Sword: you had rather sleep in a whole skin, than go into the fields to *try* yourself.

Sword. Sir, Sword has been *prov'd* before now; and yet he'll prove himself again with you, if you dare follow him.

Dag. Do you hear, Sword? If you go, look for Dagger at your *backs* presently: for I am a justice of peace, and am sworn to keep and defend the peace.

Rap. Sir, we will fight; and do you take it in dudgeon, Dagger, if you please. If you once offer to hinder us, I'll so *pummel* you, Dagger, that you were never pummel'd in your life. And howsoever, I hope there's law against you as well as others, and Rapier can put up a *case* against you.

Dag. Alas! I care not if you were both plaintiffs against me: you shall find Dagger your defendant, I'll warrant you. Aye, and if need be, I could put up an action of *battery* against you.

Sword. What; talk you of Law? Sword scorns to have any other law than *martial* law, and that upon you, Rapier.

Dag. Away, Sword: the time was indeed when thou wast a notable *swash-buckler*, but now thou art grown *old*, Sword.

Rap. Aye, you do well to excuse his cowardice.

Sword. Why, Sir, 'tis well known that Sword has *flourish'd* in his days.

Dag. Flourish'd? I'faith, Sir, I have seen Sword *hang* with nothing but *scarfs* ere now.

Rap. With scarfs? With a halter, if he had been well serv'd: for he's a notable thief.

Dag. A thief?

Rap. Aye, a thief. Did you never hear of *Cutting Dick*? this is the very same man.

Dag. Nay, Rapier, ne'er hit Sword i' th' teeth with that: for you know you were both indicted for treason before now; and were in danger to be *hang'd* and *drawn* too, and had escap'd well if you had not been *quartered*.

Sword. Sword, I hope, knows how to keep his *quarters*.

Dag. You are a crafty fox, Sword. It were well if you knew how to keep your friendship too: for gentlemen and friends should not *fall out*.

Sword. Rapier, a gentleman!

Rap. A gentleman, and has *arms*.

Dag. But methinks, Sword, by the very sounding of his name should be the better gentleman, and has the better *arms* too; for if the truth were well known, Rapier hath but *one arm*.

Rap. Sword bear arms? He's a base companion. Alas, I have known you bear a *basket*, Sword.

Dag. If you look i' th' Book of Armoury, I'll warrant you, you shall find Sword of more antiquity than you, Rapier. He derives his pedigree from *Morglay*, Bevis of Southampton's sword; and that from St. George his sword, that kill'd the dragon.

Rap. Ay, the dragon in Sussex, the other day. But I'll warrant you Rapier's of as good a *blood* as he, for his heart.

Dag. By th' mass, I think indeed you are both well *sanguin'd*. You're both of one *blood*: only there's this difference, that Sword comes of the elder brother, and you Rapier of the younger.

Rap. And oftentimes the younger brother proves the better soldier.

Dag. Nay, Dagger will defend you both for good soldiers.

Sword. Rapier, a soldier! when did you ere know Rapier fight a *battle*!

Dag. Yes, Rapier is a soldier, and a man as well *armed at all points* as any one.

Sword. No, no; it's Sword that's the notable soldier. Why, there's none of all you captains could do any thing in war without him.

Rap. I hope Rapier hath not been at *fencing-school* all this while for nothing.

Dag. Alas, there's none master of defence but *Dagger*. But yet, if you speak of soldiers, there's Bow, Bill, and Gun, worth twenty such as we are.

Rap. Indeed, they say that Bow has been an old soldier.

Sword. Yet he's not fit for a soldier: any man may *bend* him as he list.

Rap. And as for Bow-string, I dare undertake to *whip* him myself.

Sword. Then let me alone to tickle Bow's own nock, i' faith.

Dag. But what say you to Bill? He's a notable sturdy villain.

Sword. Bill! I'll *pay* him soundly, if ere I reach him.

Dag. It's more than you can do, I'm afraid. For Bill's a tall fellow¹ on's hands, and will quickly be wood. And then there's Gun; such another bouncing fellow too.

Rap. Gun: alas, he's nobody. Any little boy will make him *roar*. I have made him go off o' th' fields a good many times myself.

Dag. Well; is Gun nobody? I'm sure he'll give some *blows* sometimes.

Sword. It's ne'er but when Powder *overcharges* him: then indeed, he'll be somewhat hot o' th' matter.

Rap. I think that Powder is a vile bragger: he doth nothing but *crack*.

Dag. Faith, I know not what soldier he is: but they say he's an excellent politician.

Rap. He, a politician?

Dag. Why, he has an excellent wit.

Sword. Pish, it's nothing but a *flash*.

Dag. I'm sure I can remember since he was a parliament-man.

Rap. He a parliament-man! For what shire?

Dag. Nay, by'r Lady, it was for the whole country.

Sword. I wonder they should choose him. Why he does every thing *on the sudden*.

Dag. Oh, he *plots* shrewdly. If they had not look'd to it, he had *undermined* the whole parliament-house.²

Sword. Ay, but he's nobody now a days: he's *blown up* long ago.

¹ [See a tall bill exhibited in Reed's Shakspeare, vi. 96.]

² [Alluding to the gunpowder plot, in 1605.]

Dag. Well, if either you or any body else should meet with Powder, yet it's a hundred to one if he meet not with his *match*.

Rap. Nay, you should let him alone, Dagger; and you should see that Sword's as notable a bragger as Powder. He thinks he shall ne'er be matcht too: but he shall; and over-matcht too by Rapier, I warrant him. Come, Sword, after your long parley, dare you go into the fields?

Sword. Dare I? you shall soon see that. Go, and I'll follow you.

Dag. Well said, desperate Dick. Sword, you may be asham'd to offer it. You know you are two-handed Sword, and Rapier has but one hand (unless I help him) to do any good withal: and yet you'd have him go into the fields with you. Come, there's neither of you shall go. Do not you know that duels are put down? You'll be bound to the peace ever hereafter, if you strike but one stroke. Therefore, you had better let me decide your controversy for you.

Sword. Why, you are a *back*-friend to us both, Dagger.

Dag. Nay, you know I'm equally *allied* to you *both*; and therefore shall prove an impartial judge. How say you, will you be rul'd by me?

Rap. Nay, let him choose: Rapier's at a *good point*, whether he will or no.

Dag. Why are you so long, Sword, before you speak?

Sword. Are duels put down? Then I am forc'd to be friends. Speak then.

Dag. Then, in brief, it shall be thus. Sword, you shall bear chief force i' th' camp, and be made general of the field, to bear sway every where. As for you, Rapier, since duels are put down, you shall live quietly and peaceably here i' th' Court, and go every day in *velvet*. You shall be friends with every one, and be on every one's *side*; that if occasion serve, and Sword be absent, so that matters are driven to a *push*, Rapier shall be the only man to perform a combat: and I myself will back you both, as occasion shall serve. How say ye, are ye content?

Rap. We are.

Dag. Then go before to my house, to the Dagger in Cheap: and there we'll conclude all.

Rap. Along, Sword.

[*Exeunt Sword and Rapier.*]

Dag. Our weapons drawn, and yet no hurt ye find:
Did Dagger then defend unto your mind?
He that defended others not long sence,
At last he dares not stand in's own defence.
But this he hopes, with you it will suffice,
To crave a pardon for a scholar's prize.

Exchange Ware at the Second Hand : viz. Band, Ruffe, and
Cuffe, lately out, and now newly dearned up : or, a Dialogue,
acted in a Shew in the Famous Universitie of Cambridge.
The Second Edition.

London, printed by W. Stansby for Miles Partrich, and are to be sold at his
Shop neere Saint Dunstones Church-yard, in Fleet Street. 1615.

[Quarto, Ten Leaves.]

*The first edition of this piece, printed in the same year, was entitled 'A Merrie Dialogue
' betweene Band, Cuffe, and Ruffe : done by an excellent Wit, and lately acted in a Shew,'
&c. This edition does not contain the preliminary verses. The PROLOGUE is taken
from a MS. copy, which is said to have been "acted at Oxford, Feb. 24, 1646." The
readings in that MS. appearing preferable to the printed copies, they have mostly been
adopted on the recommendation of my friend Mr. Haslewood, to whom I am indebted for
the means of introducing these antiquarian novelties. Mr. S. Jones observes, that this
curiosity had not been met with by Langbaine, Gildon, Jacob, or Whincop. See Biogra-
phia Dramatica, iii. 208.*

Ruff, Cuff, and Band's Complaint against the Printer.

WHEN th' Printer read the copy of our jars,
He attacht us straight, as authors of some wars :
And like a judge th' arraignment did begin,
With guilty—yea or no,—of such like sin ?
We that had words, yet knew not how to cry
Not guilty, Sir—condemned were to die.
And, since in silence thus our plea did rest,
According to the law he'd have us prest.

The Owner's Appeal from Mr. Printer his False Judgement.

PRINTER, you are mistaken in their fault,
And though he swears that Band, Cuff, Ruff, are naught,
Yet thus the cause he'd have you understand,
He was bewitch'd by this same Cuff, Ruff, Band.
To do him Justice then he doth desire,
Condemn this Ruff, Cuff, Band, unto the fire :
So shall you see your judgment will prove right,
And so their faults shall sooner come to light.

A Jury of Sempsters, and their Verdict upon Band, Ruff, and Cuff.

1.

I VIEW'D my wares, and found Band's case was good,
And Ruff and Cuff, if rightly understood:
The fault the printer's was: for he mistook,
And made a *writ of error* in the *book*. M. PUS.

2.

Let judgment try to whom the faults belong;
'Twill say—the printer did Ruff, Cuff, Band, wrong. M. T.

3.

I see no fault for which I judge it meet
That Ruff, Cuff, Band, should here stand in a *sheet*. M. A.

4.

The work's well view'd, each man in it doth pry,
It cannot 'scape the very *needle's eye*.
Yet this be sure—if aught had been o'erslipt,
The fault by me should not have 'scap'd *unript*. M. H.

5.

Not for to *clear* you, Ruff, Cuff, Band, come I
Hither to th' Term:—but rather here to buy
A prohibition for to make no more,
Lest by this art we sempsters grow but poor. M. L.

6.

My verdict's this—the accuser is in fault:
To *pick a hole* in Ruff, Cuff, Band, 'tis naught. M. O.

7.

They *press* Ruff, Cuff, and Band—(what reason's in't?)
And yet desire—they still should stand *in print*. M. B.

8.

Think not your face so good, as need no *Band*:
Dare not to spoil great Ruff: set not your hand
Cuff to disgrace. All linen else will take
Up arms, for Ruff, and Cuff, and Band, and make
Their enemies, like friers, woolward to lie
Or wear a dishclout yet, afore they die. M. H.

9.

The faults in Ruff, Cuff, Band, are whose, d'ye think?
The *printer's*?—Ay, he spoil'd them with his *ink*. M. J.

10.

What though the printer Ruff, Cuff, Band, hath stain'd:
I'll get it forth, or else let me be blam'd.
For all his black *foul* fingers never fear,
But that the laundress she can make them *clear*. M. D.

11.

If this Ruff, Cuff, and Band, condemned are,
We'll look unto the linen that we wear.
Did you desire good *ware*, you'd rather plead—
The owner sure hath *spun* a *goodly thread*. M. D.

12.

When Cuff at the bar is forc'd to hold his hand,
And there condemned is, with Ruff, and Band:
You that can see in them there's such defects,
High time it is to look unto your *necks*. M. E.

The Owner's Desire.

THE faults that may in Ruff, Cuff, Band be nam'd,
Will surely make the owner more than blam'd:
You will condemn him for what he mistook,
Yet still he craves—you'd let him have *his book*.

M. Stitchwell's Sentence.

THE printer seeks some way to bring about,
That he the second time might *set Ruff out*,
With Cuff and Band. The owner doth begin
To seek some way that he may *call them in*.
Thus to please both, and grant them their request,
My sentence is—the book shall be *re-prest*.

Upon the Second Edition.

BAND, Ruff, and Cuff, at first so well did go
Through stitch, as nought might added be thereto.
Yet, in my mind, they now seem well enricht,
Since by the printer they have been *double sticht*. M. BURSE

Ware, ne'er the worse for *wearing*?—'twas much afore;
But now, *new wash'd and starch'd*, 'tis thus much worse.
You'll not lose twelpence by it, (mark what you give)
Wear it and use 't, as long as e'er you live. M. EXCHANGE.

To the Cheapener.

Do you hear, Sir?—one word more:
Pray let me know,
What is the utmost farthing you'll bestow?—
To sell at such a rate, there's none can live;
But since no more you're minded for to give,
Hark in your ear—(I hope you'll not reveal it)
It *cost* me so; or I, in truth, did steal it.

Prologue.

AT first we crave, for what must here be said,
No tail, no matter hath, nor yet good head:
In word, in deed, or howsoe'er we fail,
We doubt not, but 'twill quit a freshman's tail.

A Merry Dialogue between Band, Cuff, and Ruff.

Actors.—BAND, CUFF, RUFF.

Enter Band and Cuff.

Band. Cuff, where art thou?

Cuff. Here, at hand.

Enter Ruff.

Ruff. Where is this Cuff?

Cuff. Almost at your elbow.

Ruff. Oh, Band, art thou there? I thought thou hadst been worn out of date by this time, or shrunk in the washing at least.

Band. What, do you think I am afraid of your greatness? No, you shall know that there are men of fashion in place, as well as yourself.

Cuff. Good Band, do not fret so.

Band. A scurvy shig-shag gentleman, new come out of the North; a puisne, a very freshman, come up hither to learn fashions; and seek to expel me?

Cuff. Nay, if you be so broad with him, Band; we shall have a fray presently.

Ruff. Sir, I'll pull down your collar for you. (He jostles B. and C. stays him.)

Cuff. It was time for me to stay you: for I am sure you were a falling Band.

Ruff. Well, Band, for all you are so stiff, I'll make you limber enough before I leave you.

Band. No, hog-yonker, it's more than thou canst do.

Ruff. O let me come to him. Well, Band, let me catch you in another place, and I'll make cut-work of you.

Band. Cut-work of me! No, there's ne'er a Spanish Ruff of you all can do it.

Cuff. Sfoot, if these two should go together by the ears, Cuff would be in a fine plight; would he not?

Ruff. Well, Band, thou hadst need look to thyself: for if I meet thee, I will lace thee roundly.

Band. Lace me? Thou wouldst be laced thyself; for this is the very truth, Ruff, thou art but a plain knave.

Cuff. If they talk of lacing, I were best look about myself.

Ruff. Darest thou meet me in the field?

Band. In the field? Why thou art but an effeminate fellow, Ruff, for all thou art so well set. But at what weapon?

Ruff. Nay, I will give thee that advantage. Bring thou what weapons thou wilt. I scorn to make any thing of thee, Band, but needle-work.

Band. Sfoot, thou shalt know, a gentleman and a soldier scorns thy proffer.

Ruff. A soldier?

Cuff. Did you not hear of the great Bands went over of late?

Ruff. Where didst thou serve? in the Low Countries?

Cuff. It may be so: for he is a Holland Band.

Band. Where served, it is no matter: but I am sure I have been often pressed.

Cuff. Truly, his laundress will witness thereof.

Ruff. Press me no pressings: for I'll make you know that Ruff is steeled to the back. If I had my stick here, you should feel it.

Band. Nay, bragger, it is not your great words can carry it away so. Give Band but a hem, and he will be for you at any time. Name, therefore, the place, the day, and the hour of our meeting.

Ruff. The place, the paper-mills: where I will tear thee into rags, before I have done

with thee: the time, to-morrow about one. But do you hear? We will fight *single*: you shall not be *double*, Band.

Cuff. Now I perceive the Spaniard and the Hollander will to it roundly.

Ruff. But do you hear? Once more, do not say at our next meeting you forgot the time.

Cuff. No: I dare warrant you, there is no man more careful of the time than Band is: for I am sure he hath always a dozen *clocks* about him.

Ruff. Farewel then.

Band. Then farewel.

Cuff. Nay, you shall not part so. You two will go into the fields to fight, and know not what fighting means. A couple of *white-livered* fellows! the laundress will make you both look as *white* as a *clout*, if she list. If you lack *beating*, she'll beat you, I'll warrant you. She'll so *clap* your *sides* together, that she'll beat you all to pieces, in once or twice handling. Why, I have known her leave her *marks* behind her a whole week together. She'll quickly beat you *black* and *blue*; for I am sure she'll scarce *wash white* before she *starch*.

Band. Well, remember the time and place, Ruff.

Cuff. Remember yourself, and Mistress *Stitchwell*; one that you have been both beholden to in your days.

Band. Who? Mistress *Stitchwell*. I know her not.

Cuff. Nor thou neither.

Ruff. No:—I swear by all the *gum* and *blue starch* in Christendom.

Cuff. I thought so. Why it's the *sempster*. One, that both you had been *undone*, had it not been for her. But what talk I of your *undoing*? I say Mistress *Stitchwell*, the sempstress, was the very *maker* of you: yet you regard her thus little. But it is the common *fashion* of you all. When you come to be so *great* as you are, you forget from what house you came.

Ruff. Sfoot! Ruff careth not a *pin* for her.

Band. Nor Band a *button*.

Cuff. Well, well, Band and Ruff, you had best take heed of her, you know she set you both in the *stocks* once before; and if she catch you again, it is a hundred to one, if she *hang* you not both up; for she hath got strings already.

Ruff. Well, meet me if thou dar'st.

Band. The place, the paper-mills; the hour, to-morrow at one.

Cuff. If you go, go. But look well about you, do you hear me? As little a fellow as I am, I will come and *cuff* you both out of the field. If I do not, say Cuff is no man of his *hands*.

Ruff. Alas! poor shrimp, thou art nothing in my hands.

Cuff. If you go, you shall never say Cuff came of a *sleeveless* errand. I'll *bind* your *hands*, I warrant you, for striking.

Band. Say, and hold. Ruff, remember the paper-mills.

Cuff. An if ye be so choleric, I'll even pin you both in, as soon as I come home. Can you not decide the quarrel between yourselves, without a field? I thought, Ruff, you had been a little more mild, Ruff. You were a horrible puritan the other day, a very *precise* Ruff.

Ruff. Hang him, base rascal! Would he not make any man mad, to see such a poor snake? I durst not scarce peep out of doors, before *Collar* came to town, and now to swagger thus.

Cuff. Come, you shall be friends, Band.

Band. Friends with him? such a base rascal as he is! a *thread-bare* fellow as he is! I scorn, but my man *Collar* should go better every day in the week than he, and be friends with him.

Ruff. Thy man, *Collar*? Thy master, thou would'st have said. I am sure he is thy *upholder*.

Cuff. Nay, surely he is his master; at least his maker. For Bands make rags, rags make paper, paper makes pasteboard, and pasteboard makes *Collar*: and is not this a *stiff* argument, that he is his maker, and therefore master?

Ruff. Well, be he what he will, if I catch his collar I'll cut him in *jags*. Let me but clasp him, and I'll make him for stirring.

Cuff. But ye shall not fight. Have ye not friends and neighbours enough to end this controversy, but you must go into the fields, and there cut the *thread* of your lives? No, we'll have no such doing. Come, choose you an umpire, Band, for it shall be so.

Band. Since you will force me to it; if Ruff be content, I am willing.

Cuff. Ruff, you shall be content.

Ruff. If I shall, then I must: let me name him.

Band. If I may choose, I'll have Master Handkerchief.

Cuff. Nay, stay there: he is a mutable *sniveling* fellow, and a notable lawyer. He will *wipe* your nose of all, if you put the *case* to him. But what say you to *Shirt*?

Ruff. Hang him, a *rope* on him. He is a filthy *shifting* knave; and one to whom Band a little before hath been much beholden. They were *joined* a long time together in friendship.

Cuff. Why, then go to Master Cap, the *head-man* of the town.

Band. No; I deem that he is a very bad justice. You may have him *wrought* on any side for money.

Ruff. I'll tell you what: then we will go to my Lord *Corpus* himself.

Band. He is not in town.

Ruff. He is: for to-day I saw *Sock*, his chief *foot-man* in town.

Cuff. Here's ado with you and my Lord *Corpus*. Indeed, I would you were both hanged about his *neck* for me; for then I think you would be both *even*. But I see, this strife will never be ended, till I be arbitrator myself. You know I am equally allied to you both: shall I be moderator between you?

Band and Ruff. Content.

Cuff. Well then, Ruff shall be most accounted of amongst the clergy, for he is the graver fellow: although I know the puritans will not greatly care for him; he hath such a deal of *sitting*, and they love *standing* better. As for you, Band, you shall be made most of amongst the young *gallants*: although sometimes they shall use Ruff for a *fashion*, but not otherwise. However, you need not regard the giddy-headed multitude. Let them do as they list; sometimes respecting one, sometimes the other. But when you come to the counsellors and men of law, which know right from wrong, judging your worths to be equal, they shall prefer neither, but use the kindness of both. How say you: are you both pleased?

Band and Ruff. We are.

Cuff. Then go before me to the next town, and I'll follow after with a *band* of your friendship drawn, which I hope these gentlemen will *seal* with their hands.

[*Exeunt Band and Ruff.*]

Cuff. Claw me, and I'll claw thee,—the proverb goes:

Let it be true, in this that freshman shows.

Cuff graceth hand, Cuff's debtors hands remain;

Let hands clap me, and I'll cuff them again.

A True Account of the late Bloody and Inhuman Conspiracy against his Highness the Lord Protector, and this Commonwealth; for the Subversion of the present Government thereof, and an involving this Nation in Blood. Manifested by the Examinations and Confessions upon Oath, of some of the Principal Conspirators themselves; as also by the Depositions of several Witnesses which were taken concerning the same. Published by special Command.

London, printed by Thomas Newcomb, dwelling in Thames-street over-against Baynards Castle. Anno Dom. 1654.

[Quarto, containing Ninety-five Pages.]

Cromwell procured himself to be made Protector in Dec. 1653, by Barebone's parliament: and though he met with a general submission, yet it was not without open complaints of his having usurped the supreme power by a title conferred on him by men without authority. The royalists regarded Cromwell's advancement as a mortal blow to their hopes: while the presbyterians were far from satisfied at being excluded from the best posts; which it was the Protector's care to fill with persons of approved attachment to himself. Yet the presbyterians were caressed by him, because their aid was needful to accomplish his views of being confirmed in his new dignity by a free parliament: but he hated the cavaliers, and kept them in a state of great humiliation. This conduct gave rise to several conspiracies against him; and, among those, to the project here recorded, of assassinating Cromwell in his way to Hampton Court, and of exciting a popular insurrection. Some of the leaders and abettors were tried and rigorously punished: Gerard being beheaded, and Vowell hanged, on the sentence of a high court of justice, erected on purpose (as Lord Clarendon informs us) for the trial of persons accused of holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, and for having designs against the life of the Protector, &c. Gerard, it seems, was of a good family, had been an ensign in the royal army, and obtained an interview with the king (Charles II.) at Paris, through his kinsman, Lord Gerard; where he was recommended to remain quiet; and not to engage in any plots, which might prove ruinous to himself, and could do the king no good: but this appears to have had no effect on his intemperate loyalty. Vowell, the Islington schoolmaster, was a person totally unknown to the king, or to any of the king's party; but volunteered his life in the cause, and braved his fate with most consummate hardihood; earnestly and pathetically advising the people to return to their fidelity to church and king. His execution took place at Charing-cross, on the 10th of July, 1654; and Gerard suffered on the afternoon of the same day at Tower-hill; declaring to the last, that 'if he had a hundred lives he would lose them all to do the king any service, and was willing to die upon that suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was charged against him, and had not entered into or consented to any plot or conspiracy, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose.' See Clarendon's Hist. book xiv.

WHEN we recount the many signal acts of Providence and preservation in times past, not only by victories and triumphs over the common enemy in the open field, but by divers seasonable discoveries of secret plots and conspiracies contrived by that party from time to time, to destroy the cause and interest of God and his people, and for the ruin of those faithful instruments whom he hath used in its just defence, we cannot but with enlarged hearts make acknowledgment of so extraordinary mercies, and so much the rather at this time we conceive ourselves and the good people of this nation concerned in duty, to magnify the great loving kindness of the Lord, seeing he who hath delivered us hitherto, doth go on still to work deliverance from those unreasonable men, who having failed in all their impious designs by force, durst so lately attempt again to effect them by treacherous and most unmanly practices. It were a thing heartily to be wished, that no occasion had been given for publishing any papers or discourses of this kind, but rather that after all these contestings and strivings of the people one against the other, whereby this nation hath been so miserably rent into parties and factions, our countrymen would at length have entertained thoughts of quietness, to quench the old animosities and preternatural heats of division, that so we might become all of a piece again, and no schism remain in the body, no remembrance of former differences, to hinder us from the enjoyment of those common benefits that may redound to all the three nations, being so happily united under one head in the present establishment: but seeing there is a rancorous restless generation still lurking and fretting in the bowels of this commonwealth, not to be cured or restrained by the fear of God or man, nor out of love to their country, or their own safety in particular, whom neither the severity of laws can tame, nor acts of grace and favour oblige, men void not only of all sense of honour, but even of natural affection towards the land of their nativity, as appears by their late barbarous and inhuman conspiracy; we thought it useful, having had the opportunity of being acquainted with the discovery of the late plot, and to see all the papers relating thereto, to publish the same; that, when the folly of those desperate malignants, and the necessity and justice of the late proceeding against them, is made manifest to all men, the good may be encouraged by observing the hand of God marvellously defeating their plots and purposes; and the wicked, being thereby convinced of the iniquity of such devices, may take warning by their fellows, and smite upon their thighs, and return and do no more so wickedly.

Now before we acquaint you with the design itself, and the particular examinations taken concerning it (which for the reader's satisfaction are set down *verbatim* as they were taken) it cannot but be very requisite to inform you of the manner of its discovery, and by what means this work of darkness was brought to light.

By letters intercepted in February and March was twelvemonth (for ever since that time, and before, this design, in the main of it, hath been hatching) it appeared there were very close and secret correspondences held between Charles Stuart and his party in France, and some of the same affection here in England; and that both men and monies were listing and levying privately in this commonwealth, for the forming of an army, who being linked in conspiracy with the Scots, might join issue with them for the restoring of the said Charles, and the setting up of that ungodly interest, which hath long been projected by that person and family, for the enslaving of these nations. Great endeavours were used likewise to procure foreign supplies, (at least of money) and, to that purpose, princes abroad were persuaded to sign a list how much each of them would contribute towards a restoration of the Stuarts. The instruments employed in negotiating this business were the Lord Wilmot and Lord Wentworth; the latter, being sent into Sweden, found not such entertainment as he expected, but being denied any assistance there, he endeavoured by his solicitations to do what mischief he could in Denmark; the other had much better success in the emperor's court, and among the other princes in his way thither; whereof he gave constant intelligence to his master by letters, which, through the Providence of God, came into other hands than he intended. At the same time also advices were given from hence by their correspondents, that if a small force could be procured by the money there

gotten, and landed here in England or Wales, to divert our forces bound for Scotland, then the Scottish nation having opportunity to get into a body, the business would easily be effected: so that you see their design at first was laid, to invade us from beyond sea, and at the same time to bring in the Scots upon us, to join with a party that should have been stirred up within our own bowels, thereby to involve all again in blood and confusion; whereof, through the goodness of God, our governors had so much knowledge, as to be aware of their purposes, and sufficiently forewarned to provide against them: however they proceeded on, and thought that the best way to compass their ends was by an assassination of that noble person, who, through the strength of God, had so often vanquished him and his whole party in the field; for, could he have been removed by any wicked hand, and the commonwealth deprived of his prudence and conduct, they reckoned it one main step towards the accomplishment of their wicked intentions. This attempt of assassination was to have been executed first in April was twelvemonth, but it pleased God so to move the heart of one of the undertakers, viz. Colonel Fitz-James, that he discovered it, and acknowledged he had a sum of money given him in hand in France, towards the work. And so, that being frustrated by his own confession and discovery, then this other was set on foot; how, and by whom, the examinations herewith printed will tell you: but the design itself came to be discovered thus:

Upon the eighteenth day of May last (though there had been some dark hints of the business before) there came to one, related to his highness and the public affairs, a person of quality, whose affections had always been on the other side, and told him that he had a matter of consequence to acquaint him with, which he said he did not as an intelligencer, or out of a design to get any reward by it, but merely out of a sense he had of the bloodiness of the thing he had to discover; and then declared there was a design to assassinate the Protector; that the persons who were to do it, were agreed upon and listed, and had undertaken it; that their intent was to assault him as he should be going to Hampton-Court, and if they failed then, to attempt him sitting in council, or if they could not have opportunity there, then to fall on him as he should be going to chapel; that it was resolved the business should be executed suddenly: and he said, it was to have been executed the Saturday before, and that which made it miss was, because the Protector, contrary to his wonted course, had gone that day by water, as far as Chelsea. He said also, that two of the persons engaged in it, were John Gerard and Tuder, the chirurgeon; neither of whose lodgings he then knew, but affirmed that the thing was most real, and most earnestly desired the information might not be slighted, but that some speedy provision might be made against the danger: adding, that although he had been of the other side, yet he could not but perform his part, in preventing so base and unworthy a design, and held himself bound in conscience to make this discovery.

The same day, there came another person of quality, and utterly unknown to the other, to a member of the council, who, with some horror and amazement, told him, that certainly there was a design to murder the Protector, and that it was ripe and ready to be executed, concerning which he gave some reasons inducing a belief. And about the same time, if not the same day, the following letter came over out of France, bearing date

April 30, }
May 9, } 1654.

‘IT is so long since I have heard from you that I cannot know how your inclinations stand, and therefore had forborne writing, till, by the return of an express, which I have long intended to send, I could have been better informed; but the present importance of what I have now to say, hath caused me to run this adventure, lest he whom I shortly may send, should come too late to prevent what may speedily be attempted. There is gone from hence lately Col. John Gerard, a little man, who was hurt by the Portugals upon the Exchange;¹ and with him one Major Halsey, who killed Mr. Ascham, and

¹ [See an account of this affray in Clarendon and Rapin; for the result of which Don Pantaleon, brother to the

‘divers others, with an intention to kill the Protector and some others. One way that they propose is, to attempt it in St. James’s Park, and other ways they have besides. They have likewise another design in the city. Gerard resolved when he went from hence, to wait upon the Protector, that he might disguise the design. Many are going privately from England into Scotland. Fitz-James² went from hence yesterday; have a care you trust him not, whatever he pretends.’

Another letter came also from France, dated May $\frac{2}{14}$ 1654.

‘WITHIN a month or six weeks, an universal rising is designed, if not sooner; principally in the west, whither commissioners were sent very lately. Some attempt there will be in London, and the south of Scotland at the same time. Have a great care of the business in my last mentioned.’

A third letter came from Paris, and spake thus:

‘SIR,

‘HAVING by one of your friends learned your address, I give you notice of this that follows, which is a certain truth. There came into Paris from London one Thomas Henshaw, and John Wiseman, about the beginning of March last; who, with one Wilkenet, a Dutchman, propounded to the king of Scots to murder the Protector; and did assure the said king, that there were several men of quality in England that they were employed by, and who would act their parts of this tragedy. And the said persons having received their answers, are returned into England, to wait their time to make this assassination upon the person of the Protector.’

These concurrent informations, both at home and from abroad, and several other matters, in reference to other persons, not convenient to be published, gave occasion for a farther inquiry into, and examination of this business, wherein the Lord was pleased to make way for a more full detection of the conspiracy, as will appear at large by the papers hereunto annexed.

But in brief, to give you a landscape of the whole: the partners in the conspiracy, consisting of many thousands, were to have been disposed to their several posts, and the parts they intended to act were, To have seized upon the horse-guard at the Mews, and there to have mounted our troopers own horses; to have seized also upon the foot-guard at St. James’s, and upon Whitehall, and the Tower of London; as also upon all the horses in stables and pastures in and about London, and fifteen miles round, which were to have been drawn all into a formed body; and at the same time to have had considerable parties ready, to have fallen upon the guards at Islington and in Southwark; to have secured London, let down the portcullises, and then by a rising of apprentices, and firing the city in several places, to have prevented all assistance. The intent was likewise to have seized on the person of his highness the Lord Protector with a party of horse, upon a Saturday, as he was going to Hampton-Court, and to have murdered him. Together with him, they intended to have cut off the council in general, or as many of them as they could have got in their power: and if these things could not be effected in the way to Hampton-Court, then to have attempted his highness and the council in the chapel at Whitehall, or as they were sitting in council. Then, to have seized on the Lord Mayor, and to have made him proclaim Charles Stuart by the name of Charles the Second; and this to have been done at one instant of time. Colonel Finch was to have commanded the party intended for London; John Gerard that party which was to have fallen upon Whitehall and the Protector; Henshaw that upon the Mews; Colonel Deane that upon St. James’s; Thomas Mayhart and another person were to have fallen upon Col. Ingoldsbie’s regiment in Southwark; and

Portuguese ambassador, was tried at Newgate, and beheaded on Tower-hill, upon the very same scaffold where John Gerard had been executed.]

² This Fitz-James was drowned in his passage coming over, and not a man else in the ship.

Peter Vowell, one Dayle an inn-keeper, and some others, upon the guards at Holborn and in Islington. The stroke having been thus given in and about London, divers regiments of horse and foot were to have risen in several parts of the nation, so that by this means both city and country must have been involved again in blood. For the execution of all which, Major Henshaw and John Wiseman (his half-brother) went into France, to receive a commission from Charles Stuart; where the said Henshaw had conference with the said Charles Stuart, the Lord of Ormond, and Sir Edward Hyde, about it; so also had John Gerard, and received directions to proceed in it: and though they returned at first only with a verbal commission, yet afterwards they had one in writing from the said Charles. This (in general) was the sum of the business, which was first to have been begun by persons of lesser consideration, and then afterwards more eminent persons were to have engaged in it openly; all which particulars will more fully appear in the examinations themselves; but before we set them down, let us reflect a little upon the design itself.

You see it was forged in the same shop of the common enemy, not only upon the account of that family, from whence all preceding miseries that have over-flown these three nations have taken their original, but was consulted of, laid, and advised by the aforesaid Charles Stuart, and his most intimate counsellors, Ormond and Hyde, (we mean the assassinating part) as will appear by a letter written from France, since the discovery of this design, which the reader will find here also printed.

For the nature of it, it was so bloody, barbarous, and unmanly, as to the authors and contrivers; so full of unnaturalness, ingratitude, and unreasonableness, as to the actors and partakers, that we want a name for the villany, a thing that could not have entered into the hearts of any but monsters of mankind, such as have sucked in blood with their education, men of forlorn consciences and fortunes, void of all ingenuity, and without sense of common honesty. Such actions have not been heard of in our nation, and befit them only that are nursed up in the schools of the Jesuits, a Ravilliac, a Garnet, or such like persons, who being drunk with superstition and folly have turned enemies of mankind, and rebels to the common laws of humanity. The heathen by the light of nature, could say, *charitas in patriam omnes omnium charitates complectitur*, that a man's love to his country countervails all other loves and respects in the world; and wherein is this love more to be manifested than in the preservation of its peace, which comprehends all the blessings and comforts of this life? In how fair a way this commonwealth is towards a happy establishment, is obvious enough; and if envy will not acknowledge it, yet the noise and sound of the drum and trumpet (to battle) being gone, the neighing of horses before the gates of the countryman, the canker of free-quarter, the fury of the plunderer and his cruelty being no more to be heard of in our land, but all men receiving equal protection under a just governor, in the enjoyment of liberty and property, with the hope of relaxation in some short time from all extraordinary burthens, as the necessities of the commonwealth give way, (which might by this time have been effected, had it not been for the attempts of these men) must abundantly convince the most malicious and obstinate, that we may (if we please) after all our rentings and shakings, reap the fruits of a prosperous and peaceful government. And therefore this extremely aggravates the wickedness of these conspirators, in whose hearts had the least grain of good nature been lodged, or had their breasts harboured the least spark of piety towards their country, they would rather have died than once have thought of laying open those wounds again that were so lately bleeding, and of tearing out the bowels of the nation, by embroiling it in a new and bloody war; for that must of necessity have been the consequence of their conspiracy, had it been once in execution.

But if in the next place we consider the unreasonable and immoderate thirst after blood in these kind of men, it would make one almost despair, that they should ever by any means be reduced to a more generous and Christian temper; for, besides their restlessness and activity in many private plottings, you may remember they have, by the instigation of the common enemy, broke out no less than three times into open insurrection and rebellion

against the commonwealth, and brought on the Scots to a miserable oppression and devastation of the land by two several invasions, in all which both their expectations and forces have been repelled and defeated; so that besides the quelling of their power and interest in Scotland, the hand of the Lord hath gone out so visibly against them, that they have been no less than thrice completely conquered here at home, and the blood which they sought, drawn out of their own sides, to fill up the cup of the Lord's indignation and fury against themselves and all their partakers. One would have thought, that when they were beaten quite out of the field, at, and after, that memorable victory which God gave us at Naseby, all their forces overthrown, or disbanded, and their head (the author and abettor of all their treasons) secured from doing further mischief, they might have rested in the will and work of him who created both them and us, and orders all things at his own pleasure; but instead of submission, it was not long ere they flew out again into insurrections from one end of the nation to the other, and all to second a plotted invasion of the Scots under Hamilton, by which means the island began to swim in blood again, the countries were harassed and wasted, the forces of the commonwealth (though but a handful) constrained to divide themselves into two bodies, apart from each other in the remotest corners of our country, at the same time when they were surrounded on every side with enemies, and had been swallowed up quick, had not the Lord stood on their side, and borne them, as it were, upon eagles wings through all those difficulties, and almost unavoidable dangers.

Never did there appear a more eminent hand of God in the world than at that time, to bear witness in the behalf of his people against his and their enemies: for, the then invading foreigners, and all the domestic adversaries, who abetted the designs and interests of that destructive family as they swarmed like locusts, so like locusts and caterpillars they were blown away, as it were with a strong east wind in an instant, by the breath of the Almighty, even by a blast of the breath of his displeasure, when he brought down their violence upon their own pates, and executed the vengeance due to their iniquity, for all the innocent blood that was spilt, and the many thousands of lives that were lost, through the fury and madness of that rebellious generation.

By this means the land being restored once more to a happy condition of peace and quietness, and the seat of war translated within the limits of Scotland, in regard the common enemy had there taken up his last refuge, with intent to assail this nation again, and issue thence as his affairs should ripen and opportunity invite, though the remembrance of the Lord's former dealings against them, and his terrible dispensations, served as a bridle in their mouths to restrain them a while from running out any more into open rebellion, yet all the past inundations of blood wherein they had weltered could not change the blackamore's skin, nor wash out the leopard's spots; but they retained still the old spleen and enmity against God and his people, which they discovered too often in words and behaviour, and at length in private correspondences with the enemy, and close combinations for him, while he was endeavouring to make his way through Scotland into England; witness the conspiracy discovered at Norfolk, linked with men of the same desperate humour in most of the principal counties in England, prepared to fly out again, and introduce another war at home, had they not (through God's mercy) been most happily prevented. And within a while after, when Charles Stuart quitted Scotland, and invading England, took possession of the city of Worcester, intending to have made it the seat of a new war, these men no sooner saw a force of the enemy within our bowels, to cope with the forces of the commonwealth, but they prepared themselves by raising a new army in Lancashire and other northerly parts, to assist him in his pretences; which design, had it not been nipped in the bud, through a special hand of Providence, by a poor handful of weak instruments, in all probability it had proved the foundation of another tedious civil war, whereby the whole nation might have been exposed as a prey to foreigners; but the Lord was pleased once more to look down upon us in mercy, and confound our enemies at Worcester in a glorious manner, the great one himself making a very narrow escape by flight; so that immediately thereupon, England being redelivered and quieted, Ireland

and Scotland totally reduced and subdued, and at length incorporated into one body of a commonwealth, and all things in a tendency towards a firm settlement under the present form, all means of indulgence having been used to win the most refractory spirits, we suppose this last conspiracy projected after all, sufficiently manifests those enemies of ours to be of a most bloody and incurable temper, and must render them and their doings detestable to all the world.

Moreover, as by their manifold actings they appear a sort of monsters not to be tamed by force, so it seems likewise they retain so little of humanity, that they will not be obliged by courtesy; no fresh favours can purge away the old poisonous humours; for, if acts of grace and sweetness could have done it, wherein hath his highness been wanting? Let them look back upon him as an enemy in the field, and trace him in all his deportments both before and after victory, and they cannot but acknowledge him to have been as fair an enemy as ever men had; never any man wrote his successes in nobler characters of valour while he was in action, nor of clemency after conquest, being no less candid in making articles with them, and just in observing them when made, than he was courageous in subduing; and therefore this fairness of his serves now only to set out the foulness of his adversaries. Then in the next place, take him out of the field, and eye him at home in the senate, where you might observe him using all his interest and authority to mitigate the severity of proceedings against them, and disposing the parliament to use all honourable ways and means of indulgence, to pacify men's minds, and extinguish those remainders of heat and faction, that lay boiling in the breasts of a divided people, labouring thereby to put in oblivion the memory of all former differences, that as we are fellow-citizens, and members of one commonwealth, so we might no longer lie pelting at one another in petty parties, but remind one and the same interest for the better ease and accommodation of the whole body. Hence it was, that an 'Act of general Pardon and Oblivion' for past offences was made, and many other things done that might oblige this sort of men, and let them rationally see, that they might find their interest on this side, and become equal partakers with the rest of the people in the privileges of the nation. These things being so, what a sad thing is it then to consider, that nothing will work, nor any obligations hitherto be fastened upon them! but that as cholerick and foul stomachs turn all sweet things into gall and bitterness, so these rancorous spirits should make such ungrateful bitter returns, after so many testimonies of extraordinary favour!

What phrensy is it that possesseth these men, is hard to understand, or what it is they would have: if peace, plenty, protection, and prosperity, lo, all these they as freely enjoy as others do, and therefore it were a strange thing, if persons of estate and quality should either abet or approve such ungodly devices, as tend to new alterations and confusions. Such undertakings are fit only for Boutefeus and varlets, desperate in their lives and fortunes; such engineers as these perhaps the common enemy may not want to disturb the public peace, whom vengeance will find out in all their undertakings. But admit they could go through with their designs, what advantages can men of worth and fortune propound thereby unto themselves? seeing the issue of all would be an exposing their estates and liberties to the lusts of that family which the Lord hath cast out as an accursed thing, and to the rapine of a necessitous hungry crew of fugitives and forlorn persons, who hold up a party with a master like themselves, in hope one day to part the spoil between them. Upon what other terms, or for what cause, any other persons should mind the interest of that bloody house, or be in love with it, we do not easily apprehend. Is it not at the threshold of their door that all the blood of the saints that hath been shed since the first reformation doth lie? If we view them in their English extraction, the 'Book of Martyrs' will tell us how the sluices were opened by King Henry and his daughter Mary. If we look on the Scottish side, it is sad to consider how much was spilt by that lady of the house of Lorraine, who was our King James's grandmother, during the time of her regency in Scotland. She being gone, her daughter, King James's mother, Mary, suc-

ceeded; who, after she had massacred her own husband,³ the father of James, by poison, gunpowder, and halter, for the love she bare to a certain Italian lutanist,⁴ and another of her adulterers, by name Earl Bothwel; persecuted all of the reformed religion; endeavoured to poison James her own son; shed blood likewise by raising civil war at home; and conspired with foreign papists to destroy Queen Elizabeth: so that, being a professed murderess, and an enemy to God and good men, at length divine justice laid hold on her here in England, and she received a due reward by the loss of her head in Fotheringay-castle. Next comes King James, who wrote his *Beati Pacifici* in blood too: for, to say nothing of the death of Overbury, which blood he took upon himself; nor of that of Raleigh, merely to serve a turn of state; it is well known his son Henry came to an untimely death;⁵ and though it be not directly known by what hand he was taken away, yet, (as a late historian observes) there was a strange connivance, and little mourning after it was done. To these may be added, (not unjustly) the blood of poor Germany, which must be laid upon the score of that family; for, had King James performed the duty of a good protestant, or a loving father, he might (if he pleased) have stopped the issue that ran thirty years together. He that prevents not an evil when it is in his power, doth as good as promote it; therefore, since he prevented not the bloodshed (as he might have done with a wet finger, would he have put out his power) he became guilty of it. Whereupon it is very observable, and we have cause hence to admire the providence of God, in the course of his vengeance for that bloodshed, and many other, the characters of whose divine hand are so visible, that he which runs may read them, if he pleases to ponder, that in the very same year wherein the peace of Germany was restored, it pleased God to execute his wrath upon this bloody house, by the execution of Charles, and an utter exclusion of them all, both root and branch, out of England. Nor did King James himself escape in his own person, if we consider the strange manner of his death, which was charged by more than common fame, upon his great favourite Buckingham, who had been questioned for it in parliament, had he not been protected by the late king, his son and successor, who would not permit any inquiry to be made into his father's death. To James's betraying the protestant cause in Germany, we may add the said Charles's betraying the protestant cause throughout France, and especially at Rochelle, where, under a feigned pretence of assisting the protestants with ships, &c. he gave orders to his shipping to serve on the contrary side, to the utter ruin of that cause and party, and the loss of many gallant Englishmen's lives, by him exposed to destruction; and, though the parliament was at that time so mannerly in their charge exhibited against Buckingham, as to lay the blame of all upon him alone; yet Charles, to signify to all the world that what his instrument had done in that business was by his own approbation, took the guilt of all upon himself, in rescuing the Duke out of the hand of justice, and dissolved the parliament, to prevent any farther proceeding in these particulars. Which most treacherous action towards them of the religion, was at that time resented by all the protestants throughout Europe; and the present extirpation of his family is looked upon now by the most pious in the nations round about, as a just recompence (which they have long expected) from the hand of God, upon the children, for the wickedness of their fathers.

How much blood was shed also at other times by that Charles, is not pleasant to remember, by his embroiling the three nations one within another. The Scotch, before the year 1645, printed him for 'a man of blood, and one that (so early) had shed more blood 'in his time, than had been shed in the ten Christian persecutions;' and yet that effusion then was not to be compared with that which followed after. Next, as concerning his son, the present young Pretender, he is one that was bred up in blood, in the midst of debauched armies, and drank a large draught of that which his father drew from the sides of these three nations. Upon his score also we must cast the barbarous murders of those two ingenious and learned gentlemen, Dr. Dorislaus, and Mr. Ascham; by which inhuman actions, with the other blood that hath been shed since, upon his account, both in England

³ [Lord Darnley.]

⁴ [David Rizzio.]

⁵ [Sir Anthony Weldon, in his Court and Character of King James, says by suspicion of poison.]

and Scotland, he hath (you see) approved himself heir apparent to that blood-guiltiness and vengeance which belongs to his father's house. But this we may the more especially take notice of in that declaration which the Scots set out in his name, as their king, a little before the famous battle at Dunbar, wherein he acknowledged the sins of his father's bloody and idolatrous house, the wicked ways of his father, the idolatries of his mother, and the blood-guiltiness of his family. What happiness or comfort then may be expected from such a race, whose interest still lies in blood, and who, by a declaration of their own, have acknowledged themselves to be a bloody generation?

But yet this is not all, though it be enough to fright all honest men from any commerce or communication with them; there is one thing more very remarkable in the young man, and that is the disposition of his mind, being naturally a Nullifidian in all the points of civil honesty as well as religion; one of whom no hold can be taken, by any oaths, promises, and engagements whatsoever, as you may perceive by his dealings with the Scottish nation, both before and after his coming among them. Behold him, as he was at the isle of Jersey, before the Scots treaty with him at Breda; in which island, upon the same day that he consented to have the said treaty with them at Breda, and signified his mind to them by an express sent away for that purpose into Scotland, even in the very same place and day, he sent away another express to Montrose, requiring him notwithstanding to go on vigorously with the invasion of Scotland. Yea, and that you may see how much he hated the Presbyterian interest and party, he went far higher than ever his father had done in expressions of hatred: for he continued utterly averse from the least pretence of joining or treating with the Scots and their friends, as long as he had any hopes left in Ireland, choosing rather to have made an open peace with those barbarous rebels, (into whose country he had already transported his goods, and intended himself to follow) rather than want executioners of his malice against the godly of all opinions (whom he equally detested) in England and Scotland.

Consider farther, that as he never closed with the Scots till his Irish hopes were blown over, so, being brought into Scotland by pure necessity, he would do nothing there but what the same necessity forced him to, as appears by his refusing to sign the Declaration of Kirk and State, till the Lord Loudoun told him plainly in a letter written to him, (and then put in print) they would abandon and give him over except he subscribed. Hereupon he began to acknowledge and condole the sins of his family, &c. and personate all that hypocritical mockery of repentance which followed after, and took the covenant, when at the very same time his counsels were wholly bent for a destruction of the covenant and all its abettors. For, no sooner had he taken up that visor, but immediately, the kirk-party losing the battle at Dunbar, he laid it aside again, and began to play his own game, rejoicing at their defeat, and presently endeavoured to give them the slip, and run away to the cavalier-party, up then in the north of Scotland; wherein being prevented of his design by force, his next refuge was, *divide et impera*; dividing the Presbyterian party of Scots both in kirk and state, the most considerable whereof he over-awed or allured into his party, so that the most conscientious among them were forced to declare against his proceedings, and retire in discontent, and divers others were cashiered, both of the kirk, state, and army, to make room for the most notorious malignants; whereupon, in a short time it was counted little other than sedition and treason to preach up those very principles that were owned by their king at his first coming; and so by this means, immediately the cavaliers had all that he held in Scotland at their own devotion. In these lines view his picture, and see how you like him; concerning whom it was a little necessary to be thus particular in giving you his inside outward, that thereby it may be seen what the complexion of his soul is, as well as of his body, and what confidence is to be placed upon any terms in such a one, who can break asunder the strongest ties of faith, promises, and engagements, with as much ease as so many straws or rushes. Which demeanour of his being well weighed, we need to say very little concerning his religion, supposing not many will fall in love with him for that which he himself seems not to be much in love with; but if any have a mind to be curious about it, let them consider his education, his

frequent negotiations with the court of Rome, his often conversing with the Jesuits in their own colleges, wheresoever he comes, his alliances with, relations and dependencies upon, foreign papists, and they may easily conclude what religion he is of, if any. So that, comparing all these things together, whether we consider the fate and wretchedness of his family, or his own personal qualifications, we conceive it hardly imaginable that any pious, honest, or sober-minded man, should contribute so much as a thought, much less embroil his native country in blood and confusion, (as these wild conspirators would have done) for the restoring of so blood-guilty, perfidious, and infamous a house and person.

Then, lastly, as concerning his pretence of title, if we look up to Henry the Seventh, its original, there will be no great cause to admire it; for he only descended from a bastard of John of Gaunt, which, though legitimated for common inheritances, yet, expressly was excluded from succession to the crown; and for his wife's title, you know he never thought that worthy the using; and yet from this spurious slip of the Lancastrian line it was that King James derived his claim, and that but collaterally, and at second-hand, being (in effect) a mere stranger in blood to the English; whereupon we may justly wonder what policy guided this nation, when it so strangely bowed down the neck to the yoke of strangers.

But admit this title had been without flaws, yet this man's father's treasons and his own have most deservedly cut off the entail; for it was evident enough what a governor this young Pretender would have proved, who took in his father's principles with his mother's milk, hath been bred up under the wings of prelacy and popery, and as he sucked both breasts heretofore, so he hangs upon them both at this very day; one who from the beginning hath been engaged in war against the commonwealth, and who hath the same counsellors his father had, (assisted by the Jesuits) to remember him both of the design, and the ways to effect it; one who had been bedabbled in all the blood of England, Scotland, and Ireland; one who hath both his fathers and his own scores to clear out of English purses, and made it his business to cajole and cheat all parties, in hope to get in again, attended with the desperate rabble of the three nations; and then to do what he list, and dispose of all at mere will and pleasure, for the satisfying of their ambition and revenges. What, then, shall we say of those men, who in their late conspiracy would have opened the flood-gates of misery and confusion upon us, for the sake of so lost and debauched a person? one who is in a manner a stranger every way, as well as an enemy to our nation; and that for the effecting of this, they should labour to make way for him over the ruins of a flourishing government, and of a governor, of whose piety, fortitude, justice, temperance, clemency, prudence, industry, and skill in managing the affairs both of peace and war, this nation has had so great experience.

But the better he is, the greater is their malice against him; for, through his sides the enemy's aim was at the very life of religion, and the peace and liberty of the saints, of all judgments and opinions, so that the deliverance should be an engagement upon them all to adhere the more closely to the Lord and his servant, that he may become a blessing to our land, and a terror to its enemies. Nay, if the consequences be prudently recollected, that must unavoidably have ensued, the destruction of our government by the hand of violence, it will soon be acknowledged by any ingenuous man, that the interest of every particular person, any way considerable in the commonwealth, is embarked in this very bottom of the public, as now constituted. And, therefore, whether we consider the scope of the design in general, or the particular manner of its intended execution, by the worst of them, assassinations, a villany scarce heard of in our nation; and this in a time of peace, basely, and by surprise of those noble persons, whose faces they durst not look on in the field, we suppose there is cause sufficient for all sober men to detest and abhor so vile and unnatural a conspiracy.

But that the reader may have a view of it in its proper colours, he may now (if he please) see the actors themselves in their own examinations and confessions.

The Information of Samuel Wilde of Pudding-lane, London, May 29, 1654.

‘ UPON Thursday was seven-night this informant was at Bow fair, where he met with one Mr. John Man, a scrivener, at Turner’s-hall, in Philpot-lane: he asked me how I did, and what news, and if I heard nothing? I answered him, No, not I, but what concerned my Lord Mayor, who was abused in the streets. He said, “ Did I hear nothing else?” I told him, No. He said to me, “ He could tell me something that was very sad; of a wicked plot which was against my Lord Protector and his Council, and all that did adhere to him, with an intention to murder my Lord and his Council.” I asked him, where he heard that news? He answered, that an acquaintance of his did relate to him this news that he told me: and moreover said, that if he would comply with them in their design, then he should know the full of the business; for they had met once together at the Bell-Savage, in Fleet-street, and that they were to meet again the next Sabbath-day; and if he would then come into Holborn, he should hear the full of their proceedings. Mr. Man met five of the company in the street, and demanded of them where they would go. They, looking about them, being timorous and fearful, said, They could get in at no place to be entertained, by reason of my Lord Mayor’s proclamation for keeping the Sabbath, which was so strict, they could not be entertained any where, and therefore put it off till the Tuesday after, which was the thanksgiving day. But in the interim, they hearing that some were taken, they were fearful who they should be: but yet they said they were none of their company, notwithstanding they would desist a while.

‘ Afterwards Mr. Man met with some of that company, and asked of them what news? and they answered, none, but only this, that those that were taken, pleaded ignorance of what was demanded of them; but, for their parts, they were none of their company, and they feared but one, who was Francis Fox, living at the Globe in Paternoster-row, because he was timorous and fearful, and he would disclose all if he should be taken. He is kinsman to one Colonel Fox, as also to Colonel John Gerard, who is in the Tower.

‘ This day Mr. Man going through Paternoster-row, one Fox called him to him, and asked him if he heard no news? Mr. Man made slight of it, and answered, none. Fox said, Have you not heard my cousin Gerard was put upon a rack in the Tower? He said, no, he heard no such matter. Fox replied, that there was none of their company yet discovered: by which it appears that the said Fox was the same mentioned formerly by the hosier.

‘ The informer further saith, That Mr. Man further informed him, that the hosier acquainted him, that most of the nobility of the land were in this plot, and some of his highness’ guard: And further said, that they had a fit opportunity to take their advantage, by reason the guards were weakened, and the soldiery sent away for Scotland, and more were to be sent for Holland and France, and they had a list of the strength of the army: also, that they had, or were to have, assistance out of France. He further said, that Dodd the hosier told him, that one Gerard was lately come out of France.

‘ SAMUEL WILDE.’

The Examination of John Man, taken the 29th of May, 1654, upon Oath.

‘ SAITH, That, upon Thursday was seven-night, he, being with one William Dodd, an apprentice, in his master’s shop without Ludgate, and near thereunto, whither he went on purpose to call the said Dodd to go along with him to Bow, to a fair; and, asking him whether he would go with him? he said, No, for that he had earnest business in the afternoon;

‘ and this examine demanding of him what that was, he asked him, whether he heard
 ‘ no news? the examine told him, no. Who then said, that there was very great news,
 ‘ which he would disclose to him, this examine, if he would keep it secret; and that they
 ‘ would be made men if it went forward; which this examine having promised to do,
 ‘ the said Dodd acquainted him, that Francis Fox, an apprentice in Paternoster-row, at
 ‘ the Globe, and one Somerset Fox, with several others, were to have a meeting at the
 ‘ Bell-Savage on Ludgate-hill, towards Fleet-bridge, about the business. And the ex-
 ‘ aminate asking him what business, after making some further difficulty about the reveal-
 ‘ ing of it: he said, that they had resolved to murder the Protector and his Council,
 ‘ and then to proclaim Charles Stuart King of England. And this examine then
 ‘ asking him, what strength they had to do it with? he answered, that many thousands
 ‘ had already engaged in it, and that there were meetings upon several parts of this town,
 ‘ and that the out-parts of the city, and Temple-bar, were made sure, and that nothing
 ‘ more remained but to effect the same in the city; and for the guards, they intended
 ‘ to seize upon the forces in the Mews, Tower, Whitehall, and St. James’s, all at once;
 ‘ and said, that some of the Protector’s guard were false to him, and that most of the no-
 ‘ bility of England was engaged in it, and that there was a prisoner came out of the
 ‘ Tower every night, and went in again at his pleasure, and spoke as if some soldiers in
 ‘ the Tower would join with them. And so the said Dodd invited the examine to meet
 ‘ them at the place aforesaid, which he told them he would, and had before promised him
 ‘ to engage in this business.

‘ The examine further saith, That he did not meet with them that night; but, meet-
 ‘ ing with the said Dodd upon Saturday after, he told the examine, that they met again
 ‘ upon the Sabbath day at the place aforesaid, where the examine met them, and there
 ‘ was present Dodd, Somerset Fox, and three others, one whereof they called Gerard;
 ‘ but they not being suffered to go in there, because it was the Lord’s day, they went up
 ‘ the street together, and told the examine, that they heard the Gerards were appre-
 ‘ hended, but said, they were not concerned in that business, however, they would desist,
 ‘ until they saw how the Gerards came off: and then said, if the business go on, they
 ‘ would, rather than not do it, set the city on fire to quell the trained bands, and then
 ‘ march for Scotland.

‘ This examine further saith, That he going through Paternoster-row, Francis Fox
 ‘ called him to him, and asked him if there was no news? and the examine answering,
 ‘ no; he said, have you not heard that my cousin Gerard was put upon the rack in the
 ‘ Tower? He said, No: Fox replied, that there was none of their company yet discovered.

‘ He further saith, That the persons told him, that the countries would join with them,
 ‘ and that the forces here were now very few, there being now but five thousand in Eng-
 ‘ land; and that they should be assisted out of France and Holland, and that one Gerard
 ‘ was lately come out of France.

‘ JO. MAN.’

The Examination of William Dodd, taken upon Oath this 19th of June, 1654.
 Before John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of London,⁶ and
 William Goff, Esq. Justices of the Peace for the City of Westminster.

‘ SAITH, That upon Thursday in Whitsun-week, about nine or ten of the clock in the
 ‘ morning, one Somerset Fox came to him this examine, as he was in his master’s shop
 ‘ on Ludgate-hill, he having been acquainted with the said Fox about half a year, and
 ‘ told him that there was a design in hand, which was, to fall upon the soldiers; and to

⁶ [And one of the eleven major-generals whom Cromwell appointed to preside over so many districts in England, with authority to awe the republicans, as well as to curb the cavaliers.]

‘ that purpose they had got some thousands who had engaged to fall upon the guards at the Mews, Whitehall, St. James’s, and the Tower, all at once; the gentry were engaged in it. And the examine asking how they would get together to do it? he answered, that that was easy to be done in the night, and desired the examine to engage in it, and also to engage others in it, if he knew any that would; and then referred the examine, for a further knowledge of particulars, to a meeting, which he said was to be at the Bell-Savage upon Ludgate-hill, that night, with several persons, whereof he named only Devereux and Francis Fox, telling the examine that he was to take an oath of secrecy. The examine promised to meet him at the place aforesaid, and to speak with such others as he knew, and further saith, that the said Somerset Fox told him, that their design also was to murder the Protector; and then, as soon as they could, they would proclaim Charles Stuart King. And this examine further saith, that soon after the said Fox was gone, one John Man came unto him, to whom this examine did disclose what the said Somerset Fox had acquainted him with, to the intent that the said Man might also engage therein, which he promised to do, and also to keep the matter secret.

‘ That this examine went, according as he had promised, into the Bell-Savage, upon Thursday night aforesaid, and that there met that night there, the said Somerset Fox, Francis Fox, Charles Gerard, Robert Devereux, one Saunders, and two strangers, one of whom they called Capt. Mildmay, who had a red face; the other had short white hair; and that Somerset Fox and Gerard told this examine again, of the design which Somerset Fox had acquainted him with before, and wished him to get as many apprentices as he could to join with them, telling him that they would not only make sure of the guards, but of Temple-bar, and Lud-gate; and this examine asking who should lead them? the said Gerard and Fox told them, they would take care of that. And the examine asking him how they would get into Whitehall? Fox answered, that they could procure some of the guard to let them in; and to encourage the examine, the said Gerard and Fox told him he should be preferred, if the business took. That the next meeting was the night following, at the same place; and that there were present at that meeting, Mr. Charles Gerard, Somerset Fox, and Francis Fox, and no other person, when the discourse was much to the same purpose as formerly; and that they, being discoursing of the numbers they were like to get, Gerard said, that they were not to account of all that would promise, but that it was very well if ten of twenty that might promise, would hold: and the examine asking them, why Saunders did not meet? Somerset Fox answered, that he was employed about engaging other persons.

‘ That they appointed their next meeting upon the Sunday following in the afternoon, which did not hold, because some of them heard that the design was discovered: but saith, that Man and Devereux were at the gate; and that coming from thence up the hill, this examine met them, and also Charles Gerard, and the two Foxes, when Gerard told them that his two brothers were taken prisoners, and thought it was best to desist.

‘ *John Barkstead,*
‘ *William Goff.*

‘ WILLIAM DODD.’

The Examination of Francis Fox, an Apprentice of London, taken this 19th of June, 1654.

‘ SAITH, That about Wednesday or Thursday, in the week before Whitsun-week, or in Whitsun-week, which of them he doth not now remember, but thinketh it was the week before, there came to this examine’s master’s shop, in Paternoster-row, one Master Somerset Fox, this examine’s kinsman, about six or seven of the clock in the evening, and asked the examine whether he could go forth that evening, because that

‘ there were two or three to meet at the Bell-Savage inn on Ludgate-hill, who would be glad
‘ to meet him, but expressed no cause of their meeting, but to drink a cup of beer; and
‘ the examinee replying, that, if he could, he would meet there; the said Somerset Fox
‘ went from him: And he further saith, that he being to go forth for buttons, as he went
‘ he called at the said inn, but finding nobody there, he went on about his business, and
‘ called as he came back, and then he found there the said Somerset Fox, one Master
‘ Thomas Saunders, William Dodd, an apprentice on Ludgate-hill; one Captain Mild-
‘ may, prisoner in the Fleet; Master Charles Gerard, living with the Marquis of Hert-
‘ ford; and one other person, whom this examinee knoweth not. Upon his first coming
‘ in, the examinee’s cousin, Fox, took him to the stairs-head, and acquainted him that
‘ there was a plot or design laid by the gentry on the other end of the town, who were
‘ agreed to seize upon the Lord Protector, and that they would do it as he went abroad,
‘ when he would have but fifty men with him, and they would get a party of two hundred
‘ horse who should fall upon him, and secure him and the Council; and then immediately
‘ the guards at St. James’s, the Mews, and Whitehall, should be seized upon; and then the
‘ apprentices should rise, to prevent the city from giving them any assistance, and de-
‘ sired to know whether the examinee would engage in the business; whereunto the ex-
‘ aminee said, he would if others did; and then the examinee having promised secrecy,
‘ and to reveal it to none but such as he thought were trusty, and would engage in it,
‘ went away home; the said Somerset Fox telling him, that they intended to meet upon
‘ Sunday after, at the same place.

‘ That the next day the examinee called upon William Dodd, at his master’s shop, who
‘ asked the examinee when he saw Somerset Fox, and whether he had acquainted him
‘ the examinee with the plot, and what he thought of it, and whether this examinee
‘ would engage therein? telling this examinee that he would engage himself, and engage
‘ as many others as he could; whereunto the examinee said, that Somerset Fox had ac-
‘ quainted him with it, and that he would acquaint such others with it, as he found real
‘ and likely to engage, and so they parted.

‘ That this examinee, according to appointment, did go upon Sunday, in the afternoon,
‘ to the Bell-Savage, in church time, and that when he came there he found only one
‘ John Man; but as they came forth, the house refusing to let them go up into a room,
‘ they met with one Holman, an apprentice, the said Somerset Fox, and one Devereux,
‘ apprentice to a linen-draper at the Adam and Eve in Cornhill, and they going up to-
‘ gether through Ludgate; as they went, the said Somerset Fox told him, that Sir Gilbert
‘ Gerard and his brother were taken, and that therefore they should be quiet, and engage
‘ no further; and not discover the design to any body, and so the examinee parted
‘ from them.

‘ The examinee saith further, That upon the Sunday aforesaid, about dinner-time, the
‘ said Thomas Saunders, passing by the examinee’s master’s shop, where the examinee
‘ stood; told him that he heard that some apprentices were taken out of the Row; where-
‘ unto the examinee answered, that none were taken thence, but one was taken from the
‘ Golden Key; to wit, one Sheldon; whereupon, he asking the examinee whether he
‘ knew any of the business (calling it our business)? the examinee told him no, and then
‘ asked the examinee, whether he had engaged any persons in it? to which the examinee
‘ replied, he had not: but the examinee saith, that Saunders told him, that he would en-
‘ deavour to engage all he could, and hoped to bring in two or three in Cheapside, and
‘ wished this examinee to use his endeavour, but charged him to do what he did very
‘ privately. The examinee further saith, that he meeting with one Maddox, a tailor,
‘ who dwells in Salisbury-court, and is a prisoner in the Fleet, (the certain time whereof
‘ he doth not now remember) did acquaint the said Maddox with the design, whereupon
‘ Maddox asked him, whether one Oker, an apprentice at the King’s-head in Paternoster-
‘ row, had been acquainted with it? and the examinee saying he had not revealed it to
‘ him, the said Maddox replied, he would tell him of it, and that he himself would en-
‘ gage in it, if he found it came to a head; but could not for the present appear much in

‘ it, because he had given bond to appear in the Fleet, which he was afraid to forfeit.
 ‘ And this examine, afterwards speaking with the said Oker about it, he found that
 ‘ Maddox had spoken with him about the said design, and that he did well resent it, be-
 ‘ cause in discourse thereof about the time of executing of it; he said, if it do go on, he
 ‘ should be one in it.

‘ That the examine was at two meetings at the said places before this time, where he
 ‘ met several of the said apprentices, also a dyer, living at Fleet-bridge, and one Nich.
 ‘ Violet, an apprentice in Cornhill, and Matthew Sequester; but saith at those meetings no-
 ‘ thing was said of this business, their meeting there being only to drink a cup of beer, as
 ‘ they had done for six months together.

‘ He further saith, That he meeting at another time with Dodd, (the certain time where-
 ‘ of he remembers not) Dodd told him, (as he conceives) that if the business went on,
 ‘ when they had surprised the Protector, they would force the Lord Mayor to proclaim
 ‘ Charles Stuart King.’

‘ FRANCIS FOX.’

The Examination of Somerset Fox, taken the 19th Day of June, 1654, before
 John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and William
 Goff, Esq. Justices of the Peace for Westminster.

‘ SAITH, That he did acquaint Francis Fox, William Dodd, and Robert Devereux,
 ‘ with the design of falling upon the Lord Protector, and of seizing upon the guards, at
 ‘ the Mews, St. James’s, and Whitehall, and that he had the knowledge of it from Charles
 ‘ Gerard, brother to Sir Gilbert Gerard, now prisoner in the Tower, who told it to him
 ‘ upon a Thursday morning in Whitsun week, in Essex house, which was in the manner
 ‘ following. The said Gerard asked him if he had any acquaintance or kindred in the
 ‘ city? whereunto the examine answering, that he had: Gerard demanded, if they
 ‘ would be true and honest? whereto the examine said, he thought they would.
 ‘ Whereupon Gerard said, “ We at this end of the town have a design which I will ac-
 ‘ quaint you with, if you will promise secrecy:” which the examine having done, Ge-
 ‘ rard said, “ The design is to fall upon the Protector, and the army here in London,
 ‘ which they had horse enough to do; with three hundred horse they would fall upon the
 ‘ Protector as he went to Hampton Court, and they, and other parties, to seize upon the
 ‘ guards at Whitehall, the Mews, and St. James’s: that they wanted only somebody in
 ‘ the city; for procuring whereof, he wished the examine would use his interest, and if
 ‘ that could be procured, they should carry their business.” And the examine saying,
 ‘ he thought he could engage some; the said Gerard wished him to speak with them, and
 ‘ to bring them unto him: and accordingly the examine spake with the persons afore-
 ‘ said, and also Thomas Saunders, and brought them to meet with Gerard, at the Bell-
 ‘ Savage upon Ludgate-hill, where the said Gerard did meet them. There were also at
 ‘ those meetings, one Capt. Mildmay, and another gentleman with short white hair, whose
 ‘ name he knows not; and the said Gerard at the meeting, bid him be sure to be ready at
 ‘ twenty-four hours warning, when he should send to him.

‘ And the examine being asked, whether Charles Gerard did not acquaint him that
 ‘ John Gerard was engaged in this business? saith, he did not: but saith, that he did ask
 ‘ him the question, but the said Charles would give him no answer thereto.

‘ He saith, that they had but two meetings afterwards, one was upon the Friday after,
 ‘ and the other upon the Sunday, the latter whereof was in the street; where Gerard told
 ‘ them, that his two brothers were apprehended upon suspicion of the plot, and that the
 ‘ plot was discovered and broken.

‘ John Barkstead,
 ‘ William Goff.

‘ SOMERSET FOX.’

The Confession of Charles Gerard, Gentleman, taken upon Oath the 19th of June, 1654. Before John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and William Goff, Esq. Justices of the Peace for the City of Westminster.

‘ AS I was walking with Colonel Charles Finch in the piazza in Covent-garden, he imparted to me that there was a design in hand against the Lord Protector; that Major Henshaw had listed a great many to that purpose, to the number of six or seven hundred. And that abundance of gentlemen had engaged to bring unto him more men; and withal he told me, that this said Henshaw was newly come out of France, and he had laid the design there, and then he appointed me to meet him there again; and he told me when I met him there again, that there was one Colonel Dean had engaged in Southwark two hundred men to fall on the soldiers there. And that this said Henshaw had a great party in the city, to fall on at one and the same time; and told me, that he would give me notice of the day appointed, and desired me to engage as many as I could.

‘ Jo. Barkstead,
‘ William Goff.’

‘ CHARLES GERARD.’

The Examination of Charles Gerard, taken upon Oath the 19th day of June, 1654, before John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and William Goff, Esq. Justices of the Peace for Westminster.

‘ SAITH, That Colonel Charles Finch, and one Colonel Dean, walking with the examinee in Covent-garden walks, about a week before Whitsuntide, informed the examinee that there was a design laid in France, and that one Major Henshaw was come over from the court at Paris, to prosecute and manage the same; and that the design was to have fallen upon the guards in Whitehall and elsewhere, and to kill the Protector, and then to secure the city of London, and to compel the Lord Mayor to proclaim Charles the Second king; and in order thereunto, that the said Major Henshaw had listed seven hundred men, and Colonel Dean had listed two hundred, and two other gentlemen in Southwark had listed men also to the same purpose; the name of one of the gentlemen was Thomas Mairhood, the other name the said colonel concealed from the examinee. And the said Colonel Finch further informed the examinee, that the said Major Henshaw had a great party in the city, to be ready, and to be up in arms at twenty-four hours warning. After which relation he desired the examinee to engage as many persons as he could, which the examinee promised to do; and in pursuance thereof had a meeting at the Bell-Savage on Ludgate-hill, with Somerset Fox, Francis Fox, William Dodd, and others.

‘ And he further saith, That about Friday before Whitsuntide, the examinee came into Mr. Jones’s house in Rose-street, within two doors of the Red Rose, where he found Colonel Finch, Major Henshaw, and his brother, John Gerard, who were discoursing of listing of men for the said design, at his coming-in; and the said Major Henshaw (having paper and ink before them) was saying, that he had listed divers, and you (speaking to Finch) have listed seven hundred men, and Colonel Dean hath listed two hundred men.

‘ And he further saith, That upon his pressing Colonel Finch to name persons to the examinee, who were engaged in the said design: there was named to him one Sir Francis Vincent, who lives about Guilford, and (as he now remembers, but cannot cer-

‘ tainly say) was named by the said Colonel Finch: and also, that Jones the apothecary
 ‘ was the said Sir Francis Vincent’s confederate in the said design, to the best remem-
 ‘ brance of this examinee.

‘ *John Barkstead,*
 ‘ *William Goff.*’

‘ CHARLES GERARD.’

The further Examination and Information of Charles Gerard, taken upon Oath the 19th of June, 1654, before John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and William Goff, Esq. Justices of the Peace of the City of Westminster.

‘ SAITH, That at a meeting in Covent-garden (where were present Colonel Finch, Mr. John Gerard, and Major Henshaw, together with the examinee) they having been together before he came) Henshaw told the other gentlemen, that if they would meet at Mr. Jones’s house, in Rose-street, he would acquaint them how far he had proceeded in the design: and accordingly they met, where Henshaw told them, that he had the promise of two thousand men, but reckoned upon nine hundred. And that there were divers posts settled; viz. at Whitehall, the Mews, and St. James’s, and a party to go to London to seize upon the Lord Mayor; the numbers to each post was assigned and ascertained upon paper, but the examinee knoweth not the particulars thereof; and that Finch was to command the party that was to go to London: and that Mr. John Gerard was to command the party that was to fall upon Whitehall; and Henshaw that which was to fall upon the Mews; and Colonel Dean upon St. James’s; and the two gentlemen at Southwark, upon Colonel Ingoldsby’s regiment; the name of one of the said gentlemen he knoweth not, the name of the other was Thomas Mairhood. And after their finishing their discourse at the Rose the said day, they promised to meet the next day at the Lord Chesterfield’s; where they did accordingly meet: but the examinee not being present, knoweth not what was done or said at the Lord Chesterfield’s.

‘ And he further saith, That Colonel Charles Finch told him, that Major Henshaw being in France, was by the means of Prince Rupert’s secretary brought to the Scotch king; and there Prince Rupert being likewise present, the abovesaid design was agreed upon: and the said Major Henshaw had a commission from the king to act it: whereupon Major Henshaw came over to prosecute and to manage the same. And three weeks after the said Major Henshaw’s return from France, the said Mr. John Gerard came over also; and suddenly upon Mr. Gerard’s coming to London, the said Major Henshaw came to the said Mr. Gerard’s lodgings, where they had discourse about the said design. And, within a fortnight after, at another meeting at Mr. Gerard’s lodging, Mr. Gerard said, the king (meaning the said Charles Stuart) would like the business very well, and would be very glad of it, if it could be compassed.

‘ *Jo. Barkstead,*
 ‘ *William Goff.*’

‘ CHARLES GERARD.’

The Examination of John Wiseman, taken upon Oath, June 19, 1654, before John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and William Goff, Esq. Justices of the Peace for the City of Westminster.

‘ SAITH, That he and his brother-in-law, Major Henshaw, went into France about the beginning of Lent last; the occasion whereof was, as Henshaw told him, that there was a design here on foot, and before he would engage in it, he would speak with the king (meaning Charles Stuart) himself about it; and accordingly the examinee saith, that he

‘ the said Henshaw was with the said Charles Stuart and Prince Rupert twice or thrice;
‘ but denies that he was in presence with him, or that he told him what past between the
‘ said Charles Stuart and him while he was at Paris.

‘ That whilst he was in France, he saw John Gerard at Paris, and his brother Henshaw
‘ speaking with him, but heard not any thing of their discourse, nor did his brother Hen-
‘ shaw tell him what discourse they had, more than that John Gerard was come over to
‘ the king about some business, which the examinee conceived was the design which is
‘ now discovered: but, he said Henshaw, would not yet acquaint him with it. That this
‘ examinee also saw Philips there, who escaped out of the Tower; and hath heard that he
‘ is since come over into England with commissions from Charles Stuart, which was told
‘ him by Colonel Charles Finch.

‘ That his brother Henshaw told him no more of the aforesaid business, until he was
‘ come over the sea, and arrived at Rye, where he told him of the design he had been with
‘ Charles Stuart upon; which was to fall upon the guards at Whitehall, St. James’s, and
‘ the Mews, and to seize upon the Protector and the Council, and that they had horse
‘ and foot ready to do it; and particularly, that Finch had sixty or eighty horse ready
‘ near the town towards it; and that divers citizens were engaged in it. And the exa-
‘ minate asking him what persons of quality were engaged in it, he said, there would
‘ persons of honour join with him in this business, and named the Earl of Northampton;
‘ and said positively, that Sir Spencer Compton was engaged in it; and so, he said, were
‘ all the brothers; he said also that John Gerard was to join with him.

‘ He confesseth the meeting with Alexander, Colonel Aldrich, and his brother Hen-
‘ shaw, at the Goat, Grasshopper, and the Black Boy, and the discourse they had upon
‘ the design, much to the effect as it is expressed in Alexander’s examination: and that
‘ John Gerard was to command the party that was to surprise the Lord Protector.

‘ That this examinee and his brother Henshaw had several meetings with John Gerard
‘ here in town; sometimes at Gerard’s lodging, once at the Dolphin in the Strand, where
‘ was one Colonel Conock, an Irishman: another time at the Red Cow on the back-side
‘ of St. Clement’s, where was also Charles Finch; and that Henshaw told him, this ex-
‘ aminate, that Gerard’s design was the same with his, and that they had agreed to join
‘ together: that they had agreed to have thirty horse to seize on the Protector; twenty-
‘ five whereof Jo. Gerard was to bring. That Henshaw was to command the regiment of
‘ the Duke of York, to be raised here in England, and this examinee to have a troop in
‘ that regiment for their service in this design. That since the discovery of the plot, he
‘ met with his brother Henshaw, and Alexander, at the Grasshopper; where Henshaw
‘ told him, that although this plot was discovered, there was another that went on still,
‘ and there was an army formed into regiments, in and about London, both horse and
‘ foot, wherein were two thousand gentlemen engaged. He said, for his own part he
‘ would shift for himself. That he heard Gerard often met with Philip Porter, and that
‘ one Samuel Bellew was in this business. That he had several printed papers delivered
‘ him by his brother Henshaw, giving notice, “That there was an intention in the Pro-
‘ tector to make a massacre;” that he delivered them to the examinee upon Saturday, in
‘ the latter end of May: and believes the said Henshaw was the author of them, for that
‘ he did see a paper in writing, to the effect of that in print, written with the hand-
‘ writing of the said Henshaw.

‘ That the examinee believes that Richard Willis is engaged in this plot, for that he
‘ heard his brother Henshaw say as much; and that Sir Richard Willis had said, “He
‘ would be the man that would kill the Protector himself.”

‘ That this examinee being further asked upon the whole business what he knew?
‘ saith, He was with John Gerard and his brother Henshaw, when it was agreed to attempt
‘ the Protector with thirty horse, being about three weeks before this examinee was ap-
‘ prehended; where, in the hearing of the examinee, Gerard engaged to bring twenty-
‘ five men, and his brother Henshaw five men. Henshaw’s men were himself, the exa-

'minate, Captain Alexander, Colonel Aldridge, and Tudor; and Gerard said, that an oath of secrecy should be given, and then he would discover his twenty-five men.

'That about three weeks before this examine's apprehension, being the same day the said agreement was to have attempted the Protector as aforesaid, the examine and his brother Henshaw met John Gerard in the Mews, and went together to view the guards at Whitehall and St. James's; and accordingly, after they had seen the horse-guards at the Mews, they viewed the foot-guards at Whitehall and St. James's; and upon viewing of them, John Gerard said, "That five or six hundred horse and foot would easily master all the guards, and there needed no more to effect that business;" which he often repeated, both as he went in the streets, and at his lodgings near Essex-house, whither they went together, and there met with Colonel Finch, and another stranger disguised in a black perriwig, whose name he knows not, nor hath ever heard; and there at that lodging they discoursed of that business, and of the time to put it in execution, which they thought to do in a fortnight. And to that purpose, Finch was desired by Gerard to send for his horse, which were in the country: and he said, he would have his men ready: but afterwards (that day being near come) they put it off to a longer time; and about the fifth or sixth of this instant, June, they did design to execute their business.

'That the last time he heard of Henshaw, was at the sign of the Parrot, in Bishop's-court in the Old Bailey.

'That one Major Bailey (who writes in Doctors Commons) was one time in company with the examine and his brother Henshaw, at the Sun in Carter-lane: and the said Henshaw and Bailey, being in discourse together about the design, and speaking of the family of the Comptons; the said Bailey said, "That Sir Spencer Compton was never gladder in his life, than when he heard of this design."

'That he, this examine, heard Charles Finch say, "That John Gerard at another time said, that he expected orders and commissions from Charles Stuart for this business."

'John Barkstead,

'JOHN WISEMAN.'

'William Goff.'

The Examination of John Gerard, taken the 5th of June, 1654.

'SAITH, That he came from France about five or six weeks since; that he was in France about three months together, before he came last over; a month whereof he spent at Boulogne, and the other two months at Paris; a month whereof he was very sick: that during his stay there he spake not with the king (meaning Charles Stuart) nor with Prince Rupert, or the Lord Gerard, concerning any design to be executed in England. That he saw at Paris one Mason and Bowers, and appointed to meet them at Calais, to come over for England, and that he did meet them there accordingly, and came over with them in the same boat. That there was with them also a young man called Preston, and an ancient man, whose name he knoweth not. That being come together to Dover, he left them there, and hath since heard, that Preston and the ancient man, having been two or three days in Kent, returned back again to France, but knows not what their business in Kent was, nor why they returned so soon.

'That he knows Colonel Charles Finch, Major Henshaw, and one Tudor, a chirurgon, but never did speak with them about any design to cut off the Lord Protector, or fall upon the guards at Whitehall, the Mews, and St. James's, or any design of that nature, nor with any other person whatsoever, concerning any such business, nor hath his brother Charles and he spoke any thing relating to any such matter.'

The Examination of Michael Mason, taken the 5th of June, 1654.

‘ SAITH, That he went to France about six weeks since in company with George Bowers of Gray’s Inn, and at his desire. That he had no business there but only to keep him company, and that Bowers’ business was to be touched for the king’s evil, and that he was touched by the king, meaning Charles Stuart, (as he believes) and that Master Bowers never did acquaint him with any other business he had there, nor doth the examinee know that he had any other. That the said Bowers and the examinee came together from Paris to Roan, and with them also came one Brems, a captain of horse under the command of the Lord Digby in France, and also one Stocket a lieutenant, or cornet of horse, both Englishmen. That they were in company with the same persons at Paris, and lay in the same lodgings, Bowers being well acquainted with them, and sent for them to Roan to come to him.

‘ That they came altogether from Roan to Calais, where they staid two or three days, and in their being there came acquainted with a young gentleman tall in stature, and slender, his hair black, and of about twenty-four years old, and had a black round patch upon the side of his face, and went by the name of Preston, but conceives that was not his own name, because the merchant who furnished the said Preston with money at Calais, whose name was Booth, did tell the examinee so, and that he was a person of great quality, which the examinee also did perceive by his spending, he keeping a very great table, and gave entertainment to the English gentlemen that were there, and did entertain Master Bowers, and the examinee, with the other two persons, Brems and Stocket. That there was in the company of the said Preston an ancient gentleman, who went by the name of Geoffard, but knows not whether that be his own name or not. And being demanded of him whether he knew who the said Preston and Geoffard were, he saith he doth not know, nor hath heard, and that he never saw him before that time, and was told that they had been there at Calais about a month before they came thither.

‘ That after this examinee and Bowers had been there about two days, John Gerard came thither to Calais, but denies that the examinee did make any appointment to meet him there, or that he knew he would come thither.

‘ That the said Bowers, Preston, Geoffard, John Gerard, and this examinee came over together in one boat from Calais to Dover, that Gerard went from them presently. That the rest staid there one night, and the next day took horse altogether, and Preston and Geoffard with their servant went one way, and Mr. Bowers and this examinee came up to London, staying by the way two days, the said Preston told them that he was to return within two or three days to Calais.

‘ That he believes, that the said Preston went out of England to Calais, and saith that he lay publicly at Calais at the sign of the Mermaid, at one Monsieur La-Firce’s house.

‘ That the examinee saw Bowers that Sunday morning that the Gerards were taken; and did then appoint to meet again in the evening in Gray’s-Inn walks, but the said Bowers did not meet him according to appointment, neither hath he ever seen him since, nor heard of him.

‘ MICHAEL MASON.’

‘ He further saith, That he hath seen John Gerard but twice since he came from France, to wit, one time at a tavern in the Strand, where was in company Sir Gilbert Gerard, Colonel Goring, and Master Bowers, and being asked what discourse they had there, he saith he doth not remember it; and the other time was in the street.

‘ MICHAEL MASON.’

The Examination of Joseph Alexander, taken the first of June, 1654, upon Oath, in the presence of the Lord Protector.

‘ THAT about a quarter of a year since, Major Henshaw and his brother John Wiseman came to the examine to the Mews upon a Sunday night, and told him, that they were going to France: and the examine asking him what to do; they answered, that they were going to the king, meaning Charles Stuart, about a business they were to do, which they would acquaint the examine with when they came back.

‘ That about three weeks after they came back from France, and told the examine, that they had procured of the king an equerry’s place for the examine; and said, that they had told the king, that “by a trick they had, they would establish him in his throne again;” and that Prince Rupert was with the king when Major Henshaw spoke to him, and said, “They had a verbal commission from the king for carrying on this business.” And for the better assuring the examine that they spake to the king and Prince Rupert concerning him, they said, that when they mentioned the examine to the king, Prince Rupert being by, the prince said, that he knew Alexander, for he had once given him a dog.

‘ That this discourse with him, was within three days after their return from France, in the Mews, whither they came to him: they said also at the same time, that the reward Henshaw should have for his service, was, that he should command the Duke of York’s standing regiment in England. And the examine (besides his equerry’s place) would command a troop in that regiment, but that the examine could not be the eldest equerry, because Major Armor was the eldest equerry already; and these (they said) the examine should have, in case he should engage in this plot. That these things were said unto him by Henshaw, but in the presence and hearing of John Wiseman: except only those words, viz. That the examine should have a troop of horse, besides his equerry’s place, which Henshaw said to him by himself.

‘ That the examine met again with the said Henshaw and Wiseman, at the Boy’s-head in Bedford-bury, within three days after the aforesaid meeting: they had some general discourses about raising of men, as well at this end of the town, as in the city, but came to no resolution in what manner to execute it.

‘ That they had several meetings together afterwards about this business; and the sum of what Henshaw told him at those meetings, was, that they would kill the Protector, and afterwards seize upon the horse in the Mews, and the other horse in and about the town, which they would do as they were in the stables and fields: and he said, that the horse in the Mews would be easily seized in the day time, the men being at play at nine-pins; if but one pistol was shot amongst them, it would put them in a maze, and then forty or fifty men being present, they might recover their horses ready saddled with pistols, and that a party of horse should set upon the Protector as he went to Hampton-Court, to cut him off; which party was to be commanded by John Gerard: and being asked how they would get their party together; he said, that they were to go two by two, and Gerard was to be one of the first two, and John Wiseman was to be one near him: the examine confesseth he was to be one of this party. And in case they could have executed this design, they made no doubt of carrying all: and the said Henshaw said, that they had prepared things so, that they should have all the horse fifteen miles about London, and have foot enough in the city; and that they had agreed what posts they would make good in the city.

‘ That in their discourse they debated who should be their general, and the Earl of Northampton was named, and as he remembereth the Marquis of Hartford, but doth not know whether either of them had been acquainted with it.

‘ That when they had resolved of their business, they sent several messengers into France, to Charles Stuart; and the examine heard Mason the fencer named for that business, but doth not know whether he was sent or not, but believes that John Wiseman can tell,

‘ in whose presence, company and hearing all those discourses were ; and that they received answers from France to what they sent about.

‘ That they had appointed several days to execute this business ; and in particular, upon Saturday was fortnight ; but said they were disappointed, because the Protector went by water.

‘ That they talked much of one Henry Taylor, who was to command the foot-posts in the city.

‘ That the said Wiseman hath often spoke the things aforesaid to the examinee, and would brag of his own valour ; and that he had killed fourteen men with his own hands, or some such number.

‘ That most of the meetings wherein this business was transacted were at the Black-boy in Little Bedford-bury, and at the Goat in Bedford-street, over against the Earl of Chesterfield’s house, and at the sign of the Grasshopper in Long Acre, and that Colonel Aldrich was present at divers of these meetings, and was privy to the design ; and at one of the meetings was a Scotchman, whose name he conceives to be Leviston, and another, whose name he knows not.

‘ That this business was laid by other persons, with whom Henshaw and Wiseman communicated (as he believes) but did not acquaint the examinee with their names, but did only acquaint him with such things as were resolved upon, to the end he might be ready upon notice.

‘ That the examinee telling Henshaw he had neither sword nor pistols, nor ought else to fit him for this undertaking ; Henshaw told him, that he would give him a coat that was musket proof, and a pair of pistols.

‘ JOSEPH ALEXANDER.’

‘ The said Joseph Alexander saith, That he saw in the hands of Major Henshaw and John Wiseman divers printed papers, entitled _____ and delivered some of them to the examinee ; and Henshaw told him, that he procured them to be printed himself, to make the Protector odious.

The Examination of John Jones, Apothecary, taken by us Edward Whaley and Henry Middleton, Esquires ; the 21st of May, 1654.

‘ THIS examinee saith, That, about Thursday or Friday seven-night, Dr. Hynton told him that there was a plot against the Lord Protector ; upon which this examinee saith, that he gave such an answer to the Doctor, as that he did not seem to dislike it ; probably he might say, Very well ; or, That it might put an end to the business ; but doth not perfectly remember the particular words.

‘ Upon Saturday morning following, this examinee met with one Tudor a chirurgeon, at an ale-house near to his own house ; and, after they were gone from thence, this examinee asked Tudor, what news ? saying that there was a talk up and down the town of a design against the Lord Protector (which news he saith he had from the Doctor). Tudor answered, There was such a thing ; that Giles Paulet had informed the Lord Protector, that Jack Gerard would cut the Lord Protector’s throat wherever he met him.

‘ This examinee saith, that as he remembers, he spake words to this purpose, That he thought none would be so valiant as to do it. Whereupon Tudor answered, If it were come to that, he believed he should go as far as any. Upon which this examinee did acquaint the Doctor what Tudor had said. Whereupon the Doctor and this examinee believed that Tudor might be the man that might do it.

‘ Upon the foresaid Saturday, and upon the same discourses, when they were speaking of the things aforesaid, this examinee told Tudor he heard Philips was come to town.

‘Tuder cried, “O Lord, where is he? I have great business with him.” This examine replied, he could not tell, but he would ask the Doctor if he knew; and would inform him when he next met him.

‘This examine further saith, That upon Monday morning he met Tuder accidentally in Castle-yard, near Chancery-lane; and this examine desired him that he would go along with him to see one of his patients, which he did; and it being an inn where the patient lay, they went into a room, and called for a cup of beer. This examine, as he best remembers, asked Tuder what became of the business? Who answered, that it might easily have been done on Saturday, or words near to that purpose; for as he was coming along the Mill-bank he saw the Lord Protector in a pair of oars, with little company, and admired that a person of so great concernment should go so slenderly guarded.

‘This examine further saith, On Tuesday morning following, Tuder came to him, and asked him whether he had learnt of the doctor where Philips lay. Who answered, he had asked the doctor, but he would not tell.

‘This examine further saith, That about Thursday or Friday before his discourse with Tuder, Doctor Hynton told this examine, speaking of the foresaid design, that Col. Philips was in town. He asked him where he was, the Doctor swore, by God, he could not tell.

‘This examine further saith, That on Saturday seven-night in the afternoon he met with one Capt. Morley and Mr. Hill, whose wife is a laundress to her highness, they went and drunk together; and speaking of the affairs of Scotland, Morley said, it was the opinion of Massey and Bunce, when he was beyond the sea, that the taking off the Lord Protector would be more to the business than the killing of many thousands of men.

‘This examine further saith, That on Thursday night coming along the street about Covent-garden, he was telling Mr. Hill of the business, but Mr. Hill seemed to slight it.

‘This examine further saith, That meeting Com. Gen. Jay, he spake to him as to Mr. Hill. Who answered, if he should acquaint the Lord Protector with it, he should have a reward, but he thought none durst do it, without it were the woodman, meaning Brown.

‘This examine further saith, That he likewise spoke to one Palmer a taylor living about Charing-cross, the same things as he did to Mr. Hill, but he made light of it, and said it was impossible. And this examine doth protest in the presence of God, to his best remembrance, he knoweth nothing more; but if any thing more shall occur to his memory, he shall declare it.

‘JOHN JONES.’

The further Examination of John Jones, taken the 27th day of May, 1654.

‘SAITH, That in discourse with Tuder upon the design of assassinating the Lord Protector; Tuder said, That he had his posts assigned him, meaning thereby, as this examine conceives, for assassinating the Lord Protector; and the examine replying thereupon, That it was impossible to be done, the said Tuder said, That he had notice of the Protector’s motions by some that were very near him, and understood his motions. And that he further said, That the Protector was so mounted, that no man could catch him on horseback. And further saith, That he verily believes that Tuder knows much more of the business, than he had confessed to this examine.

‘JOHN JONES.’

The Examination of Thomas Collison, taken this 29th of May, 1654.

‘ HE saith, That he came out of Scotland with Charles Stuart, and rid a trooper in the Duke of Buckingham’s troop ; that he came acquainted with Mr. Allanson about two years since, which he hath heard some persons call him colonel, but the said Mr. Allanson always hath denied that he was a colonel, and all that the examine hath heard of Allanson being in the king’s army, was, that he was at Oxford when it was a garrison for the king in the Earl of Essex’s time.

‘ He saith, That about twelve days since, as he now remembereth, as this examine and one Colonel Charles Finch, who lodgeth, or did lately lodge at the Sheers and Ball in Bow-street in Covent-garden, near Phenix-alley there, were coming together from Westminster, the said Finch told this examine, being then against Whitehall, see here what a slender force there is, and there is not above four thousand or six thousand men in town, and we are subdued here by a small strength, or words to that purpose : And that they were all cowed, though they were enough (if they were of one mind) to do the business, and redeem themselves, and bring the king home.

‘ He further saith, That he met him the said Finch the next day after in Newton-street, near the Kings-gate near Holborn, and then told him at his last speaking unto him, he had but imparted part of his mind, for there was a design amongst them against the government, the business was ripe, and if he would join with them, he would acquaint him with it all, but this examine refusing to intermeddle therein, the said Finch did not acquaint him with any further particulars of the design. And this examine further saith, that the next day after he was at the Feathers tavern in Fleet-street with Mr. Edw. Allanson, and Major Mason a fencer, and being there drinking together, this examine told the said Allanson and Mason what Colonel Finch had acquainted him with ; and that thereupon both of them wished him not to meddle with any such business.

‘ He further saith, That while they were sitting together, there came into their company one Colonel Forth, or Worth, whose lodging the examine knoweth not, and also one Mr. Rich, whose mother lives at the sign of the Black Horse in the New Market, a cook’s shop, but knoweth not whether the said Rich lieth there, nor where he doth lodge. There came in also one Cave a musician, but saith that nothing was said of that business whilst they were present.

‘ And the examine being further asked upon what occasion he told Mr. Allanson of that design aforesaid at the tavern ; he saith, That it was upon Mr. Allanson’s demanding of him, what the reason was that Col. Finch did come after him to Mr. Allanson’s lodging, the said Colonel Finch being there but a little before they went to the tavern. And being further demanded whether he did not acquaint the said Mr. Allanson with what Finch told him, saith, as he now remembereth, he did. He further saith, that if Col. Finch be removed from his lodging, he very probably lodgeth at Mr. Bowring’s in Little Wood-street at Westminster.

‘ He saith further, That one Nicholas Watson a barber, who liveth with a barber in Chancery-lane, at the first shop on the left hand, as you go into Chancery-lane out of Fleet-street, did discourse with the examine concerning this plot upon Saturday morning next, but told him no particulars. And being further asked concerning the discourse he had with Finch, saith, that Finch told him that they intended to seize upon the guards at Whitehall, and the Mews, and to do it at noon-day, and then the city should rise at the same time. And that Finch told him, that if he this examine would engage in the business, he must take an oath of secrecy, as all others did that did engage therein.

‘ And further says, That the barber Nicholas Watson told him, that one Wharton had money given him in this plot ; and that he himself was to have had six pound at Clerkenwell, and that there were several men listed, who were likewise to have money.

‘ THO. COLLINSON.’

The Examination of John Wharton, Horse-keeper in Black-Fryers, May 29, 1654.

‘SAITH, That being in company about ten days ago at his own house with one Mr. Plunkett, an Irishman, one Smith, and one other whose name he knows not, but was formerly a Major to Col. Rooksby in France, he heard all and every one of the above mentioned say, particularly the major, that they hoped to have a good design in hand very speedily, and hoped to have good horse and arms, and that they would acquaint him, this examine, with the design the night before they were ready to execute it, that he might be prepared: and further, that they would seize upon all the horses in the stables and pastures about London, and would draw themselves into a formed body, and so would come to Whitehall, and fall upon the guards, and cut them off, and take and kill the Protector and his friends, and so proclaim the king, meaning Charles Stuart. He further saith, he did hear the said persons all and every one of them say, that no persons of honour were engaged in this business, but were confident in their thoughts would appear when occasion did offer itself, (but durst not trust the gentry in this business because they had been so much punished already.) He further said, he heard the said persons say, that the guards at the Mews, St. James’s, and Whitehall were very weak, and that it were very seasonable to beat them, and that there were some men who already had undertaken it, and that they were in all above eight hundred, but knew not the names of any of them; he further said, that they had spies amongst our men, meaning the army, which gave them intelligence every day.

‘And the examine further saith, it is true, as Thomas Barnes hath said in his information, that he, this examine, did about this day fortnight see the said Barnes go by his house, and that the examine’s brother was then with him, and did tell him that Barnes was an honest man, that he might trust his life in his hands, and thereupon the examine wished the said Barnes to come the next morning, and that he would then tell him more; and accordingly he came, and then the examine told him all horses were to be seized both in Smithfield and in all other places about the town, to the end they might seize upon the Protector and the guards, which might easily be done: and that they would proclaim Charles the Second in London, which the examine said he was to do, but knew not when it was to be done.

‘JOHN WHARTON his mark.’
A. P.

The Examination of Thomas Saunders, taken the 30th of May, 1654.

‘SAITH, That he knows not when he was at the Bell Savage upon Ludgate-hill; and being asked, whether he was not at the Bell Savage upon Thursday was seven-night, he answered, that he was not to his knowledge: being further asked whether he was not there with Francis Fox, Somerset Fox, and William Dodd, he saith, he did drink there with Somerset Fox about a month or three weeks ago, but not since, but did never meet with the said two other persons there, nor did he ever meet with Charles Gerard there, for ought he knows. And being asked, whether he knew any thing of this design, he answered, that he never heard any one word of it more or less. And being asked, what the four friends were, which he said to Francis Fox he would bring into the design; he answered, that he hath not one friend in England, nor did he ever say any such thing.

‘*Memorandum.* The examine after the taking this examination from his own mouth, was required to set his hand thereto, which he positively refused to do, saying he would neither read it, nor set his hand thereto, nor meddle with pen and ink.

‘Witness { W. Goffe,
 Charles Worsley.’

The Examination of Robert Dayles, taken upon oath the 19th of June, 1654, before John Barkstead, Esquire, Lieutenant of the Tower of London; and William Goffe, Esquire, Justices of the Peace for the City of Westminster.

‘ SAITH, That about eight weeks since, as he remembereth, there came unto him one Peter Vowell, a schoolmaster of Islington, and asked him whether he had any arms, and would sell them to accommodate friends; and the examinee telling him he had only two pair of pistols, he desired to have them of him; which the examinee did agree unto, and delivered the pistols to the said Vowell, who was to pay for them to the examinee nine shillings, but never paid him any thing for them; and the examinee demanding what use they were for, the said Vowell told him that he would bring a friend that should acquaint him with the business.

‘ That about ten days after the said Vowell came again to the examinee, and brought with him one Major Thomas Henshaw, which Henshaw, in the presence and hearing of the said Vowell, (they being together in the garden,) told the examinee that they had a design to fall upon the Protector, either as he went to Hampton Court, or at Whitehall, as they found their opportunity, and cut him off; as also Major General Lambert, Sir Gilbert Pickering, and Master Strickland; and that at the same time they would have a force to seize upon the guards in and about the town, and invited the examinee to join with them in their party, and told him that they had appointed him to assist in falling upon the guard at Islington; which the examinee consented to do, and told them that he thought he could help them to four or five men: he further saith that John Wiseman, brother-in-law to Henshaw, came into the garden while they were in discourse, but cannot tell whether he heard it or not. And the examinee asking them what head they should have to countenance them, they answered that they were provided in that, and wished the examinee to take no care for it, but bid him that he should be sure to be ready in ten hours after notice given to him of the design, and so they parted.

‘ That within three days after the said Henshaw, John Wiseman, and one Plunket came again to the examinee’s house, and told him that they proceeded in their design, and that the examinee must not fail to be ready; but the examinee did begin to declare his dislike of it, and told them he was to take a journey into the country; whereupon they desired, that if he, the examinee, could not be there himself, that yet he would appoint somebody else in his room.

‘ And the examinee further saith, that while they were together, there came two gentlemen that were lodgers in the house through the hall, and went up into the chamber: “ Well (saith Henshaw) there shall be their urn:” and the examinee asking him what he meant thereby, the said Henshaw answered, that they should be killed; taking the said two men to be soldiers.

‘ That afterwards Henshaw and Wiseman came again to his house, and with them one Tudor, and Jones an apothecary, but there was no discourse while he was present.

‘ That afterwards they met several times at his house, and one time there came four gentlemen to inquire for them, but the examinee knoweth none of their names.

‘ That Plunket came to him, and told him he would buy two horses of him; and said, that he would give him notice when they should be ready with their design.

‘ John Barkstead,

‘ ROBERT DAYLES.’

‘ William Goffe.

The Examination of Thomas Barnes.

‘ THOMAS BARNES saith and confesseth, That Captain Wharton said he would give him horse and arms, and that he made Wharton acquainted with it; and he further saith,

‘ that Wharton did tell him that he would furnish his friends with horse and arms, and that
 ‘ Wharton did bid him make what friends he could for arms, and that he should have notice
 ‘ an hour or two beforehand what was to be done, and that he was then to get to his
 ‘ horse and arms.

‘ That this day fortnight he coming by Wharton’s house in Black Fryers, where he
 ‘ found Wharton and his brother, who calling him to them, his brother said to Wharton,
 ‘ Here is one that I may trust my life in his hand: then Wharton told the examinee that
 ‘ he should come the next morning, and he would tell him more. And coming according
 ‘ to appointment, Wharton asked him whether he would have horse and arms, to which
 ‘ he answered, he would with all his heart, if he could get them, but when shall we have
 ‘ them; he said, we will draw up in Smithfield, and seize all the horses therein: and be-
 ‘ ing demanded how the horse and arms were to be employed, the examinee saith that
 ‘ Wharton informed him, it was to seize upon the Protector, in order to change the go-
 ‘ vernment; but where or when he knoweth not: and he further saith, that Wharton put
 ‘ on his belt, and said, with this belt will I proclaim Charles the Second in London; and
 ‘ to the end that the Protector’s seizure might be accomplished, the said Wharton told
 ‘ the examinee, that the guards were easy to be surprised, and that being done that he
 ‘ would proclaim Charles the Second, as above said; and being asked whether he had com-
 ‘ municated these things to any else, he said he did not, but to one George Ivery, who
 ‘ works near the Black Swan in Thames-street, to whom he told he might have horse and
 ‘ arms, but the said Ivery absolutely denied to accept thereof, or to meddle in such busi-
 ‘ nesses.

‘ THOMAS BARNES.’

The Information and Examination of Thomas Tudor, taken the 31st of May,
 1654.

‘ SAITH, That about Thursday was fortnight (as he remembereth) he was at the Hole in
 ‘ the Wall at Westminster, in company with Major Thomas Henshaw, Captain Leviston,
 ‘ and John Wiseman, whither the examinee was carried by the said Henshaw; and being
 ‘ here, the said Henshaw took the examinee into the garden, and told him, that he
 ‘ brought him thither to acquaint him with a very secret business, which was, that there
 ‘ was a design to bring in Charles Stuart, whom he called the king, and to that purpose
 ‘ a party was to seize upon the Protector, and other parties to seize upon the guards at
 ‘ St. James’s, Whitehall, the Mews, Southwark, and the Tower. And the examinee de-
 ‘ manding of him, who would engage in this business; the said Henshaw replied, that the
 ‘ Marquis of Hartford, Earl of Cleveland, and the Earl of Northampton would engage there-
 ‘ in, and further said, that he himself was to command the party that was to seize upon
 ‘ the Protector, and desired the examinee to engage with him in this business.

‘ That their next meeting was (as he remembers) the Wednesday next after, at a house
 ‘ of the Mews, where was present the said Henshaw, John Wiseman, Colonel Aldridge,
 ‘ and one Alexander, a horse-rider in the Mews, who was a colonel for the parliament:
 ‘ that there was nothing said publicly of that business, but Henshaw took Colonel Aldridge
 ‘ aside, and they were in discourse together about a quarter of an hour, and then went
 ‘ away; the said Henshaw going then to the Earl of Chesterfield’s in Covent-garden, the
 ‘ examinee accompanying him to the door, and by the way Henshaw told him, that he
 ‘ was going about the business, and that all things were in a readiness, and that the things
 ‘ would soon be executed, or else not at all: for (said he) Paulet, a red-haired man, was
 ‘ made acquainted with it, and had proved false, and had discovered the design to the Pro-
 ‘ tector.

‘ That afterwards (on Friday seven-night) the examinee met again with the said Henshaw
 ‘ in Bow-lane in Covent-garden, and from thence went to the Swan (as he thinks) in the

‘ Strand, nobody being present but those two ; and then falling into discourse of the business, Henshaw told him, that they would with a party of fifty or sixty horse seize upon the Protector, which he would command ; of that party the examine was to be, and also Leviston, and Alexander, and a butcher, which, he said, dwells in Smithfield, and hath been a captain on the parliament’s side ; and doth not remember that any other persons were named, but saith, that every one was to bring in a proportion of horse ; and said, that the design should have been executed the Saturday before : and said, the butcher, to that purpose, had been with twelve horse, and as many foot, as far as Piccadilly, to have joined with the other horse ; but their party failed : besides, he said, that the Protector’s ways were so variable and uncertain that it would be hard to meet him, and that it would be better to seize upon him at church, or as he sate in council.

‘ He further said, that John Gerard was to be an actor in this business, and was to command another party ; or else that party which was to seize upon the Protector, in case Henshaw did not command it.

‘ That besides the fifty or sixty horse which should seize upon the Protector, they had three hundred horse, which should scour the streets, and that one Dayle, an innkeeper, who dwells in Leather-lane, should help them with horse to seize upon the army-horse in and about Holborn.

‘ And further saith, That he met, about this business, with John Gerard, and the said Henshaw, and some others, at one Jones’s, an alehouse, and went once to Gerard’s lodgings, where he found Captain Leviston.’

The Examination of Nicholas Watson, Barber, taken 29th of May, 1654.

‘ SAITH, That upon Sunday was seven-night there came to him one Thomas Barnes dwelling at the sign of the Tunn, or Three Tunns, in Thames-street in Peter’s-Paul’s-Wharf, at a chandler’s shop over against the church, and told him that there was a design against the Lord Protector and this present government, and divers gentlemen were engaged in it, and that three or four thousand men were listed already to that purpose ; that they intended to make an attempt upon the Lord Protector’s person either at dinner, or as he went to Hampton Court, and at the same time would surprise the guards at Whitehall, which he said was easy to do, in respect they had but one match lighted upon the guard, and before they could light the rest they would dispatch their business there. At the same time the portcullis should be shut down, and then Charles the Second (meaning Charles Stuart) should be proclaimed : and the examine asking him who should do it, the said Barnes told him that one Wharton who dwelt in Blackfriars should do it, and for that purpose a new suit was given him, and a belt worth five or six pounds.

‘ And the said examine further saith, That the said Barnes did invite, and desire him to engage in this design ; and to encourage him, told him, that he would help him to a horse and arms, and six pounds in money. And the examine being asked what the reason was why the said Barnes should acquaint him with this design, saith, that as he conceives it was because he had been formerly in arms for the late king. And being demanded of him who was present at this discourse, saith, that no person else was present, but that the said Wharton was with them a little before, and that when the said Wharton went forth from them, the said Barnes having been whispering with him, said to him, I will acquaint Nich. (meaning the examine) with the business.

‘ NICHOLAS WATSON.’

The Information of Col. Aldrich.

‘ May it please your Highness,

‘ RECOLLECTING more exactly my memory, I remember that Henshaw in discovering to me his plot of destroying the Lord Protector, [said] that it should be upon some Saturday, when as he should go to Hampton Court; that upon that instant several guards should be surprised. The chief heads also to be destroyed, which were only the Lords Lambert and Desborow, others not thought considerable except Major General Skippon, who was nominated by Henshaw, but I withstood that (for that in my particular I had received formerly many charitable courtesies from him, though not overgreat, yet to me in keeping of life and soul together in my necessities.) That there was a party in the city very considerable, and some amongst the principal aldermen, not naming any in particular. That Major General Browne was at Whitefriars, and should be very useful, I asked whether he was then acquainted with it? Henshaw bade me not trouble myself with that, it should be contrived well enough. That the Tower should be easily surprised at the same instant, and that there was an officer therein, who commanded the soldiers, who would free the prisoners and put weapons in their hands, but nominated him not: demanding of him what back there was, or what chief to direct and command when this should be done (if effected) or else all would be in confusion unless some great person of quality were appointed, of noble and royal extract. He spake of the Duke of Richmond, I told him he was not a fit person, as being a Scot (generally hated of the English) neither was he (though by name a Stuart) very near of kin to the late king, but removed by some degrees in descent, nor was he a man of any great spirit. That of any I held my Lord of Hartford most fit, as being an Englishman, and of royal blood, and also had been formerly general for the king. Henshaw approved very well of him, and afterwards seemed as if it had been by others of his acquaintance approved also; but I could not learn from him if ever my Lord had been acquainted with it himself, only the act being done my Lord of Hartford should be chosen a regent for the king, and proclaim Charles Stuart king presently in all places.

‘ The chief heads being destroyed, by the promise of a month’s pay presently, and continuance in pay, with a general pardon, the soldiers would be quiet. For the backs he would never disclose, or name any other to me but what I have already mentioned; but telling me always that there were great ones and very considerable: I could not learn from others, because I had converse with none else but Alexander, and Wiseman who is his brother, and I presume may know.

‘ For execution of the act, Henshaw told me there were divers persons (whose names he concealed from me) with horse and pistols should act it going to Hampton Court, upon some Saturday; if I would be one I must be contented to be commanded by one of a more inferior quality than myself, who should command the party (I conceive he meant himself) I told him that it should not trouble me, but I had neither money, arms, nor horse, but he promised I should have some to provide all, which I never saw performed, as I formerly declared. I told him I thought it might be done upon the water, but that was misliked. He forbore speaking to me about the space of a week, I asking Alexander the reason, who had seen him in the interim. Alexander told me that he said it was thought fit, (but I know not by whom) I should be employed upon the managing of weightier matters, when the act was performed, or much to that effect. I then replied, I cared not to meddle at all. Then he came fresh to me again to act, but presently after he put it off that he was not ready, as I have formerly declared. Farther than this I am not able at present to acquaint your highness with, but prostrate myself to your highness’ mercy, most humbly craving pardon, with faithful promise as I am a Christian to be faithful for ever hereafter to your highness, humbly desiring your highness to consider how my great wants have misled me to ill suggestions, and that my liberty will be a means whereby I shall, through God Almighty’s assistance, be enabled to do

‘such faithful service, as may wipe off the stain of what I have committed, and sit here-
‘after in your highness’ favour; for which I beseech the Almighty to put it into your
‘highness’ mind, and keep me stedfast in all fidelity and obedience, praying for your
‘highness’ prosperity, and all that belongs to your highness; being,

‘Your highness’ poor and miserable prisoner craving mercy,

‘EDWARD ALDRICH.’

More of the same by Col. Aldrich.

‘ABOUT, as I conceive, some six weeks past, Mr. Henshaw being with Captain Alex-
‘ander, after their discourse Alexander told me some part of it (as I conceive) which was
‘a confused chaos, he desiring me to tell him what I thought of it; I then told him I
‘thought it an idle thing: afterward he desired to speak with me, and said, he had been
‘in France, and that the king had done him favour in promising him rewards, and those
‘who should adhere to his assistance any way; this he often told me at divers times, after
‘began to tell me something was to be done, sometimes putting it off again, and some-
‘times that things were not ripe, after began to speak of surprising the guards; I asked
‘him if he could do it with nothing, he said, there were men (if occasion were) should
‘beat the horse-guards, and mount their own horses. I asked him if they should drop out
‘of the skies. Then I told Alexander after, that he was an idle fellow, and that I thought
‘his brother Wiseman a lying bragging fellow. After Henshaw said, the best way was
‘to surprise the Lord Protector as he went to Hampton Court, and the guards all at an
‘instant, with some of the chief of the heads: I told him, those were idle conjectures, for
‘it was impossible to be done, having neither horse nor arms. He said, he could procure
‘those from some persons which were not to be discovered. After he was gone, I told
‘Alexander it did not savour like truth, because I saw him and his brother very wanting,
‘having no money in their purses. Henshaw likewise said, when the act should be
‘performed, there should be money enough for to promise the soldiers a month’s pay
‘aforehand, entertain them into service, which would content and quiet them; and that
‘there was two hundred thousand pounds ready for such a purpose, but could neither tell me
‘where, nor in whose hands. I desired to have some money aforehand, and then I should
‘tell him more, for I was so wanting, as I had not wherewithal to feed. Alexander told
‘me that one Gerard came to him, and told him, he thought he was a fit person to be
‘employed in managing a design for the king, and told him, he should want no monies.
‘He replied, he would speak with me, for he would not trust his own judgment. Gerard
‘questioned whether he might trust me; if he might, both he and I should have five hun-
‘dred pound a-piece. He promised to come again, but came not; what Gerard this was
‘he could not tell.

‘After that the Gerards were taken, I told Alexander I thought Henshaw had heard
‘something of others, and was ignorant, but pretended to know much (for since I have
‘not seen him) for my own part I am of that opinion, because I could not then perceive
‘any ground-work, but only heard a noise.

‘Once Wiseman carried me into my Lord of Chesterfield’s to drink a cup of small
‘beer; he shewed me a pair of pistols that hung in the outward room, and asked me if
‘they were good ones, and he could command them when he pleased.

‘Truly, I confess I did consent to go with him when he should appoint, which he did
‘appoint to be upon one Saturday, which the night before he came to Alexander, and
‘told him he could not be ready. And seriously, for my own part (as I told Alexander)
‘I thought he never could. This is as much as I can well remember.’

The further Examination of John Wiseman, taken upon oath the 19th of June, 1654, before John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and William Goff, Esq. Justices of the Peace for the City of Westminster.

‘ SAITH, That about the beginning of May, or latter end of April last, he was at the house of one Dayle, an innkeeper in Leather-lane, in company with his brother Henshaw, and one Peter Vowell the schoolmaster of Islington, and Tudor a chirurgeon; and that whilst they were there, the said Henshaw, Vowell, and Dayle the innkeeper, went out of the room into the garden, and had conference there together a quarter of an hour, and then came again into the room: whereupon Vowell went away, and the rest sat down together. And this examine then asking Henshaw who that other man was, he said it was Peter Vowell a schoolmaster of Islington, who had directed him to Dayle the innkeeper, to engage him, and who had engaged to beat the guards at that end of the town.

‘ That afterwards he met with the said Vowell and Henshaw at one Doctor Hudson’s in the Old Baily, two or three times before the plot was discovered, where the said Hudson, Henshaw, and Vowell, had private conference together, and (as this examine believes) it was about the plot, his brother Henshaw telling him as much: and that the reason why this examine was not admitted to the conference there, was, because Vowell would not be persuaded to speak about the plot before any more company, because it might not be known that he had a hand in it.

‘ That upon Sunday, the next day after the plot was discovered, this examine was with his brother Henshaw at the said Doctor Hudson’s, where also was the said Vowell, and they there discoursed again together as formerly in the same room where this examine was: and having done their discourse; “ Well, saith the Doctor, in the hearing of this examine,) though the plot be discovered, here is my major (meaning Henshaw) is not discouraged; the business may go on yet.” “ Yes, (said Vowell,) that it may:” both the Doctor and Vowell saying, that those who were discovered were of Gerard’s party, and that none of Henshaw’s were yet discovered. At the same time Vowell asked Henshaw when he had been at Doctors-Commons to speak with Major Baily, whereto he answered, that he had been there twice the day before, but had not spoken with him.

‘ That he was often at Hudson’s with his brother Henshaw, and that Hudson would ask him what became of the business, and when he had been with Vowell, and Baily, and Capt. Billingsley, a butcher; and Henshaw would answer him, that it went on very well; and saith, that his brother Henshaw had told him, that the said butcher was fully engaged in it, and would be to provide two hundred men and more; and said, that one day when he thought the business was to be done, he came forth with some horse and foot as far as Piccadilly.

‘ He further saith, That some few days after the plot was discovered, he went with Henshaw to Islington to the said Vowell, and found him at his house, from whence they went together to drink their morning’s draught: and the said Henshaw and Vowell speaking some words together, Vowell said, “ If none of your party be discovered within this fortnight, there will be men enough to fall into all the quarters of the town;” meaning (as the examine conceives) for carrying on the aforesaid design: and Henshaw then said, “ That there were several regiments both of horse and foot in the several parts of the nation to rise, so soon as the stroke was struck here in London:” which Vowell said would be very well, and would be a thing very easily done.

‘ He saith further, That when they were last together at Doctor Hudson’s, Henshaw gave to Vowell some of the libels mentioned in his other examination, which Vowell said he would dispose of.

‘ He further saith, That he went with his brother Henshaw and John Gerard to the house of one Minors, dwelling in Lambeth in a little garden-house, and there the said Gerard and Henshaw told him of their design to fall upon the Protector as he went abroad, and also to seize upon the guards, and asked him if he would join with him, which he consented to do; and said he would be ready at a day’s warning, when they should desire it: and that there were other meetings between Henshaw and the said Minors, and the said Minors did also meet with Tudor upon this business.

‘ That Minors further said, that a person whose name he (this examine) remembereth not, having lost the heel of his shoe, said, what? will you not give me a nail to fasten my heel, who am one that am to redeem you? and therefore he did fear the plot might be discovered.

‘ He further saith, That there are two soldiers, one called Copley, the other Hippon, in the Lord Protector’s regiment (as he hath heard) who did often frequent Doctor Hudson’s lodgings, and Henshaw’s company, and believeth that both of them had knowledge of the said design; for that Copley said, a day or two before the Gerards were taken, to Hudson, that the regiment was drawn into the Park, when he expected the city would have come down; and if they had, he being sentinel was ready, which he conceives, was to have assisted the city; and for that (as Henshaw told this examine) the said Copley and Hippon gave constant intelligence to Doctor Hudson, what was done in the guards at Whitehall, and what prisoners were brought in; and when this examine was upon the guard, the said Hippon acquainted this examine privately, that he had told Doctor Hudson of his imprisonment.

‘ *Jo. Barkstead,*
‘ *William Goff.*

‘ JOHN WISEMAN.’

The Information of John Minors, taken this 29th of June, 1654.

‘ WHO saith, about seven or eight weeks since, he met with Major Henshaw in Covent-garden, and the examine asking him where he had been so long, that he had not seen him; whereto Henshaw answered, that he had been in France; and the examine thereupon asking him what the news there was, he said, that he had business to acquaint him with, but could not say any thing of it until he had an hour’s time to discourse of it.

‘ That there was with the examine at that time when he met with the said Henshaw, one Mr. Harris, a clothier, who lives in Dorsetshire; who meeting a little while after with one O’Conor an Irishman, (as was told the examine) and the said Henshaw; and Henshaw then speaking what great things he would and could do, and that several gentlemen were about town that lay idle. That the examine did soon after meet the said Henshaw again, which was at the house of this examine; where Henshaw told him, that he had been with the king, and spake with him about destroying the Lord Protector and his Council; which was to be done by seizing the guards at the Mews, St. James’s, Whitehall, the guards at Southwark, the horse at Holborn and Islington, and also the gates of London: and when that is done, you shall see, saith he, persons of honour appear in it: and the examine thereupon telling him what he had heard concerning his being set on work by the Protector; the said Henshaw demanded who was the author of that report: and the examine telling him one O’Conor, the said Henshaw replied, if you will go along with me, O’Conor will deny his words: but the examine refusing to go, told the said Henshaw, that he believed Tudor the chirurgeon would go with him, which the said Tudor did (as the examine heard since) and that the said Henshaw challenging him with those words, and O’Conor acknowledging that he had heard so; Henshaw struck him, and thereupon followed a duel between them, wherein (as the examine heard) Henshaw was disarmed.

‘ That a while after the examine met with Henshaw and Tudor, in the Old Palace-

‘yard, and being there together, and speaking of the design, Henshaw said, he had sent
 ‘one to Jack Gerard, meaning Major John Gerard, and hoped that he would understand
 ‘what he meant: and the examine thereupon asking if John Gerard knew of it; the
 ‘said Henshaw said he did, and that he could give him satisfaction in it.

‘That the same day, the examine and Tudor went to John Gerard’s lodgings by
 ‘Essex house, and finding him within, Tudor spake with him about the design aforesaid;
 ‘whereupon the examine asked Gerard what he knew of it: to which Gerard said,
 ‘that he knew no more than what he had from Henshaw.

‘That within two or three days after, Henshaw, John Gerard, and John Wiseman,
 ‘came to the house of the examine: and there being discoursing together of the said
 ‘design, Henshaw said in the presence of Gerard, that the business was in a great forward-
 ‘ness, and that he had brought Major John Gerard to speak about it.

‘That in their discourse Gerard said, that he did very much doubt that Henshaw
 ‘could not perform what he spake of: to which Henshaw said, that if they would meet
 ‘him in London, they should be satisfied; and so appointed to meet there the next day,
 ‘and in order thereto, to meet in the Palace-yard, whither the examine came, but met
 ‘there only John Wiseman, who told him, that Gerard and Henshaw were gone into
 ‘London, and would send to him afterwards: and further saith, that he never saw John
 ‘Gerard afterwards.

‘JOHN MINORS.’

The Examination of Edward Hudson, taken this 21st of June, 1654.

‘WHO saith, That he knoweth Peter Vowell, schoolmaster of Islington, and hath known
 ‘him these ten years; he hath also known Major Henshaw about two years, and so he
 ‘doth John Wiseman. That he hath often been in the company of Henshaw, and that
 ‘Henshaw did seldom come to that end of the town, but he called upon this examine,
 ‘and that Peter Vowell and he doth also often meet. But being asked, whether the said
 ‘Henshaw and Vowell, or either of them, have not spoken with him about the present
 ‘design; he answered, that they, nor either of them, ever did; nor doth he ever remem-
 ‘ber that ever the said Vowell, Henshaw, and Wiseman did meet together at his
 ‘lodgings.

‘That Henshaw was with him after the Gerards were taken, and came in very late one
 ‘night, and asked him to lodge with him; but the examine not being willing to it, the
 ‘said Henshaw left him, and said, he would go to his brother Robbin; and bid the
 ‘examine tell his brother, John Wiseman, if he called for him, that he would meet him
 ‘he knew where; but saith, he knows not where that was.’

The further Examination of Edward Hudson, taken the 21st of June, 1654.

‘WHO saith, That Major Henshaw, the last Lent, came to him, and told him, that he was
 ‘going into France to the king (meaning Charles Stuart,) and desired the examine to
 ‘write to him in his behalf; whereto the examine answered, that he had never spake
 ‘with him, nor writ to him; but yet, upon the importunity of the said Henshaw, this
 ‘examine did write unto the king: the substance of his letter was, that his majesty
 ‘would be pleased to give a favourable respect to the bearer, who was ready to serve
 ‘him when his occasion should require his duty: and did further request of the king,
 ‘that he would upon his coming to the crown, bestow the mastership of Sutton’s Hospital
 ‘upon him: and saith, that the said Henshaw (as he told him) had letters with him from
 ‘the Lady Thynne to the Lord of Ormond. That John Wiseman went also into France
 ‘with him; and saith, that the Lady Thynne’s letter unto Ormond, was to procure him
 ‘access to the king of Scots.

‘ He saith, That the said Henshaw returned again from France about six or seven weeks after, and then told him, that he had been at Paris, and being there, spake with Prince Rupert about the design of assassinating the Lord Protector, which Prince Rupert communicated to the king, as he said, and afterward brought him to the king, with whom he had discourse concerning the said design; but said, that the king did not express any approbation thereof at that time, but bid them get what forces they could in readiness.

‘ That the said Henshaw told him, that they could seize the guards with five hundred horse, and thereupon raise the nation in all parts, and bring in the king of Scots: and the said Henshaw did (as he believes) use all the endeavours he could to carry on his design.

‘ That Major Henshaw, and Peter Vowell, of Islington, did meet often at the examine’s chamber; but saith, that Vowell was not to have any command that he knoweth, but conceived he was much fitter to be used in counsel, he being a sober wise man: and it being demanded of the examine what counsel he gave, saith, that the said Vowell thought it best that an army should be raised. He further saith, that Major Henshaw did speak much of Billingsley, a butcher, and said, he had once horse and foot as far as Piccadilly, to execute the design.

‘ That he did speak with Hippon and Copley, two soldiers, about the said design, much to the same effect as is expressed in Hippon’s examination, and that he spake with no other about it besides, save only Mr. Peter Vowell, and also with the said Henshaw, and John Wiseman, from which two he had all the knowledge of the design which the examine had.’

The Examination of Edward Hudson, taken the 24th of June, 1654, upon Oath, before William Goff, Esq. Justice of the Peace in the City of Westminster, which at his Request was read before the High Court of Justice.

‘ WHO saith, That he knows nothing further concerning Major Henshaw’s going for France, than he hath set down in his former examination; but after Henshaw was returned, he came to this examine, and told him the discourse he had with Prince Rupert; which was to this effect: That he propounded to the prince that he was able to destroy the Protector and his forces about the city of London, with five hundred horse; and that he would be able to raise those horse to effect it with: that having propounded it to the prince, he was carried to Charles Stuart, whom they call the king, and that the examine propounded the same thing to him, and was with him twice about it; but the said Charles Stuart (as the said Henshaw told him) answered, that he thought not that design feasible. Secondly, that if it were discovered, and did fail, it would be dishonourable. And thirdly, he was not then ready to second it; but said, that Prince Rupert and he did agree upon it, and that he came over by agreement with him to execute it.

‘ Being demanded of the examine, what meetings he had with Henshaw, and any other persons about this design; and by what means, and in what way it should be executed? saith,

‘ That he never spake with any persons about the said design, but with the said Henshaw, John Wiseman, and Peter Vowell, of Islington, schoolmaster; and with Hippon and Copley, two soldiers in the Protector’s own regiment. That Henshaw did acquaint him first with it, and the first time that he acquainted him with it, was upon Henshaw’s return from France, which was about the beginning of Easter term last; and then having acquainted him with what passed in France, as before he hath expressed, he told him that he would go about it, and doubted not but he should in one fortnight get a very considerable body; and said, that there were many cavaliers in town, who would be ready to join in it; and for the secret carriage of it, they would never speak but two

‘ together, and yet should be able to communicate their minds to all their friends; or words to this effect.

‘ That some little time after, he came to this examine, and told him, that he had been about his business, and spoke with several persons concerning it, and said, that some relished it very well, and others hesitated, but he did not doubt but to carry it on; and so he continued to come to the lodgings of the examine, and told the examine that they had agreed to attempt the Lord Protector as he went to Hampton Court, and there to seize upon his person; but afterwards Henshaw told him, that they doubted that would be a difficult work; and besides, the Protector might get away himself, though they should beat his party, and he was the chief person they aimed at, and therefore they were upon consideration of other ways; and then spake of seizing upon the city, and of a force they would get there: they spake also of falling upon the foot when they were mustering, which they thought they might do, by getting their body of horse into the form of a regiment with colours, and so go to the Protector’s foot as friends, and then at unawares fall upon them, and so march with drum and colours to Whitehall. And that if any of these ways took, they would set up Major-general Brown in the head of them, because of his relation to, and influence upon the city; and thought they might engage him by a letter from Charles Stuart, which they would have ready.

‘ He further saith, That the said Henshaw did ask him, whether he the examine knew of any persons that would engage in it; whereto the examine answered, that he knew one, who was a very sober, honest, discreet man, which was the said Mr. Peter Vowell, but did not know whether he would engage; whereupon the said Henshaw desired he might be tried, and accordingly, when the said Vowell came to this examine’s lodgings, as he often did, the examine did propound it to him; who at first did disrelish it as a thing not feasible, but afterwards he speaking with Henshaw himself, the said Vowell did consent to be an actor in it; and saith, that the said Henshaw and Vowell met at this examine’s lodgings about six times after this, where they and this examine had often debate about the said design, and which way to accomplish it, and speaking of persons to be engaged in it; the said Vowell said he had a good friend, which he would carry Henshaw to, if he pleased, but did not then name the man; but the examine perceived afterwards that it was one Capt. Billingsley, a butcher living in Smithfield, and Henshaw told the examine afterward, that they had spoken with him, and that he would be a considerable person, and able to raise twenty horse, and many foot.

‘ And being once in discourse about the said design, Vowell said, that there was a guard of horse at Islington, which were to be seized; Major Henshaw asked how many there were of them; but the examine remembers not what answer was made thereto: but Henshaw said, that they might be seized easily now they were at grass, and riders might be set upon them; whereupon Vowell said, that Billingsley would be able to provide men enough to take them.

‘ The examine further saith, That he had discourse with the said Hippon and Copley about the said design, to the effect of what he hath set down in his former examination. He further saith, that John Wiseman was sometimes in the room when these matters were in discourse.

‘ And further saith, That Henshaw, Vowell, and Wiseman being together with this examine in his lodgings, after Gerard was taken; “ Well (saith Henshaw) none of my party is yet discovered, and the design may yet go on:”—“ Yes (said Vowell) that it may, but the people will be much discouraged.” He saith also, that he heard Henshaw speak of Colonel Finch to be engaged in this design.

‘ That the said Henshaw told him, that the Duke of York would be in England in August with ten thousand men, of French, English, Scotch, and Irish; which he said was a great secret, and that they intended to land at Rye, or in some other place in Sussex. He saith, Henshaw did frame the libel posted up after Gerard was taken.

‘ The examine being sworn, and then asked whether the contents of this paper were true in substance, confessed that it was, according to the best of his remembrance.

‘ *William Goff.*’

The Examination of Edward Hudson, Clerk, taken again this 26th of June,
1654.

‘ SAITH, That having discourse with Major Henshaw divers times, since the said major came out of France, which was about nine weeks since, the said Henshaw told him this examine, that there were three ways of acting the design :

‘ First, by seizing upon his Highness the Lord Protector, as he went to Hampton-Court, with about thirty horse ; and that this examine doth verily believe they intended to murder him at the same time.

‘ Secondly, the seizing of the city of London, and then to have shut up the city gates, and to have formed their army there ; they making no doubt but they should raise ten or twenty thousand men in arms ; and that they boasted of it, that the other side of the water (to wit, Southwark) was then free of soldiers.

‘ Thirdly, That they were resolved to have come into Tothill-fields upon the muster-day, with four or five hundred horse, as if they had come to have mustered ; and at that time they were resolved to have fallen upon our men, and to have taken away their colours and drums, and so have marched to Whitehall, and then by that means to have entered the house.

‘ Fourthly, Any of these three ways having taken effect, they were resolved to have suddenly fetched Major-general Brown into the head of the party, the better to have carried on their design, by reason of the influence he had both in town and country.

‘ Fifthly, That they named my Lord of Northampton, as if they intended him to be their general.

‘ Sixthly, it was resolved, That if these ways, nor any of them did take effect, then every man should fend for themselves ; and the reason was, because it was resolved that in August next the Duke of York would land ten thousand men, English, Irish, Scotch, and French, either at Rye in Kent, or at some place in Sussex : but what place this examine knows not, and that Major Henshaw told this to this examine as a great secret.

‘ That there was a libel concerning a massacre, which was composed by Major Henshaw, who procured one Henry Walker to print it, and himself and John Wiseman did publish and disperse it.

‘ The examine doth believe that Major Henshaw is lodged at the French ambassador’s house, by reason of some acquaintance that he hath there.

‘ That the said Henshaw told this examine, That when he was last in France, he had some converse with Charles Stuart, and told him, that the Protector knew all he did in France, and that Charles Stuart said he did him wrong if he said so ; and that Henshaw replied, and said, he did him greater wrong than that.

The Examination of John Hippon, a Soldier, taken upon Oath the 21st of June, 1654, before William Goff, Esq. Justice of the Peace within the City of Westminster.

‘ WHO saith, That the sister of this examine, who married a schoolmaster, whose name is Francis Corker, being acquainted with one they call Dr. Hudson, a blind man living in the Old-Bailey, did acquaint the said Hudson that she had a brother who was a recusant, and a soldier in the Lord Protector’s own regiment, meaning the examine ; and the said Hudson thereupon desiring to speak with this examine, the examine went unto him to his lodging in the Old-Bailey, with his comrade Copley, and being come to him, the said Hudson saluted them both, and told them, he desired to be better acquainted with them, saying further, that he had a business to acquaint them with, if they would be secret ; which they having promised to do, the said Hudson told them, that there was a

‘ design or plot to seize upon the guards in the Mews, St. James’s, and Whitehall, and also
 ‘ for to seize upon the Lord Protector and his Council; and asked this examine if he
 ‘ would engage in it, and what other he knew of the army that were cavaliers, and would
 ‘ engage in this business, and that there were four thousand in the walls of the city that
 ‘ would be for them; and said, that they intended to bring in the king.

‘ That the said Hudson inquired of him how strong the guards were, and told him that
 ‘ this examine and his comrade should have notice when they were ready, and that their
 ‘ work should be to get as many as they could, who were soldiers, together, under colour of
 ‘ drinking, and when they begun their business, they should likewise fall on, and cry out,
 ‘ “Now is your opportunity.” The examine further saith, that the said Hudson asked
 ‘ him, whether there was match, powder and bullet upon the guards; and told them that
 ‘ there were at the same time men to be brought in boats by water, to fall upon the back
 ‘ side of Whitehall.

‘ That Hudson did also inquire of him how strong the regiment was, and the examine
 ‘ answering, about a thousand, the said Hudson said, they were but a handful to ours. He
 ‘ also asked, whether the Protector did not go abroad, and when; whereto the examine
 ‘ answered, that he went abroad to Hampton Court upon Saturdays.

‘ He further saith, That the next day after John Wiseman was apprehended, the exami-
 ‘ nate went to the said Dr. Hudson, and told him that the said John Wiseman was appre-
 ‘ hended; whereto Hudson clapping his hand upon his breast, said, Is Jack Wiseman
 ‘ taken? I am sorry for it, but he will be racked to death before he will confess any thing.

‘ And it being demanded of him how many times he was at Hudson’s lodgings since the
 ‘ apprehending of Wiseman; saith, he was never there since the time aforesaid, nor did he
 ‘ see him, until they came together upon the guard yesterday, and then, speaking with the
 ‘ said Hudson, he bid the examine that he should be sure not to confess any thing, with-
 ‘ out he intended to be hanged, and that this morning he spake to him to the same effect.

‘ He further saith, That he was about three or four times with Hudson, but cannot
 ‘ punctually say whether the aforesaid particulars were all said to him at once, or at several
 ‘ times; and being asked how often Copley was there, saith he cannot tell, he believeth
 ‘ very often, because he told him so, and that Copley shewed himself very forward for the
 ‘ carrying on this design.

‘ JOHN HIPPON.’

The Examination of Thomas Hudson, Servant to Dr. Edward Hudson, so
 called, of the Parish of St. Sepulchre’s, London, taken the 21st Day of
 June, 1654, before John Barkstead, Esq. Lieutenant of the Tower of Lon-
 don, and one of the Justices of the Peace for the County aforesaid,

‘ SAITH, That in January last he came to the said Doctor, and hath ever since lived
 ‘ with him as his servant, during which time he hath very often seen one Major Henshaw
 ‘ come to his master to visit him, whose discourse this informant hath many times ob-
 ‘ served to be to his master, touching getting commissions to carry men over to France,
 ‘ and other parts beyond the sea, &c. And also concerning some lands which were con-
 ‘ cealed from the state, wherein Mr. Primate, Mr. Levet, and Mr. Babington and others
 ‘ were concerned; and this examine saith, that at all times when they had private discourse,
 ‘ (which within these two months past hath been very often) they bid this examine to
 ‘ depart the room, which he did accordingly; and further saith, that about March last Mr.
 ‘ John Wiseman became intimate with this examine’s master, he, often after, coming
 ‘ with the said Major Henshaw, to the said Doctor Hudson’s, where also Mr. Vowell
 ‘ did several times meet there with them, who, while they were altogether, would be very
 ‘ private, not suffering this examine to stay, but depart the room, as aforesaid; about
 ‘ which time this examine saith, the said Major went forth of town, pretending to go

‘ into Warwickshire to get some money ; and as this examine verily believeth, Mr. Wiseman went then with him, for that in all the time of his departure, which was about five or six weeks, he did not come to this examine’s master as he formerly used to do, at the said major’s going forth of town : this examine saith, he carried his cloak-bag for him, which he appointed this examine to leave with Rye carrier, at the Spur Inn, in Southwark ; and went thither himself to take order with the carrier, that it might be delivered at Rye, but he went not out of the town until above a week after ; a week after which time of his departure, a letter, dated from Dieppe in France, came to this examine’s master, subscribed with the name of Page, as this examine to his best remembrance thinketh ; but verily believeth that the said letter did come from Major Henshaw, for that he partly knoweth his hand, and by several speeches which his master spoke concerning it, to that purpose, which letter only concerned money, which he desired he should receive by bill of exchange in France, and accordingly this examine saith, his master did procure a bill of exchange from one Dr. Abercomey, in New-market, near Lincoln’s-inn Fields, but this examine saith, that about a week after, another letter dated from Paris, came to this examine’s master, subscribed with the same name (which this examine believeth to come from Major Henshaw, for the reasons aforesaid) importing that he could receive no money ; and therefore desired this examine’s master to use some other means that he might be supplied, because he greatly wanted the same, and three weeks afterwards the said major returned, in which time this examine saith, his master sent two letters by this examine (which Henry Walker, in Newgate-market, at the sign of the Three Sugar Loaves, grocer, writ for him) to the French post, directed to the said Page at Paris, in France, one of which this examine heard read, which was, that he would be mindful of his business, hasten his return, &c. which this examine saith was all that happened during the said major’s being forth of town, to his knowledge, and when the said major returned, the said Wiseman and he used as formerly frequent resort thither to this examine’s master’s house aforesaid, and once or twice did bring along with them two or three gentlemen, one of which was a Scotchman whom they called Colonel, but this examine saith, he knoweth not his or any of their names ; which meetings they continued, coming sometimes early in the mornings, at other times staying late in the evenings, and would always tarry together three or four hours, until about three weeks ago, that John Wiseman was apprehended, two or three days before which time he the said Major Henshaw desired of this examine’s master, that he might privately lodge in his house for a night or two, saying, that he feared to go to his lodging, which was at the sign of the Shears, near St. Margaret’s church, in Westminster, lest he should be arrested for twenty pounds which he owed : about which time the ordinance for searching for lodgers, &c. coming forth, he departed away ; since which time this examine saith he hath not seen him, or known where he inhabiteth. And further this examine saith, That the said Henry Walker did always write all such letters, petitions, and writings of concernment, as the said Dr. Hudson had occasion for, and hath so done for these two or three years by-past, to this examine’s knowledge ; which said Henry Walker was very intimate and well acquainted with the said Major Henshaw and John Wiseman ; but this examine saith, that since the time that the said Dr. Hudson informed the lieutenant of the Tower of his abode, he this informate hath neither seen or heard of him, or knoweth where he is. And farther saith not.

‘ THOMAS HUDSON.’

‘ He further saith, That about six weeks since the said Major Henshaw sent this examine with a note to one Capt. Wharton, who keeps an ale-house at the Feathers in Black-friars, which was to desire the said captain to meet him that day at the sign of the Feathers in Smithfield ; and also saith, that he hath twice been sent by Mr. Vowell to Major Bayly, at the Doctors Commons, for to appoint times of meeting between them. And further saith not.

‘ THOMAS HUDSON.’

The Confession of Thomas Tudor, who escaped, and was taken again in Norfolk.

‘ I, THOMAS TUDOR, prisoner in the Tower of London, say as followeth: That in or about February last, I met with Major Thomas Henshaw in King-street, Westminster, who desired me to tell Mr. John Minors, that he was gone for France.

‘ That about the fourth of May last, I was sent for to the Hole in the Wall, in the old palace in Westminster, where were the said Henshaw, Capt. Leviston, another gentleman I know not, Mr. Minors, and John Wiseman: Henshaw called me into the garden, and told me, that he had been lately in France with the king (meaning Charles Stuart) and that he had treated with him and Prince Rupert, about a design to bring him in to be king of England, and that whosoever would engage in a party to cut off the Lord Protector and some of his confederates (as he called them) should be made of the equerry or pensioners to him, and have other large rewards. And in his opinion the design was very feasible, there being but few soldiers in England; and that he had a spy very near the Protector that gave him intelligence of his moving abroad to Hampton Court with a slender guard; and that upon notice given of cutting off that guard, there were, or would be in a readiness, parties, commanded by persons of quality, (which persons I should know if I would engage) to seize upon the Mews, Whitehall, St. James’s, and Southwark, and that he had already a party in the Tower, to seize upon that; and that there would be a considerable army raised speedily upon the alarm, in and about London, with persons of great quality in the head of them: and that Major John Gerard would command the party to fall on the Protector, which party was to be fifty or threescore, which party was to be raised betwixt Gerard and himself, whereof he and I should be; but he thought the number too many if above thirty. And that an army would be landed with the Duke of York in Kent or Sussex. And to drive on the design the more securely, no more than two should confer together, except those that did meet in consultation about it, which were those that should command, and I did consent to be of Gerard’s party with Henshaw: and after parting with the company, with his brother and myself went through St. James’s Park, to the Mews; where viewing the guards, Henshaw said that a dozen resolute men with swords and pistols would easily seize any of the guards, especially those there, when they were at ninepins.

‘ That two days after I met with Minors, who asked me if Henshaw had told me any thing of a design; for Henshaw, said he, asked me if I thought you were a person fit to be trusted in such a business. I told him, that Henshaw had told me of a design, as before: then Minors replied, that he was informed (since I saw him last) that Henshaw was false, and that at his going into France he had received fifty pounds from the Protector; and Colonel Connock, lying at the Dolphin at Strand-bridge, was the reporter. This was told Henshaw at the next meeting; he replied, that there were more false brothers than one, for one Pawlet had discovered the design to the Protector: and the Council had sat about the discovery, but could not make any thing of it, and that it would be no hindrance to it; afterward Henshaw and Connock fought a duel about that report.

‘ After this, the next day I met with Major Gerard at Mr. Jones’s in Covent-garden, and asked him concerning the design; he protested to me that he knew nothing of it, but what Major Henshaw had related to him: and afterwards Mr. Minors and I went to Gerard’s lodgings, where he affirmed, that he had been with some about it, but for his part, he did not know what to say to it; I told him, that Henshaw said, he was to command the party. He replied, that Henshaw did him wrong to use his name, before any party was known of, and that he would not discover any man’s name that should be of his party, before they were in a readiness to be commanded; and that it were fitting an oath of secrecy were given, and not to discover any one by name until then: but if there were a party he would command it, if they would accept of him, with words to the like effect.

‘ The next thing that was done was Major Gerard, Henshaw, and Minors went to view
‘ the guards at Whitehall, St. James’s, and the Mews: I was not with them, only Hen-
‘ shaw told me when I next saw him, that he hoped he had satisfied Major Gerard’s and
‘ Mr. Minors’ scruples now.

‘ That about this time, as I take it, it being Monday in Whitsun-week, I met Mr. Jones
‘ an apothecary in the Strand, we went to the sign of the Still into an arbor in the garden,
‘ where Mr. Jones told me, that Colonel Philips was newly come out of France, and was in
‘ town, and had brought commissions from the king (meaning Charles Stuart) with him, and
‘ that within few days I should see him in the head of an army or a regiment, and that if
‘ I would, he could procure me any commission I would desire. I demanded if I might see
‘ him, he answered, I could not without Dr. Hinton’s consent, for he lay very private, that
‘ none knew of him but the Doctor and himself, but he would ask his consent, and then he
‘ would bring me to him; but I was afterward denied, and did not see him at all. He like-
‘ wise told me, that at the horse-race at Winchester, there would be a party of horse that
‘ would rise and raise the whole country with them: I told him likewise of the design here,
‘ and how I was to be of the party to fall on the Protector, and most of the particulars as
‘ before mentioned. That day I met with Major Mason at my Lord Rutland’s, and he,
‘ one Dr. Sherman, and my Lord’s butler, went to the Golden Lion tavern in the Strand,
‘ where he said he was newly come from France; and at parting, walking in the Strand,
‘ we met Mr. Jones, who asked me if I knew him, (meaning Major Mason) I told him yea,
‘ very well: and what talk we had with him; I told him we had but little talk, for there
‘ were company with us, only that he told me of the design, and that it was discovered, and
‘ they were fools that acted in it, for almost every one knew it: after that, I saw Mason no
‘ more.

‘ The next day Major Henshaw, Mr. Minors, Mr. Wiseman, Colonel Aldridge, Capt.
‘ Alexander, and myself, met at the Green Mews: and Henshaw, Col. Aldridge, and
‘ Alexander went out, and talked a quarter of an hour; after one Mr. Dyke was sent for to
‘ satisfy Minors in some business, and they two and Henshaw were in discourse without;
‘ what they said I know not: but when they came in, Minors said to Henshaw, what did
‘ you send for him, he knows not any thing of the business: those three were all strangers
‘ to me. They being gone, Henshaw said, that we might talk freely together now of the
‘ business we came about, and said, that Aldridge and Alexander were to be of our party,
‘ and that the design was in good forwardness, but the Protector went so intricate ways to
‘ Hampton Court, that it was uncertain to prosecute that design; and was always so well
‘ horsed, that it would be difficult to secure the Protector and most of them from escaping,
‘ which would spoil all: but if it were to be done that way, Capt. Alexander would under-
‘ take to dispatch the Protector, by being well horsed, or else ride up to him civilly with a
‘ letter in one hand, and a pistol in the other hand, and pistol him, and then to fall on. Then
‘ another way was thought on, and that was to lodge some twenty men in Whitehall pri-
‘ vately; which Henshaw would undertake to do; and when they heard a pistol or more
‘ go off at the gate, then to fall on; and the time to do it, was either in the chapel, when
‘ the Protector was there, or at dinner; and this was well approved by the commanders in
‘ their consultations.

‘ Then another way was motioned, which was to seize upon the soldiers’ arms, and dis-
‘ arm them when they were in the fields mustering, but this took not, but the falling on
‘ Whitehall, as before mentioned, by Major Gerard, and the rest; as the Mews, by one Col.
‘ Dean, or by Major Baily, and other places by Col. Finch, and one Preston, as Henshaw
‘ called him; but he told me, he had another name, which he said he could not tell; and
‘ also one Colonel Daniel and Capt. Dayle, and the captain that is a butcher, and one Col.
‘ Haynes, but their posts were not then allotted: only Major Gerard was named for White-
‘ hall; neither do I know Dean; or Daniell, Preston, Hayne, or the butcher, nor ever saw
‘ in my life (to my knowledge) any one of them; the rest I know: these were those that
‘ sat in consultation, as is before mentioned, amongst whom these ways were discussed: And
‘ the onset being given, then an army of ten thousand, or of a considerable number, would

‘ instantly be in a posture ; and the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Northampton, and the Earl of Cleveland, would be in the head of them ; but before the onset was given, not any of the great ones to stir, or to be seen in any action. Then Henshaw said further, that he and Col. Finch had been in London listing men, and had almost finished ; for he was of opinion, that three thousand and under was sufficient to do the work ; and that Dayle and Preston had listed men in Holborn, and thereabouts, and others in other places. Then there was some discourse about the guards, how suspicious they were, and that they were doubled at twelve o’clock at night, but he said that was no matter. Then Henshaw and I went into Covent-garden to my Lord Chesterfield’s, where he went up to my Lord, and staid about half an hour ; and thence we went to Colonel Finch’s lodging, who was not within : and from thence to Dayle, where Henshaw and Dayle had some discourse in the garden, but what it was I know not ; but Henshaw told me, that Dayle and Preston were to raise a party of horse about Holborn : and the butcher and his party the horse at Islington, which would be three hundred, enough to scour the streets. I was often at Mr. Dayle’s to meet Henshaw, but never met him nor Dayle, and once at Smithfield Bars, to speak with the butcher, with Major Henshaw, and the next door to the White-Cross tavern in Fetter-lane, Preston’s lodging.

‘ The next day I met Henshaw in the Strand, and he called at Mr. John Goodwin’s lodging, and told him, that he must go to Major Gerard ; and after told me, that Goodwin was to command somewhere, but as yet it was not determined ; and after meeting with Goodwin, he told me so himself. Henshaw told me that time, that the butcher was with a party of horse on Saturday last at Piccadilly of twelve or fourteen, thinking that the onset would then be given, but understanding it did not, retreated again without any notice being taken.

‘ The next day I met with Major Gerard, who told me, that in his opinion the design would not go on yet, if it did at all, for every one was backward in it. This was in Covent-garden piazza.

‘ That on Friday or Saturday I was with Mr. Jones, apothecary, at his house, and he told me, that he was told that the Earl of Cleveland had been night and day on horseback about the design ; and that the country ten miles about London were made in the business ; and that it was but firing a little straw upon the top of Paul’s and they would all rise in arms ; the like Major Henshaw related in his discourse on Tuesday last, which was to the same effect, and told Jones, sure he was one of the party, or rather of the council, that he knew so much : he replied, that Dr. Hinton knew more than either of us, for he knew it from the beginning, and that it was a design of Colonel Massey’s devising, and Prince Rupert’s together ; and that the Doctor could give a relation from the beginning, how, and which way it was to be done ; or words to that effect.

‘ Then I told Jones, that I doubted the design would not take, and that designs delayed are lost ; and how that I saw the Protector on Saturday seven-night go by water in a pair of oars, with two more in that boat, and another boat following, where it had been an easy thing to have effected the design ; and that there were not above fourteen or sixteen horse for a guard, which I saw, being then upon the Mill-bank, and wondered the Protector would go so slightly guarded, hearing of a design against him, a small party might easily have cut him off. Jones replied, “ Tudor, thou hast cut off many a leg and arm, I believe thou wilt not stick to cut off the Protector’s head : ” I replied, “ Why not I as well as another ; ” or words to that purpose ; more I do not remember, but it might be more was spoken to the like effect ; for which, as for all other crimes, I humbly prostrate myself, condemning myself the rather for folly and levity, than any rancour or malicious envy ; being assured, that potentates are like God, pardoning more iniquities, where they find true confession with unfeigned contrition, than man doth or can commit.

‘ The same day in the evening Henshaw met me in Holborn, and was much in passion, and cursed all that were hinderers of the design ; and that for his part he would be gone, and leave them all to destruction, and never see England again ; and said if it had not been for Gerard he business had been effected : and then again he said, that the country

‘ ten miles about London, would have been up in an instant in arms, by but firing some
‘ straw on the top of Paul’s, and that a great party was up already in Lancashire in arms, or
‘ would be very speedily: that he would go into London to meet Colonel Finch and some
‘ others, to see if they could give him any hopes in the business, else he would be gone;
‘ and said, that nobody had taken so much pains as my Lord Cleveland and himself, or
‘ words to that purpose; but not any else would take the least care in so weighty a business,
‘ when all was brought to perfection, but to slight it, and let it come to nothing; and that
‘ now it was so openly known, that it could not be long undiscovered.

‘ The night following I was taken and carried to St. James’s, and Mr. Jones and myself
‘ put into a chamber together; where Mr. Jones told me, that he did wonder how he should
‘ be discovered, for he had not spake to any one, but to one Mr. Hill, a servant of the late
‘ king’s; which Mr. Hill I never knew.

‘ That about the nineteenth of July last, came Mr. John Minors to Disse in Norfolk, and
‘ sent to me, and the next day we went to Norwich to meet my wife, and my desire was,
‘ that she would return back and petition the Lord Protector, if it were possible, to get my
‘ pardon, that I might return in peace; but God Almighty hath not yet seen it good, but
‘ I trust by the mercies of Jesus Christ our Saviour, that he will incline his highness’ heart to
‘ mercy, that I may bless Almighty God for that and all other his mercies.

‘ That about Friday before Whit-Sunday, Henshaw carried me to Mr. Wiseman’s house
‘ in the Broad Sanctuary at Westminster; where he and his brother Wiseman shewed me
‘ two case of screwed pistols, and some other arms, which Henshaw said he brought out of
‘ France with him: and taking one of the pistols in his hand, said, “This would do the
‘ business, if it were as near the Protector;” aiming at my breast. From thence he, Wise-
‘ man, and I, went to the Fox in King-street, where he said, “that he was going to con-
‘ fer about some libels that he would get printed, that would further the design, and make
‘ the Protector odious to the people; which was, that he had designed (meaning his high-
‘ ness) to massacre all the king’s party; that by this means a great part of the city, which
‘ had been of that party, would be brought in to rise in the design, or words to that effect.”

‘ At another time he asked me, if I could bring any to engage in our party? I replied,
‘ that I could not tell, but I would try if I could: but, said he, you must be sure he be to
‘ be trusted; I answered, I did not know of any that were able to horse and arm themselves
‘ at present, but I knew one Mr. Welsh, and that I would speak to him, which I did,
‘ but he refused, and said he had neither horse nor arms, and that he liked not the design,
‘ neither did he engage, but said that he would not be a hinderer of it.

‘ This I profess before Almighty God, who is the searcher of all hearts, is the whole truth
‘ of all that I do know or do remember of that design, from the beginning to the end of it,
‘ that is of any consequence, and nothing but the truth, as Mr. Minors and Mr. Wise-
‘ man can testify, the most of what is writ here, and that I have done it with all single-
‘ ness and candour of heart, and do humbly throw down both it and myself at the feet of his
‘ highness’ mercy.

‘ From the Tower of London, August 1, 1654.’

An Epitaph upon the Deth of Kyng Edward.

Imprinted at London in Holburne nere to the Cundite, at the Signe of the Sarsin's head, by John Charlewood and John Tysdale.¹

King Edward VI. died at Greenwich, July 6, 1553, of a consumption brought on by small pox and measles, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, and was buried at Westminster, near the body of his grandfather Henry VII. This and the following ballad-poems are reprinted from extremely rare, if not unique, black-letter copies, in the library of the London Society of Antiquaries, by permission of the council of that society. None of them appear to be contained in the celebrated Roxburghe collection.

A DEWE pleasure!
 Gone is our treasure,
 Morning² mai be our mirth:
 For Edward our King,
 That rose and spring,
 Is vaded³ and lyeth in earth.

 Therefore, morne⁴ we may
 Both night and day,
 And in hart we may be ful sad;
 Sence Brute came in,
 Or at any time sence,
 The like treasure we never had.

 But Death with his darte,
 Hath pearced the harte
 Of that Prince most excellent:
 The childe new borne
 May lament and morne,
 And for the death of him repent.

 Gone is our joy,
 Our sport and our play,
 Our comfort is turned to care:
 To England's great cost,
 This jewell we have lost,
 That with al Christendom might compare.

 Of so noble a birth,
 The godliest on earth,
 Our true king and eyre⁵ by right:
 Edward by name,
 Borne of Queene Jane,
 And sonne to King Henry the Eyght.

 At the age of sixtene yeres,
 As by the cronicles aperes,

In the seventh yere of his raigne,
 God toke him away,
 Our comfort and joy,
 To Englande's great dolour and payne;

 In his tender age
 So grave and so sage,
 So well learned and wittie:
 And now, that sweet flower
 Hath builded his bower
 In the earth—the more is the pitie.

 The whose losse and lacke
 Is to Englande a wracke,
 All faythfull hartes may morne;
 To se that swete childe,
 So meke and so milde,
 So soone subdued to wormes.

 Out of Grenewiche he is gone,
 And lieth under a stone,
 That loveth both house and parke:
 Thou shalt see him no more,
 That set by thee such store,
 For death hath pearced his hart.

 Gone is our king,
 That woulde runne at the ringe,
 And oftentimes ryde on Black heath:
 Ye noble men of chevalry,
 And ye men of artillerie,
 May all lament his death.

 That swete childe is deade,
 And lapped in leade,
 And in Westminster lyeth full colde:
 All hartes may rewe,

¹ [The epitaph upon the death of Kyng Edward the VI. was also licensed to William Pickeringe, says Herbert, who does not give the date, but seems to imply that it was between 1557 and 1560. Typogr. Antiq. p. 1316.] ² [Mourning.] ³ [Faded.] ⁴ [Mourn.] ⁵ [Heir.]

That ever they him knew,
Or that swete childe did beholde.

Farewell, diamonde deare!
Farewell, christall cleare!
Farewell, the flower of chevalry!
The Lorde hath taken him,
And for his people's sinne;
A just plague⁶ for our iniquitie.

But now, ye noble peeres,
Marke well your yeares,
For you do not know your day:
And this you may be bolde,
Both yonge and olde,
You shall die, and hence away.

And, for our royall kinge,
The noblest livinge,
No longer with us may tarie:
But his soule we do commende
Unto the Lordes hande,
Who preserve our noble Quene Mary,
Longe with us to endure,
With myrth, joy, and pleasure,
To rule her realme aright;
All her enemies to withstande
By sea and by lande,
Lord preserve her both day and night!

God save the Kinge and Queene!

⁶ [Plague.]

A New Ballade of the Marigolde.

Imprinted at London in Aldersgate Strete by Richard Lant.

THE God above, for man's delight,
Hath heere ordayne every thing,
Sonne, moone and starres, shynynge so bright,
With all kinde fruites that here doth spring,
And flowres that are so flourishynge;
Amonges all which that I beholde,
As to my minde best contentynge,
I doo commende the Marigolde.

In veare¹ first springeth the violet,
The primerose then also doth spread,
The coulis sweete, abroad doth get,
The daisy gaye, sheweth forth her hed,
The medowes greene, so garnished,
Most goodly (truly) to beholde;
For which God is to be praised;—
Yet I commende the Marigolde.

The rose that chearfully doth shewe,
At midsomer her course hath shee;
The lily white after doth growe,
The columbine then see may yee;
The joliflowre², in fresh degree;
With sundrie mo then can be tolde,

Though they never so pleasaunt bee,
Yet I commende the Marigolde.

Though these, which here are mencioned,
Bee delectable to the eye,
By whom sweete smelles are ministred,
The sense of man to satisfie;
Yet each, as serveth his fantasie;
Wherefore to say I wyll be bolde,
And to advoide all flaterye,
I doo commende the Marigolde.

All these but for a time doth serve,
Soone come, soone gone, so doth they fare:
At fervent heates and stormes thei sterve,
Fadyng away, their staulkes left bare.
Of that I praise, thus say I dare,
Shee sheweth glad cheare in heate and
colde,
Moche profitynge to hertes in care,
Such is this floure—the Marigolde.

This Marigolde floure, marke it well,
With sonne dooth open and also shut

¹ [Ver, spring.]

² [Gilliflower.]

Which (in a meanyng) to us doth tell
 To Christ, God's Sonne, our willes to put,
 And by his woorde to set our futte,³
 Stiffly to stande, as champions bolde,
 From the truthe to stagger nor stutte;
 For which I praise the Marigolde.

To MARIE our queene, that floure so sweete,
 This Marigolde I doo apply:
 For that the name doth serve so meete,
 And propertie in eache partie.
 For her enduryng paciently
 The stormes of such as list to scolde
 At her dooynges, without cause why,
 Loth to see spring this Marigolde.

Shee may be calde Marigolde well,
 Of *Marie* (chiefe) Christes mother deere;
 That as in heaven shee doth excell,
 And *golde* in earth to have no peere,
 So certainly, shee shineth cleere,
 In grace and honour double folde,
 The like was never earst seene heere—
 Suche is this floure, the Marigolde.

Her education well is knowne,
 From her first age how it hath wrought;
 In singler⁴ vertue shee hath growne,
 And servyng God as she well ought:
 For which he had her in his thought,
 And shewed her graces many folde,
 In her estate to see her brought,
 Though some dyd spite this Marigolde.

Yf she in faith had erred a misse,
 Which God, most sure, doth understande;
 Wolde hee have doone, as proved is,
 Her enemies so to bring to hande?
 No: be ye sure, I make a bande;⁵
 For servyng him, he needes so wolde

Make her to reigne over Englande,—
 So loveth hee this Marigolde.

Her conversation, note who list,
 It is more heavenly then terraine;⁶
 For which God doth her actes assist;
 All meekenesse doth in her remaine:
 All is her care how to ordayne
 To have God's glorie here extolde;
 Of poore and riche shee is most fayne:
 Christ save therfore this Marigolde!

Sith so it is, God loveth her,
 And shee, his grace, as doth appeare:
 Ye may be bolde, as to referre
 All doubtfulnesse to her most cleare;
 That as her owne in like manere,
 She wilth⁷ your welthes,⁸ both yong and
 olde,
 Obey her then, as your Queene deare,
 And say—Christ save this Marigolde!

Christ save her in her high estate,
 Therin in rest long to endure;
 Christ so all wronges heere mitigate,
 That all may be to his pleasure,
 The high, the lowe, in due measure,
 As membres true, with her to holde,
 So, eache to be thothers treasure,
 In cherishyng the Marigolde.

Be thou, (O God!) so good, as thus
 Thy perfect fayth to see take place:
 Thy peace thou plant here among us,
 That errour may go hide his face:
 So to concorde us in eache case,
 As in thy courte it is enrolde,
 Wee all, as one, to love her grace,
 That is our Queene, this Marigolde.

God save the Queene!

Quod WILLIAM FORREST,⁹ Preest,

³ [Foot.]

⁴ [Singular.]

⁵ [Perhaps, 'Ay make a band,' i. e. *bond*.]

⁶ [Terrene.]

⁷ [Willeth.]

⁸ [*Id est*, weals. This *commonwealth* is synonymous with *commonweal*.]

⁹ [William Forrest was chaplain to Queen Mary, and a skilful musician. He translated fifty of the psalms into English metre, and was the writer of some long poems still extant in MS. See the Hist. of Eng. Poetry by Mr. Warton, who was led to suspect that Forrest could accommodate his faith to the *reigning powers*.]

A Balade specifieng partly the maner, partly the matter, in the most excellent meetyng and lyke Mariage betwene our Soveraigne Lord and our Soveraigne Lady, the Kynges and Queenes highnes. Pende by John Heywood.¹

Imprinted at London by Wyllyam Ryddell.

THE egle's byrde hath spred his wings,
And from far of hathe taken flyght,
In whiche meane way by no levrings
On bough or braunch this birde wold light;
Till on the rose, both red and whight,
He lighteth now moste lovinglie,
And therto moste behovinglie.

The month ensuing next to June,
This birde this flowre for perche doth take,
Rejoysinglie him selfe to prune,
He rouseth rypelie to awake
Upon this perche to those his make:
Concluding strayght, for rype right rest,
In the lions bowre to bilde his nest.

A birde, a beast, to make² to choose,
Namelie, the beaste most furious,
It may seeme straunge, and so it doose,
And to this birde injurious;
It seemthe a case right curious
To make construction in suche sens,
As may stande for this birds defens.

But marke, this lion so by name,
Is properlie a lambe t'assyne,³
No lion wilde, a lion tame,
No rampant lion masculyne,
The lamblike lion feminyne,
Whose milde meeke propertie aleurth⁴
This birde to light, and him assureth.⁵

The egles birde, the egles eyre,
All other birds far surmounting,

The crounid lion matcheth feyre,
Croune unto croune this birdedothe bring;
A queenlie queene, a kinglie king.
Thus, lyke to lyke here matched is—
What matche may match more mete then
this?

So meete a matche in parentage,
So meete a matche in dignite,
So meete a matche in patronage,
So meete matche in benignite,
So matcht from all malignite,
As (thanks to God gyven for the same)
Seelde hathe been seene; thus sayth the fame.⁶

This meete-met matche, at first meeting,
In theyr aproche together neere,
Loulie, lovelie, lyveli gretting,⁷
In eche to other did so appeere,
That lookers on, al must graunt cleere,
Theire usage of suche humayne reache,
As all might lerne, but none coulde teache.

Thou, in conjoyning of these twayne,
Suche sacred solempne solempnite,
Suche fare in feaste to entertayne,
Suche notable nobilite,
Suche honour with such honeste,
Such joy, all these to plat in plot,
Plat them who can, for I can not.

But here one deyntie president,
Nombre so greate in place so small,
Nacions so manie, so different,

¹ [Vargas, a Spanish poet, is said by Puttenham to have been rewarded with a pension of two hundred crowns during life, for an epithalamie, or nuptial song, on the marriage of Queen Mary with King Philip at Winchester, July 25, 1554. Heywood might have furbished up his courtly pen in the anticipation of a similar recompense, for these preposterously flattering verses on the same event: though his religious attachments and the patronage he obtained from Mary, while princess, through the introduction of Sir Thomas More, were perhaps of themselves sufficient stimulants. After the death of his royal patroness, in 1558, Heywood is believed to have entered on voluntary exile, to have settled at Mechlin in Brabant, and to have died there in 1565. This ballad, and another by the same writer, which follows, at p. 257, appear to have been untraced by our poetical historian; but Ritson has noticed them in his *Bibliographia Poetica*.]

² [Qu. to assign, to shew or set forth?]

³ [Report.]

⁷ [Greeting.]

⁴ [Allureth.]

² [Mate.]

⁵ [Assureth.]

So sodenlie met; so agreed all,
 Without offensyve worde let fall;
 Save sight of twayne, for whome all met,
 No one sight there, lyke this to get.
 This lamblyke lyon and lamblike burde,
 To show effect as cause affordes,
 For that they lamblike be concurde,
 The lamb of lambs, the lord of lordes;
 Let us lyke lambes, as most accordes,
 Most mekelie thanke in humble wyse,
 As humble hart may most devyse.
 Whiche thanks full gyven most thankfullie,
 To prayer fall we on our kneese,

That it may lyke that Lord on hie
 In helthe and welth to prosper theese,
 As faith for their moste high degree e:
 And that all we, their subjects, may
 Them and their lawes love and obay.
 And that betwene these twayne and one,
 The thre and one, one once to sende.
 In one to knit us everichone,
 And to that one such mo at ende,
 As his will only shall extende.
 Graunte this, good God! adding thie grace,
 To make us meete to obtayne this case.

[A supposed Lament, by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.]

[A Retort upon, or Replication to the same.]

THEIR dedes, in effecte, my lyfe wolde have;
 Their wordes do pretende my lyvyng to crave;
 Their dedes I drede not, their wordes beyng suche,
 I drede and regarde in maner as moche.

My lyfe is but vyle, I esteme as lyght,
 Then shulde I in gooddes or lyvyng delyght;
 Whom matters and dedes nought moveth at all,
 Shulde wynde and vayne wordes his courage appall?

Not man unto man, can threaten, I wote,
 More grevous than death, the horryble lote:
 And be it that death by sentence of man
 I suffre, and that well suffre I can.

What shulde I regarde this transytorie state,
 Regarde and thynke on, both early and late,
 I muste a newe lyfe, that ever shall laste,
 Subjecte to no death, no sycknesse, no waste.

Than welcome be death, the entrie of lyfe,
 And dewe¹ to the worlde, the stage of all stryfe;
 Lyfe lost in this wyse, relevyth² agayne,
 For ever in blysse, to lyve without payne.

From hence and herein, my comfort and staye
 Reposed I have, that cannot decaye;
 God graunt me suche losse, that rayseth this gayne;
 God graunt me that death, suche lyfe to retayne.

In meane tyme and space, saye properly this
 I maye, and in place—*vana salus hominis*.

STEPHEN WYNTON.³

YOUR dedes in effecte, that made your lyfe brave,
 Hath caused your wordes the truth to deprave;
 Your dedes ye forget not, your wordes beyng suche,
 You dryve on and drede not, all men se to moche.

Your lyfe hath ben lewde, whiche ye esteme lyght,
 Of force to leave gooddes, no thanke to go quyght;
 Though matters and dedes nought move you at all,
 Let God and his threatens your stowtenes appall.

For man unto man can nought threate, ye wote,
 More grevous then death, that horryble lote:
 But yf ye have death, that justyce gyve can,
 Drede then your desertes, and blame ye not man.

Amende, and repente your stobourne estate,
 That truthe hath neare tryed, but almoste to late;
 A patarne moste popyshe, from fyrste to the laste,
 As wylfull as wyttie, which wante worketh waste.

I doubte the welcome of death to that lyfe,
 Plased for pope's pageantes, in stage of moche stryfe:
 Lyfe lost in this wyse, relevyth agayne,
 As he that from blysse returneth to payne.

From hence and herein, your comforte and staye
 Reposed you have, whiche nedes muste decaye;
 If God for this losse do graunt ye dewe gayne,
 God shylde ye from death, suche lyfe to retayne.

In meane and space our prayer is this,
 As we maye in place, God tourne to his.

H. S.

¹ [Adieu.]

² [Reliveth.]

³ [MS. note. "He dyed 12 Novembris, 1555, an. 2 et 3 Ph. et Marie."]

A Breefe Balet, touching the traytorous Takynge of Scarbo-
row Castell.¹

Imprinted at London in Fleete-strete by Tho. Powell.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

OH, valiant invaders, gallantly gaie,
Who, with your compeeres, conqueringe the route,
Castels or tow'rs, all standynge in your waie,
Ye take, controlling all estates most stoute,
Yet had it now bene goode to looke aboute:
Scarborow castel to have let alone,
And take Scarborow² warnynge everichone.
By Scarborow castel, not Scarborow,
I onely meane—but further understande
Eche havene, eche hold, or other harborow
That our good Kyng and Queene do holde in hande:
As dewe obedience bindeth us in bande.
Their Scarborow castels to let alone
And take Scarborow warnings everychone.
The scalers of which castells evermore,
In bookes of olde, and in our eyes of new,
Have alway lost themselves, and theirs therfore;
All this ye did forget in time to vew.
Which myght have wrought both you and yours teschew
Lettyng Scarborow castel now alone,
Takyng Scarborow warnyng everychone.
This Scarborow castell symplie standyng
Yet could that castell slyly you begyle,
Ye thought ye tooke the castell at your landyng.
The castell takyng you, in the self whyle:
Eche stone within the castell wall did smyle,
That Scarborow castell ye let not alone,
And tooke Scarborow warnyng everychone.
Your puttyng now in ure your dyvylyshe dreame,
Hath made you see (and lyke enough to feele)

¹ ["By Thomas Stafford, 24 Aprilis, 1557, an. 3 et 4 P. et M." MS. note in the black-letter copy from which it is reprinted.]

² [A 'Scarborough warning,' according to Fuller, was no warning at all; but a sudden surprise, when a mischief is felt before it be suspected. He adds, from Godwin's Annals, that this proverb took its origin from Thomas Stafford (second son of Lord Stafford), who, in the reign of Queen Mary, anno 1557, with a small company of men from France, landed in Scotland, raised an insurrection, marched onward, and seized upon Scarborough castle, before the townsmen had the least notice of his approach. There he published a manifesto against the queen, and assumed the title of 'Protector of England.' However, within six days, Scarborough was retaken, by troops assembled under the Earl of Westmoreland; and Stafford was made prisoner, brought to London, and beheaded. See Fuller's Worthies of Yorkshire; also Holinshed, Stowe, Burnet, Rapin, &c.]

A few false traytours can not wyne a reame;³
 Good subjectes be, and will be, trew as steele
 To stand with you, the ende they lyke no deelee.
 Scarborow castels they can lette alone,
 And take Scarborow warnyngs everychone.

They know God's law—tobey their Kyng and Queene;
 Not take from them, but kepe for them their owne
 And geve to them, when such traytours are seene
 As ye are now, to brynge all overthrowne.
 They woorke your overthrow, by God's power growne,
 God saith—let Scarborow castell alone,
 Take Scarborow warnyng everychone.

To[o] late for you, and in time for the rest
 Of your most traytorous sect (if any bee)
 You all are spectacles at full witnest,
 As other weare to you—treason to flee,
 Which in you past, yet may the rest of yee
 The saide Scarborow castells let alone,
 And take Scarborow warnyngs everychone.

This terme, Scarborow warnyng, grew (some say)
 By hasty hangyng, for rank robbry theare.
 Who that was met, but suspect in that way,
 Streight was he trust up, whatever he weare.
 Wherupon, theeves thynkyng good to forbear
 Scarborow robbyng they let that alone
 And tooke Scarborow warnyng everychone.

If robbyng in that way, bred hangyng so,
 By theft to take way, towne, castell, and so,
 What Scarborow hangyng craveth this, lo!
 Weare your selves herein judges capitall,
 I thinke your judgements on these woords must fall,
 Scarborow robbyng who let'th not alone,
 Scarborow hangyng deserve everychone.

We wold to God that you, and al of yow,
 Had been considered, as wel as ye knew
 The end of all traytorie, as you see it now,
 Long to have lived, lovyng subjectes trew,
 Alas! your losse we not rejoyse, but rew,
 That Scarborow castell ye leete not alone,
 And took Scarborow warnyng everychone.

To crafts that ever thryve, wyse men ever cleave,
 To crafts that seeld when thryve, wyse men seeld when flee.
 The crafts that never thryve a foole can learne to leave.
 This thriftles crafty crafte then clere leave we,
 One God, one kynge, one queene, serve franke and free,
 Their Scarborow castell let it alone.
 Take we Scarborow warning everichone.

³ [Realm.]

Our soveraigne Lord and soveraigne lady both,
Lawde we our Lorde, for their prosperitee
Beseching him for it, as it now goth,⁴
And to this daie hath gone, that it may bee
Continued so, in perpetuitee:
We lettynge theyr Scarborow castells alone,
Takyng Scarborow warnings everychone.

FINIS.

Quod J. HEYWOOD.

⁴ [Goeth.]

The Epitaphe upon the Death of the most excellent and our
late vertuous Quene MARIE, deceased.¹ Augmented by
the First Author. [1558.]

Imprinted at London in Smithfiede, by Richarde Lant.

VAYNE is the blisse, and brittle is the glasse, of worldly wished welth:
The steppes unstayde, the life unsure, of lastyng hoped helth:
Witnes (alas!) may MARIE be, late Queene of rare renowne,
Whose body dead, her vertues live, and doth her fame resowne:²
In whome suche golden gifts were grafted, of nature and of grace,
As when the tongue dyd cease to say, yet vertue spake in face.
What vertue is, that was not founde within that worthy wight?
What vice is there, that can be sayde, wherein she had delight?
She never closde her eare to heare the righteous man distrest,
Nor never sparde her hande to helpe, when wrong or power opprest;
When all was wracke, she was the porte from peryll unto joye;
When all was spoyle, she spared all, she pitied to distroye.
How many noble men restorde, and other states also,
Well shewd her princely liberall hart, which gave both friend and fo.
Where conscience was, or pitie moved, or juste desertes dyd crave,
For justice' sake, all worldly thynges she used as her slave.
As princely was her birth, so princely was her life,
Constante, courtise,³ modest and mylde; a chaste and chosen wife.
In greatest stormes she feared not, for God she made her sheelde,
And all her care she cast on him, who forst her foes to yelde.
Her perfecte life in all extremes her pacient hart dyd shoe,⁴
For in this worlde she never founde, but dolfull dayes and woe.
All worldly pompe she set at nought, to praye was her delight;
A Martha in her kyngdomes charge, a Mary named right.

¹ [The Queen deceased on the 17th of November, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age.]

² [Resound.]

³ [Courteous.]

⁴ [Show.]

She conquerd death in perfect life, and feared not his darte;
 She lived to dye, and dyed to live, with constant faithful hart.
 Her restles ship of toyle and care, these worldly wrackes hath past,
 And safe arrives the heavenly porte, escapt from daungers blast.
 "When I have sene the sacrament, (she said, even at her death)
 "These eyes no earthly syght shall see:"—and so lefte life and breath.
 O mirrour of all womanhed! O Quene of vertues pure!
 O constaunt MARIE! filde with grace; no age can thee obscure.
 Thyne end hath set thé fre, from tongues of tickle trust,
 And lockte the lippes of slaunders brute, which daily dainnes the just.
 Thy death hath geven thee life, thy life with God shall joye,
 Thy joye shall last, thy vertues live, from feare and all anoye.
 O happie heavens! O hatefull earth! O chaunge to MARIE best;
 Though we bewaile, thou maist rejoyce thy longe retourne to rest.
 O worthy Quene! most worthy life; O lampe of vertues light!
 But what avayles, with flesh is wormes, and life is deathes of right.
 Mercy and rest may MARIE fynde, whose fayth and mercy crave,
 Eternall prayse here in this earth, and joye with God to have.
 MARIE is gone, whose vertues teache, of life and death the way.
 Learne we that live, her steppes to treade, and for her soule to pray.
 Make for your mirrour (princes all) MARIE, our maistres late,
 Whom teares, nor plaintes, nor princely mace, might stai in her estate.
 Lo, here we see, as nature formes, death doth deface at lengthe,
 In life and death, pray we to God, to be our guyde and strengthe.
 Farewell, O Quene! O pearle most pure! that God or nature gave,
 The erth, the heavens, the sprites, the saintes, cry honor to thy grave.
 MARIE now dead, ELIZABETH lives, our just and lawfull Quene,
 In whom her sister's vertues rare, habundantly are seene.
 Obaye our Quene as we are bounde,—pray God her to preserve,
 And send her grace longe long and fruite, and subjectes trouth to serve.

FINIS.

A Songe betwene the Quene's Majestie and Englande.

Imprinted at London by William Pickeringe, dwelling under Saynt Magnus Church.

E. **C**OME over the born Bessy,
 Come over the born Bessy,
 Swete Bessey come over to me;
 And I shall thé take,
 And my dere Lady make
 Before all other that ever I see.

B. My thinke I hear a voice,
 At whom I do rejoyce,
 And aunswer thé now I shall:—
 Tel me, I say,
 What art thou that biddes me com away,
 And so earnestly doost me call?

E. I am thy lover faire,
Hath chose thé to mine heir,
And my name is mery Englande;
Therefore, come away,
And make no more delaye,
Swete Bessie! give me thy hande.

B. Here is my hand,
My dere lover Englande,
I am thine both with mind aud hart,
For ever to endure,
Thou maiest be sure,
Untill death us two do part.¹

E. Lady, this long space
Have I loved thy grace,
More then I durste well saye;
Hoping, at the last,
When all stormes were past,
For to see this joyfull daye.

B. Yet my lover, England,
Ye shall understand
How Fortune on me did lowre:
I was tombled and tost
From piller to post,
And prisoner in the Towre.

E. Dere Lady, we do know
How tirauntes, not a fewe,
Went about for to seke thy bloude;
An[d] contrarie to right,
They did what they might,
That now bare two faces in one hood.

B. Then was I caried to Wodstock,
And kept close under lock,
That no man mighte with me speake:
And, against all reason,
They accused me of treason,
And terribly² thei did me threate.

E. Oh, my lover faire!
My dearlinge and mine heire!
Full sore for thé I did lament;
But no man durst speak,
But thei would him threat,
And quickly make him repent.

B. Then was I delivered their hands,
But was fain to put in bands
And good suerties, for my forth comminge;
Not from my house to departe,
Nor no where else to sterte,
As though I had ben away runninge.

E. Why, dere Lady, I trow,
Those madmen did not knowe,
That ye were doughter unto Kinge Hary;
And a princesse of birth,
One of the noblest on earth,
And sister unto Quene Mary.

B. Yes:—yet I must forgeve
Al such as do live,
If they wil hereafter amend;
And for those that are gone,
God forgeve them every one,
And his mercy on them extend!

E. Yet, my lover dere,
Tell me now here,
For what cause had ye this punishmente?
For the commons did not know,
Nor no man wuld them shew,
The chief cause of your imprisonment.

B. No, nor thei them self
That wuld have decaid my welth,
But only by powre and abusion;
Thei could not detect me,
But that thei did suspect me,
That I was not of their religion.

E. O cruell tirauntes,
And also monstrous giauntes,
That woulde such a swete blossome devour:
But the Lorde, of his might,
Defended thé in right,
And shortened their arme and powre.

B. Yet, my lover dere,
Marke me well here,
Though thei were men of the devill;
The scripture plainly sayth,
'All thei that be of faith
'Must nedes do good against evill.'

E. Oh, swete virgin pure!
Longe may ye endure
To reigne over us in this lande:
For your workes do accord,
Ye are the handmaid of the Lord,
For he hath blessed you with his hand.

B. My sweete realme, be obedient
To God's holy commaundement,
And my proceedinges embrace;
And for that that is abused
Shalbe better used,
And that within shorte space.

¹ [Depart, in orig.]

² [Tieably, in orig.]

E. Dere Lady and Queene,
I trust it shalbe sene,
Ye shall reigne quietly without strife;
And if any traiters there be,
Of any kind or degre,
I pray God send them short life.

B. I trust al faithful harts
Wil play true subjects' parts,
Knowing me their Quene, and true heir by
right:
And that much the rather,
For the love of my father,
That worthy prince, King Henry theight.

E. Therefore, let us pray
To God, both night and day,
Continually and never to sease,³
That Hé will preserve your grace,
To reigne over us long space,
In tranquillitie, welth, and peace.

Both. All honor, laud, and praise,
Be to the Lord God alwaies,
Who hath all princes hartes in his handes;
That by his powre and might
He may gide them aright,
For the welth of all Christen landes.

FINIS.

Quod WYLLIAM BIRCHE.

God save the Quene!

³ [Cease.]

A Newe Ballade.

O DERE Lady Elysabeth
which art our right and vertuous Quene,
God hath endued thé with mercy and fayth,
as by thy workes it may be sene:
Wherefore, good Quene, I counsayle thee, Lady, Lady,
For to beware of the spiritualtie, moste dere Lady.
Have you not rede¹ of your progenitours,
which was before you many a yere;
How they endured many sharpe showers,
as by the cronicles it doth appere?
And many of them came to evill hap, Lady, Lady,
And all was through the forked cap, moste dere Lady,
Have you not rede of Wylliam Rufus,
the second kynge here of that name,
Howe he was slayne moste marvelous,
all through the curssede sede of Cayne?
Tyrell kyllede hym with an arrowe, Lady, Lady,
Yet som men sayed he shot at a sparow, moste dere Lady.
Have you not rede of good Kyng John,
how by them he was undone?

¹ [Read.]

The Bishop of Canterbury, that wicked man,
accused him to the court of Rome:
They enterdyted his lande, as the cronicle sayeth, Lady, Lady,
A monke poysoned him to his death, moste dere Lady.

Have you not rede of the second Richard,
who was the Black Prince's sonne;
How they handled him full hard,
and famished him, till lyfe was donne?
In Powles they made him a funerall, Lady, Lady,
To blinde the people's eyes withall, moste dere Lady.

Have you not rede of the sixt Henry,
which was a good and a simple man?
The Cardinall of Wynchester
truly, made him lose that his father wanne.
The good Protector, his uncle dere, Lady, Lady,
The priestes kept war with him a longe yere, moste dere Lady.

Then came your father, King Henry y^e VIII.
which was a prince of victory;
And he deposed them all straight,
when he had spied their idolatry,
If this be trewe, as trewe it was, Lady, Lady,
God graunt your grace may do no losse, moste dere Lady.

Then came your brother King Edward,
which was a good and vertuous child:
And to God's word he had regarde,
but the wicked priestes hath him begilde,
And raised up trentalls² in every place, Lady, Lady,
And some of them preached agaynst his grace, moste dere Lady.

Then came your syster, Quene Mary;
and for five yeres that she did rayne,
All that was done [by] Edward and Hary,
her wicked priestes made it but vaine:
They brought in agayne the Romyshe lore, Lady, Lady,
Whiche was banished longe before, moste dere Lady.

Then God sent³ us your noble grace,
as in dede it was highe tyme,
Whiche dothe all popery cleane deface,
and set us forth Gods trewe devine:
For whome we are all bound to praye, Lady, Lady,
Longe lyfe to raigne bothe night and day, moste dere Lady!

FINIS.

Quod R. M.

² [See Roy's Satire, in vol. ix. p. 54.]

³ [Send, in orig.]

A Doleful Ditty, or Sorowfull Sonet, of the Lord Darly, Newew to the Noble and Worthy King, King Henry the Eyght; and is to be song to the Tune of 'Blacke and Yellowe.'
[1567.]

Imprinted at London by Thomas Gosson, dwelling in Paternoster Rowe, next to the Signe of the Castell.

MY hand and pen proceede to write,
A wofull tale to tell:
My pen it cannot halfe indite,
Alas! how it befell.

Wo worth the man, that treason first
This thing did take in hande:
Of all mens mouthes they may be curst
Throughout this English land.
Wo worth, wo worth, wo worth them all,
Wo worth to them I say;
Wo worth, wo worth, wo worth them all,
Wo worth to them alway.

As it befell to Lord Darly,
Whose friendes they may all rew,
That ever he on Scotland ground,
Or any place thereof knew.
The Queene of Scots a letter sent,
With it a hart and ring,
Desiring him to come to her,
And she would make him king.
Wo worth, &c.

The thought it was a courteous deed,
So noble a Queene as she,
Would marry him, and make him king:—
Whereto he did agree.
When first in Scotland that he went,
He was discrete and sage:
And when in hand he tooke to rule,
But twentie yeares of age.
Wo worth, &c.

The garde of Scotlande he did leade,
With all his noble trayne;
And ruled Scotland vertuously,
While life he did sustayne.
But listen now, and give good eare
To heare what chaunce befell:

For as the proverbe olde doth go,
'Gold may be bought to[o] well.'
Wo worth, &c.

So did this noble Lord Darly,
When England he forsooke;
When that in Scotland first he went,
The rule thereof he tooke.
Where dwelt a straunger in the court,
Sinior David¹ calde by name,
He was the first that went about
This treason vile to frame.
Wo worth, &c.

And chamberlayn he was to the Queen,
Who preferde him wondrous well,
As all the Lordes in court behealde,
Which causde their heartes to swell.
Against this David grudged the King,
A quarrell was pickt, for the nonce;
Within the chamber there was drawn
Twelve daggers all at once.
Wo worth, &c.

Some of the Lords tooke the Kings part,
And some tooke his certayne:
Two daggers he had at his hart,
And so David was slayne.
And when the Queen hard of this news,
She sore began to weepe,
And made a vowe and oth certayne,
That she did meane to keepe.
Wo worth, &c.

That in a twelvemonth and a day
She would not pleased be,
Because that David so was slayne
With such great crueltie.
The twelvemoneth and a day expyrde,
A meeting there should be,

¹ [David Rizzio, the Queen's secretary, here called her chamberlain.]

By all the Lordes it was agreede
 With great solemnitie.
 Wo worth, &c.
 At Rocksborow castle there
 This King and Quene should meete,
 And be made friendes, as earst they were;
 Some Lordes the same did seeke.
 Three wights conspired the Kings death,
 Whose names are all well knowne,
 For which, alas! the people in
 The countrey made great mone.
 Wo worth, &c.
 The wights which this treason began,
 For to destroy the King,
 They took with them gun powder then
 The chamber they went in.
 And to them close they shut the dore,
 For feare of being spide;
 They strawed the powder round about
 Full thick on every side.
 Wo worth, &c.
 And thereon strewed rushes greene,
 To hide the powder withall,
 Because they would not have it seene,
 Nor nothing smelt at all.
 The banquet then prepared is,
 They suppe and drinke the wine;
 The King (alas!) knew not of this
 The which was wrought that time.
 Wo worth, &c.
 And after supper they did talke
 To passe away the time;
 And every man his fancy spake
 As best did please his minde.
 Some men with Siniour David heald:²
 The King then in a rage
 Up to his chamber went straight way,
 None with him but a page.
 Wo worth, &c.
 And when he came the chamber in,
 The page began to tell:
 "You are betrayde, O noble King!
 For powder I doe smell.
 O flee from hence, haste you away,
 And I on you will waight:"—
 The King, that hearing, presently,
 Leapt out the window straight.
 Wo worth, &c.

² [Held.]

³ [James Earl of Bothwell?]

⁴ [These initials are assigned by Ritson to Henry Chettle. The ditty was licensed March 24, 1578-9 in the Stationers' books: but Darnley's death took place on the 9th of Feb. 1567. According to Birrell's diary, he was hanged with his own garters. See other coeval reports, cited in *Royal and Noble Authors*, vol. v. edit. 1806.]

One of them stoode under the window,
 And tooke him in his arme,
 Saying—"Who art thou? O man, feare not,
 For thou shalt have no harme."
 "I am an English man," quoth he;
 "Of Scotland I am King;
 King Henry once myne uncle was,
 Which was of England King."
 Wo worth, &c.
 "I know thee well,—(quoth one of them)
 For that thou shalt fare the worse:
 That ever thou sluest the chamberlayn,
 That day thou sure shalt curse.
 For looke what frendship thou didst shew
 The chamberlayn unto,
 The like also to thee I am
 Now minded for to do."
 Wo worth, &c.
 Two of them tooke the King straight way,
 And bound him foote and hand,
 On a pearetree in the orcharde
 This noble King they hangde:—
 And when the Queen hard of this news,
 She sore weapt for the King—
 "Peace, madame, (quoth the Lord Jamie)
 You do but fayn this thing."
 Wo worth, &c.
 "For why, (quoth she) though he were yong,
 None was more meete then he
 To have worn the crowne for his linage,
 He came of high degree:
 But now I wish my chamberlayne
 Had hanged in his roome;
 So that the King alive had bene,
 For to have worn the crowne."
 Wo worth, &c.
 Thus hath this noble King, alas!
 His life lost, as you heare:
 Therefore I say, and will doe still,
 He did buy gold to deare.
 God graunt, good Lord! with hart I pray,
 Our noble Queene to guide;
 And graunt that never traytours false,
 About her Highnesse bide.
 Wo worth, &c.

FINIS.

H. C.⁴

A new Ballad declaring the great Treason conspired against the young King of Scots, and how one Andrew Browne an Englishman, which was the Kings Chamberlaine, prevented the same.¹ To the Tune of ' Milfield, or els to Greene-sleaves.'

Imprinted at London for Yarathe James,² dwelling in Newgate Market, over against Christes Church.

JESUS God ! what a grieve is this,
that princes' subjects cannot be true ;
But still the devill hath some of his
will play their parts whatsoever ensue :
Forgetting what a greevous thing
It is to offend the annointed kinge.
Alas ! for woe, why should it be so ?
This makes a sorrowfull heigh ho.

In Scotland is a bonie Kinge,
as proper a youthe as neede to be,
Well given to every happy thing
that can be in a kinge to see :
Yet that unluckie countrie still
Hath people given to craftie will.
Alas ! for woe, &c.

On Whitson-eve it so befell,
a posset was made to give the kinge ;
Whereof his ladie nurse hard tell,
and that it was a poysoned thing.
She cryed and called piteouslie—
' Now helpe or els the King shall die.'
Alas ! for woe, &c.

One Browne, that was an Englishman
and hard the ladies piteous crye,
Out with his sword, and bestur'd him than,
out of the doores in haste to flie :
But all the doores were made so fast,
Out of the window he got at last.
Alas ! for woe, &c.

He met the bishop comming fast,
haying the posset in his hande ;
The sight of Browne made him agast,
who bad him stoutly, staie and stand.

With him were two that ranne away,
For feare that Browne would make a fray.
Alas ! for woe, &c.

" Bishop, (quoth Browne) what hast thou
there ?"—

" Nothing at all, my freend, (sayde he)
But a posset to make the King good
cheere."

" Is it so, (sayd Browne) that will I see.
First, I will have thy selfe begin,
Before thou goe any further in :
Be it weale or woe, it shall be so ;
This makes a sorrowfull heigh ho."

The bishop saide—" Browne, I doo know
thou art a young man, poore and bare ;
Livings on thee I will bestowe,
let me go on, take thou no care."—

" No, no, (quoth Browne) I will not be
A traitour for all Christiantie.

Happe well or woe, it shall not be so ;
Drinke now, with a sorrowfull heigh ho."

The bishop dranke ; and by and by
his belly burst, and he fell downe ;
A just reward for his traytery :

" This was a posset, in deede," quoth
Browne.

He serched the bishop, and found the keyes
To come to the King when he did please.
Alas ! for woe, &c.

As soone as the King gat word of this,
he humbly fell uppon his knee,
And praysed God that he did misse
to tast of that extremity :

¹ [The Editor does not recollect that this affair is mentioned by any of our historians.]

² [Herbert notices that Yarith James had licenses for *sundry ballads* to the year 1586.]

For that he did perceave and know
His clergie would betray him so.
Alas! for woe, &c.

"Alas! (he said) unhappy realme,
my father and godfather slaine,
My mother banished:—O extreame
unhappy fate, and bitter bayne!
And now like treason wrought for me,
What more unhappy realme can be?"
Alas! for woe, &c.

The King did call his nurse to his grace,
and gave her twentie pound a yeere;
And trustie Browne to, in like case,
he knighted him with gallant geere:
And gave him livings great,
For doing such a manly feat;
As he did shoe, to the bishop's woe,
Which made, &c.

When all this treason, don and past,
tooke not effect of traytery;
Another treason, at the last,
they sought against his majestie;
How they might make their Kinge away,
By a privie banket³ on a daye.
Alas! for woe, &c.

Whereat they ment to sell the King,
beyond the seas it was decreede:
Three noble Earles heard of this thing,
and did prevent the same with speede:
For a letter came, with such a charme,
That they should doo theyr king no harme,
For further woe, if they did so,
Which made a sorrowfull heigh ho.

The Earle Mourton told the Douglas then—
"Take heede you doo not offend the
Kinge:

But shew your selves, like honest men,
Obediently in every thing.
For his godmother⁴ will not see
Her noble childe misusde to be,
With any woe:—for if it be so,
She will make a sorrowfull heigh ho."

God graunt all subjects may be true,
in England, Scotland, and everie where;
That no such daunger may ensue,
to put the prince or state in feare:
That God, the highest King, may see
Obedience, as it ought to be.
In wealth or woe, God graunt it be so.
To avoide the sorrowfull heigh ho.

FINIS.

W. ELDERTON.

³ [Banquet.]

⁴ [Queen Elizabeth: who was sponsor by her proxy, the Earl of Bedford, and made a present on the occasion of a font of gold, weighing 333 ounces. See History of K. James the Sext, published by Mr. Laing, p. 8.]

Newes from Northumberland.

This geare gaythe well, and better it shall,
For triall will tell the treson of Ball.

Imprinted at London, in Fleete-streate, beneath the Conduit, at the Signe of
S. John Evangelist, by Thomas Colwell.

Y^OU whisperinge fellowes, that walke every wheare,
Now clau your old elbowes, and skrathe up your heaer:

I will tell ye for troth, what newes I heare,—
The Bull of the Northe is afraid of the Bear.
This geare goethe well, &c.

The moone and the ster are fallen so at stryfe,
I never knewe warre so strange in my lyfe;
And all is longe of a Babylon beaste,
That hath a thowsand heddes, at the leaste.
This geare, &c.

What made the Murrians hed so stoute,
To seeke the sheaffe of arrowes oute;
A morryon¹ of that hed, the Northe maie saie,
That hed from the boddye must needes awaie.
This geare, &c.

The lambe that knewe this newes before,
Did bid the lyon begin to rore;
The lion that coulde not then refraine
Did byd the beare go shake his chayne.
This geare, &c.

Whose shakinge such a shryll did yelde,
That every beast did flye the feelde,
Which served and shadowid under the moone,
And thought full littell to shrinke so soone.
This geare, &c.

And to Sainte Andrewe be they gone,
With very harde shyfte to make theare moane;
And som of theare ladies lefte behinde
With very small wages under the wynde.
This geare, &c.

But I marvell yet, of Sir John Shorne,
Whether he and the blessed masse be borne:
It weare a mery thinge to be knowen,
Where he doth make his alter stone.
This geare, &c.

The cropyerde fox, that this begon,
And made this brablinge to be don,
Is curst of many a mother's sonne,
And I praye ye what hath this coriage wonne.
This geare, &c.

Yet when this newes shall come to Roome,
I knowe they will not sticke to presume,
To wright to many Cristian kings,
They have, as they woulde, al maner of things.
This geare, &c.

Why walke ye not by three and three,
In Polles,² as ye weare wonte to bee;
And saye, as you were wont to do,
I hold you a crown it is not trewe.
This geare, &c.

¹ [A quibble for *murrain*.]

² [Qu. Paul's?]

Of manie great helpes you bragge and bost,
Besydes Sir John that carieth the hooste;
Lyke unbelevers as you bee,
You bragge of nothings that you see.
This geare, &c.

You bragge not of the Almighty's name,
You bragge not of your prince's fame,
You bragge of never a faithfull knight,
That for his contrey goeth to fight.
This geare, &c.

You bragge to see your countrey spoylde,
You bragge to see poore men begilde,
You bragge to see your brother's blood—
I pray, tell me if these be good?
This geare, &c.

And, as ye are of perverst minde,
You swere and stare and wil be blinde,
Wherin ye shew that faithlesse ye
Have no good power to here and see.
This geare, &c.

Where be the northern idiots fled,
That were by your devises led?
They had been better they had kept their bed,
You cannot repeale that you have spread.
This geare, &c.

I thinke by this you do beleve
The devill him selfe laughs in his sleeve,
That yet so many of Balaam's³ markes
Are still his trewe and faithfull clarkes.
This geare, &c.

And to be short:—I see and knowe
How manie a one them selves bestowe;
I accuse no one, I tell ye trewe,
But ye wilbe knowne I must tell you.
This geare, &c.

And thinke in tyme, that error is
The cause of all that is amisse.
God of his mercie mend these dayes,
And her preserve, that seekes the waies?

FINIS.

Qd. W. ELDERTON.⁴

³ [Balaam's.]

⁴ [Elderton the ballad-maker was equally notorious for his vile rhymes and his dissolute life; both of which made him a congenial companion to the unfortunate Robert Greene, and other 'wanton wittes' of that class.]

A Balad intituled the Dekaye of the Duke.¹

You see by good triall, what coms of the Duke,
Turne yet to the diall of God's holie booke.

Imprinted at London in Fleete-streate beneath the Conduit, at the Signe of
Saynt John Evangelist, by Thomas Colwell.

OUR people of England that hold with the pope,
May see the prefermentes that followe the same;
The highest and lowest hee bringes to the rope,
And straungers and tyrantes do laugh at the game.
You see by good triall, &c.

Thus are we still spoyled of honor and fame,
By prelates that practise to poyson us all,
The pope is the pestilence, and Roome hath the name
Wherwith we come witlesse to Westminster-hall.
You see, &c.

The Duke had great favor with justice attayned,
But of an ill matter what could be decreed?
For Lordes of great honor, where he was arayned,
Had prooffe to apparant of manie fowle deed.
You see, &c.

Not trifles, but treasons, so manie devised,
As all the world wondred such venom to heare,
In letters and answers and writinges comprised,
No waye to be constred to set the Duke cleare.
You see, &c.

Put off your oppinnion of all his proceadinge,
Ipocrisie cloked comes never to good;
I thinke all the lawiers were werie of readinge,
And all the hole people, in stoues as they stoode.
You see, &c.

To tell the hole treatise, the tale were to longe,
Against the good ladie, our Queene, that now raignes,
How manie devises to do her grace wronge,
By pope holie practise were pact in his braines.
You see, &c.

And then to his countrey what sequell ensued,
Alas! to apparant the perail drewe nie;
In blood to the elboes we had bin embrewed,
Which God hath forbidden, that governes the skye.
You see, &c.

¹ [Apparently Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who was beheaded on Tower-hill for high treason, June 2, 1572.]

The Duke or his doinges what more shall I tell ye.
But God of his goodnes yet give him some grace!
For in myne oppinnion, you papistes I smell ye,
You are yet to[o] manie that hold with the case.
You see, &c.

Whose rumors yet roaring, can hardlie be still,
A canckred condicion in kaytiffes unkinde,
The devill now doubteth he is dashed of his will.
Yet Babylon babyes will bragge to be blind.
You see, &c.

When wantons thought worthie, once stand on the toppe,
Theire steppes are so tickle they cannot stand still;
One legge in good fashion is better to hopp,
Then two legges at random to ronne where ye will.
You see, &c.

As pittie lamenteth the losse of his grace,
That once beinge noble, myght noblie have done;
So triall tormentith that one in his place,
To rebells and riotes so rashlye woulde ronne.
You see, &c.

But such as be seekers, to set all at square,
With straungers and neyghbours, of horrible name,
Do shew by theyr pitchers what potters they are,
What jolie companions of catholique fame.
You see, &c.

Welwillers are willinge to here and to see,
The good and the godly regards of rule;
Ilwillers unwilling good quiet should bee,
As scollers waxe trewantes that love not the scoole.
You see, &c.

But noate with our blissinge the brackes of our season,
There have bin great warninges, as this maye be one;
A Duke of highe honor, to fall to highe treason,
Both he and his honor—how soone they be gone.
You see, &c.

Wherefore, it behoveth, God doth advaunce us
To honour, to favor, to worshipp or welth,
We are to consider—it maye so bechaunce us,
To lose all together, good hap and good helthe.
You see, &c.

Wherefore to our dueties we are bound to applye
Our Queene and our countreye to honor and praise,
Content to live loe—but if ye waxe, hie,
To live within lawe, and [to] lengthen our dayes.

God prosper the Queene, her nobles, and frendes,
Her subjectes assured, of everie degree,
And God, of his goodness, shorten the endes
Of all her offenders—if anie more bee.

FINIS.

Qd. W. ELDERTON.

A newe Ballade, declaryng the daungerous Shootyng of the
Gunne at the Courte. [1578] To the Tune of 'Siche and
'siche.'

Weepe, weepe, still I weepe, and shall doe till I dye,
To thinke upon the gunne was shot, at court so daungerouslie.

Imprinted at London for Edward White, dwellyng at the little North Doore
of Saint Paules Church, at the Signe of the Gunne.

THE seventene daie of Julie laste, at evenyng toward night,
Our noble Queene Elizabeth, tooke barge for her delight:
And had the waterman to row, her pleasure she might take
About the river to and fro, as muche as thei could make.

Weepe, weepe, still I weepe, and shall doe till I dye,
To thinke upon the gun was shot, at court so dangerously.

And of her counsell with her grace were nobles two or three,
As fittest were to be in place, regardyng their degree:
The Frenche ambassadour likewise, to comon¹ with her grace
Of waightie causes satte with her, eche one in comely place.

Weepe, weepe, &c.

But when her grace an hower or two had past to take the aire,
Returnyng readyng on a booke, she saied—"Rowe soft and faire:"—
Wherby, as God the matter wrought, the slacknesse and the staie,
Softely she paste, and nothyng thought of gunshotte any waie.

Weepe, weepe, &c.

But all this while upon the Thames, in schullers boate unknowne,
A wretched felloe got a gun, that was none of his owne,
And shot a bullet twoo or three at random all about
And gave no greate regard to see what time the Queene went out.

Weepe, weepe, &c.

But as her grace came passing by, had given his peece a charge
And there out let a bullet flie, that hitte one in the barge,
A waterman, through bothe his armes, as he began to rowe,
That he cried out upon his harmes, wherat the Queene was woe.

Weepe, weepe, &c.

Herself in sight and presence by, when that the bullet came,
She sawe him hurt, she sawe him fall, yet shrunk not at the same;
Neither made she any fearfull shewe to seme to be dismaied,
Nor seemed to the embassadour of any thyng afraied.

Weepe, weepe, &c.

But havyng suche a mightie mynde, as passeth tonge to tell,
She stept unto the wounded man, and bad hym take it well:

* [Commune.]

His gushyng blood could not abashe her noble courage then,
But she was readier to give helpe, then all the noble men.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

But what her highnesse saied and did, in that so sodaine feare,
Hereafter in my sorie tale the substaunce you shall heare:
"Let boats go out and fetch hym in (she saied) that this hath doon."
And quickly was the persone brought, that so discharged the gunne.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

The noble councellors moste abroad, to whom these tidynge came,
Made hast to court with trembling harts to thinke upon the same;
Applaudyng God, upon their knees, moste humbly in their place
With teares of joye, that bitter ball had so escaped her grace.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

His name was Thomas Appletree, of courte a servyng man,
Whiche was no little greef to see to his good maister than.
He was committed to the gaile, at counsellors grave regarde,
That thei might judge what vilest death were fit for his reward.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

With blubring teares it is no bote² to tell the weepyng eyes
That were full woe of suche a shot, where all our saftie lyes:
The bullet came so nere her grace, within sixe foote at least,
Was never suche a cursed case, by suche a wilfull beast.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

Wherefore it was decreed and judged, by all the counsell grave,
That hangyng was to good a death for such a wretch to have:
A gibbet was set up in haste against the court full nye,
Where this unhappie Appletree was 'pointed for to dye.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

And on the Tuesdaie following then this wicked prisoner came,
Well garded with the marshalls men, to hang upon the same,
His maister standyng on the banke, to heare what he could saie,
He humbly fell upon his knees and mercie did hym praie.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

"Would God thou hadst never served me! (quoth he, with woful looke)
"But God (he saied) forgive it thee, that cursed marke thou tooke."
And after praier saied and done, on the ladder as he stood,
He tooke his death³ before them all, he was a subject good.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

And never ment to hurt her grace, nor any in the barge,
Nor ment to shoote in any place, to hurt with any charge,
But wished he never had been borne, for his good master's sake
Whom he had made a wofull man, and no amendes could make.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

For troth it was, and truthe it is, the Queene and counsell knowe,
Not willyngly, though wittyngly, he let the bullet goe:
Whiche matter hath been sifted so, it moveth more her grace
To let the passion of it goe the meekelier in his case.
Weepe, weepe, &c.

² [Boot.]³ [Qu. oath?]

The Queene that sawe this sacrifice a ready wretch to dye,
 Whose pittie pleadith pardon still, put forth her princely eye;
 And sent the captaine of her gard, a counseler grave and wise,
 To make the facte and favour knowne, as he could beste devise.
 Weepe, weepe, &c.

Who gave a thundring peale of grace the prisoner's fault to showe
 And all the people in the place, what prince thei had to knowe;
 What courage in her noble grace in perill did appeare,
 Before the Frenche embassadour's face, in suche a sodain feare.
 Weepe, weepe, &c.

And tolde againe, if that mishap had happened on her grace
 The staie of true religion, how perlous were the case:
 Which might have turnde to bloody warres, of strange and forein foes,
 Alas! how had wee been acurste, our comfort so to lose.
 Weepe, weepe, &c.

Then of the mercie of her grace, her subjects lives to save,
 By whom these xx yeres in peace, suche quiet lives wee have:
 The teares fell doune on every side, and aloud the people crie,
 The Almighty long preserve her grace to governe prosperouslie.
 Weepe, weepe, &c.

And laste of all he saied againe, marke yet this piteous Queene,
 For all this vile unhappie facte, so leudely doen and seene,
 Retournes to her inured⁴ course, of mercie to forgive,
 That this accursed shall not dye, but pardons hym to live.
 Weepe, weepe, &c.

And then to heare the people shoute, and see them clapt their hands,
 Who would have torne his fleshe before, being in hangman's hands,
 To see the goodnesse of her grace, to suche greate pitie bent,
 It made the stoniest harte of all, astonied to lament.
 Weepe, weepe, &c.

The counseler that the pardon brought, then knelyng on his kne,
 And every subjecte, as they ought, kneeled as well as he,
 And saied a praier for her grace, upon the dolefull grounde
 Whereof the peoples sighyng sherles, above the skies rebounde.
 Weepe, weepe, &c.

All lovyng subjectes, learne to knowe your dueties to our Quene,
 By lande and water where ye goe, that no suche deede be sene;
 But praie to God that rules the skies, her highnesse to defende,
 To raigne with him perpetually when her highnes life shall ende.
 Weepe, weepe, still I weepe, and shall doe so till I dye,
 To thinke upon the gun was shot, at court so dangerously.

FINIS.

W. E.

⁴ [i. e. Accustomed.]

A moorning Diti upon the Deceas of the high and mighti (most nobl) Prins Henry Earl of Arundel, the auncient and primer Coounte of England, and right honorabl Baron Mautravers and Clun, one of oour most gracious Queen Elizabeth's Majestiez most honorabl Privy Counsel, and of the right nobl Order of the Garter the eldest Knight: that departed in the Lord, at hiz Place by Toour-hil ny London, on Thurzday, Saint Matthiez Day, the lattir xxiiii of February, in the xxii Yeer of her Highnes most prosperoous Rein, 1579.

Imprinted at London, by John Allde.

CAREZ and complaints that ruful moornings may purport,
 Proceeding from a minde with woes opprest,
 A heavy hart dooun sunk within the brest,
 A damped coountenauns devoid of all comfort,
 May best beseem the state of woful wight:
 And so may sorroz¹ smart, us rightfully compell,
 With sighs profoound bewail, in careful plight,
 The late deceas of him whooz honor did excell,
 HENRI, that nobl prins, the EARL of ARUNDELL.²
 Born and allyed in line long and heroicall,³
 Coomly in foorm, of featuréz and personage,
 Matched in hy and equall mariage,⁴
 Parent to one woorthy lord⁵ and ladyz twoo,⁶ withall:
 For the rare bloomz of tru nobilitee
 That first oout budded in hiz tender spring,
 The Earl hiz father⁷ yet alive, and hee
 But Lord Mautravers; ooure late most famoous king,
 Of Callis too him gave the trust and gooverning.⁸
 The weighty charge whearof when he had underfong,⁹
 He ransakld the orderz olld and nu:
 The good he held in execution du,
 The bad he brake, and ay by justis righted wrong.
 With the tine French he tempred in such sort,
 As for hiz proowes¹⁰ great and pollecycz agen,
 For fame to prins, and safety to the fort,

¹ [Sorrows.]

² Born on St. Georgez day, 1512, lived a counsellor and in great officez forty-three yeer, buried at Arundell in Sussex, Tuisday the 22 of March, an. R. R. E. 22.

³ Descended from *Carolus Magnus*, who died at Aix, 815.

⁴ His first wife Mary, he had Marques Dorset's daughter.

⁵ Henry Lord Matravers.

⁶ Lady Jane, married to John Lord Lumley; Lady Mary, married to Thomas Duke of Norfolk.

⁷ William.

⁸ Anno xxx Hen. viii.

⁹ [Undertaken.]

¹⁰ [Prowess.]

Both far and neer, it waz pronounced of all men,
That Callis never had like capitain az then.¹¹

Oour King him made upon this five yeerz nobl say
At Bullen seege hy-marshall of hiz host,¹²
Wheraz hiz peinz, his daungerz with the most,
His valiauns¹³ by hart and hand waz prompt allway;
And though a molehil to a moount be small,
For certein truth yet this the writer bringz to minde,
Whoo served him thear at theez most actionz all:
And for the grace enteer that ever he did finde,
May most deplore hiz death, but honor all his kinde.

The prins benign anon, soon az the tooun he wan,
For servis hy doon by this nobl peer,
Chaz¹⁴ him too be one of hiz coounsel neer,
Lord Chamberlain allso: which honorz after than
King Edward gave him: but Queen Mary made
Him prezident of coounsel and lord stuard too be:
Of our Queen eak that dignitee he hade,¹⁵
So az a thing it iz right evident to se,
In hoow great grace with all hiz sooverainz waz he.

The higher karged¹⁶ ship, and deepar it dooth draw,
The daunger more of storm, of rok, and sand;
And blasts may blo, that no state can withstand,
At anker hold of fortitude, when roze a flaw.
He lay with honor till he cam to port,
And, as he thought, none praized vertu as they ow,
Onles¹⁷ their deedz tru vertu did reoport.
He surely for hiz part commended vertu so,
As waz hiz embleam—*Laus virtutis actio*.

For woorthy pleazurz ells, his hors and armour sitch,
Hiz skil profoound in both, his solem queer,¹⁸
By vois and instruments so sweet to heer,
Hiz jewelz, antiquiteez, so many rare and ritch,
Hiz tablz, cloks, and his symmetricall
Billdingz, so sumptuoously adooournd in every part:
For eend, his exquisit appointments all,
So excellent for cost; for hy devise and art,
Az might be signz certein of hiz so nobl hart.

For servis then, for honor, or for his princez pleasure,¹⁹
Hoow mooch joyd he thear too be liberall:
Of hart synceer toward the noblz all,
Too state of life he made his birth degree his meazure.
Ootherz merit small mooch he wolld avauns,
Boounteous, benign, releeving many greevous gronez,
In freendship firm for ony chaunge or chauns.
But, ah for wo! deaf death, not moovabl by monez,²⁰
All theez hiz shining lights quite quenched hath at onez.²¹

¹¹ Captain of Calles v years.¹² An. xxxv Hen. viii.¹³ [Valiance, valour.]¹⁴ [Chose.]¹⁵ Anno i regine Elizabeth.¹⁶ [Qu. cargoed?]¹⁷ [Unless.]¹⁸ [Quire.]¹⁹ Twise Embassadour to King Phillip in Flaunderz, and cheef commisioner in Queene Maryes dayes.²⁰ [Moans.]²¹ [Once.]

Obscuring orgulioously,²² by dark and deadly blast,
 The lustr of jewell, the more inestimabl,
 Az iz the loss so far irreperabl:
 An earl, a peer, a prins:—the only and the last
 Of that so by Fitz Allenz name and blood.
 But why so sharp, O Memory! doost thou declare
 Theez groundz of greevez?²³ more meet wear, for thy mood,
 Sum opium for sleep, or ells white Nenuphare,²⁴
 A sooup of Lethe's lake, for to forget thy care.

But noow, as wants a cheef one amoong the states hy,
 So noble youth, and all of gentl hart,
 The herallds sage, the wize and learnd in art,
 This forlorn skath, alas! bewail may rufully.
 And thou, infaust²⁵ day! dismoll, bisextill,
 Not half, by Charlsez birth²⁶ and coronation sight,
 So good az too the Earl of Flaunders ill:²⁷
 And to French Frauncis eak, O cruell in thy spight!
 Wo woorth the time that noow so soon thou camst to light.²⁸

But sins that heavy sprite dooth freat the minde to nought,
 Driez up the bonez, and gallz the hart so sore,²⁹
 Healps not the case (God wot) a whit the more.
 By wizdoom then bethink we heerin az we ought,
 First that this peer (hoow ever wear the case)
 With loove of all estatiz in harts sinceer enrolld,
 In honor pure did run hiz nobl rase,
 Then saw his childerz children a crooun to hiz yeerz old,³⁰
 As graundsire, to their glorg, eak him they did behold.

Who wear so vertuous all, of minde and inclination,
 As God took them the sooner to blest;
 Yet heer left one to coountervail the rest,
 Of whooz encreasing honor such is the expectation,
 That in a vitall state and dignitee
 Az he succeedz, and luckily enjoyz the same,
 So hope iz that through God's benignitee,
 By him shall glister long, in honor and in fame
 The bright shine of that magnific ARUNDELLI name.

Bethink we eak, hoow well he disposed thingz each on,
 What tender woords our Queen untoo him sent;
 Wherat his hart did earn,³¹ his eiz³² relent,
 Reizd up hiz febl sprite, that then by him anon,
 Intoo the Lord's handz recommended is,
 In fame and in succession sins heer he liveth ay,
 In soul allso too everlasting bliss;
 Let us by solas suppl oour sorroz az we may
 And hope in Christe to have a joyful meeting day.

Devinctissimo (pro facultate) Arundelius, Guil. P. G.

²² [Orgillously, haughtily.]

²³ [Griefs.]

²⁴ [Nymphæa, or water lily?]

²⁵ [Infaustus, unhappy.]

²⁶ Borne at Gaunt 1500, croound Emperoor at Bononi 1530.

²⁷ Charlez, slain by conspiratoours at Burgis 1127. 3 Ti.

²⁸ The French king's poour slain, and he taken at Paris, 1525. Jo.

²⁹ Prov. 17.

³⁰ Prov. ibidem.

³¹ [Yearn.]

³² [Eyes.]

A godlie Dittie to be song for the Preservation of the Queene's
most Excelent Majestie's Raigne.¹

Imprinted at London by Abell Jeffes, dwelling in the Fore-streete, without
Cripplegate. 1586.

*Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*²

ALL English hearts rejoyce and sing,
That feares the Lord and loves our
Queene;

Yeld thanks to God, our heavenly King,
Who hytherto hir guide hath been.
With faithfull hartes, O God! we crave
Long life on earth her grace may have!

We laude and prayse
His name allwayes,
Who doth our Queene defend;
And still we pray
God, night and day,
To keep her to the end.
Thou, Fame, flye out,
Send all about,
How that with hart and voice,
In spite of those
That bee her foes,
This day we doe rejoyce.

As David may, her grace may say—
If open foes an oath had sworne
To seeke her life with blooddie knife
It might the better have been borne:
But those to whom shee bare good will,
With spite did seek her blood to spill.
We laude and praise, &c.

A Judith just shee still hath beene,
A loving prince to subjects all:
She is our good and gracious Queene;
Lord blesse her, that shee never fall
In any danger of hir foes,
But safely keepe her Lord from those!
We laude and praise, &c.

Confound them all that wickedlie
Pretend her hurt in any part:
O Lord! make knowne their villanie,
That they may have their due desart;
That all the worlde may knowe and see
How thou doest hate their treacherie.
We laude and praise, &c.

Devide, O Lord! and make a spoyle
Of them and all they have possest;
As thou hast given some the foyle,
Like guerdon graunt to all the rest,
That wish or will to worke her woe;
Thy anger, Lord, upon them shoe.
We laude and praise, &c.

If on our side God had not beene,
When traitours sought much blood to
spill;
This day of joy we had not seene,
But had been subject to their will:
But God doth aye all those defend,
That on him doe only depend.
We laude and praise, &c.

Let belles ring out, let joy abounde,
Let earth and ayre bee fild with noyse;
Let drommes strike up, let trumpets sound,
Let musicke sweete shew forth our joys:
And let us all with one accord,
To see this day, joy in the Lord.
We laude and praise, &c.

FINIS.

R. THACKER.

¹ [After the conspiracies of Throckmorton, Babington, and others.]

² [This was accompanied with musical notes, like a psalm tune.]

Information of Abuses in the Suppression of Abbeyes. MS.

To Queene Elizabeth.

“ Many of the abuses of civil society (remarked the judicious biographer of Sir Thomas Pope) are attended with some advantages. In the beginnings of reformation, the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly; while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and not immediately perceived or enjoyed.” (Warton’s Life of Sir T. Pope, p. 144.) The accuracy of this observation is fully exemplified by an attentive examination of the circumstances attending the dissolution of monasteries, than which, (in the words of the same author) “ scarce any institutions can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind.” And yet their suppression was immediately attended with many and very serious evils. This great event was the cause of a temporary, but lamentable decline of literature; an extinction of hospitality; an increase of domestic hardships, by the oppression of poor tenants, and a variety of other grievances, which occasioned loud complaints at the time. “ For the monks, (observes a writer in the London Review) as they always resided in their convents, surrounded by their estates, spent their money in the country, and a ready market was afforded for commodities. They were also allowed to have been in England what they at present are in Roman Catholic countries, good and indulgent landlords, as the rules of their order confined them within a certain mode of living; in consequence of which their motives for extortion were fewer than those of other men. But the management of the abbey lands was far different when the principal nobility and courtiers came in for the possession of them. The rents of farms were raised, and the tenants could not with their usual facility dispose of the produce. The money was often spent in the capital; and, to enhance the evil, though pasturage was more profitable than tillage at that period, inclosure laid waste whole estates, and the tenants, looked on in the light of a useless burthen, were driven from their habitations. The cottagers also, deprived of the privilege of feeding their cattle upon the commons, were reduced to the utmost state of misery.” (Lond. Rev. Sept. 1779, p. 170.) It would be easy to cover the remaining pages of this volume with the history of similar grievances, arising from the very events which have, in later periods, produced the most universal and permanent benefit. But it must be recollected that the greater part of these evils were not the necessary attendants of reformation, but produced by the corrupt and injudicious manner in which reformation was effected. The dissolution of monasteries is allowed, even by the most rigid contemners of papacy, to have been the work of regal avarice and courtly rapaciousness; and, I fear, a minute examination would scarcely assign purer motives to any of the transactions which wrought out that reformation for the blessings of which every Englishman has now so much cause to be grateful. It may truly be said, however mortifying the observation, that the actors on this great scene were, in defiance of the express prohibition of that BOOK which we possess through their means, doing evil that good might come.

But of the grievances attending the dissolution of religious houses, it must be allowed that some of them existed more in the imaginations of the complainers, than in real fact; or rather, that many evils were attributed to this source, of which it was quite innocent. The vulgar of any times, still less of those under consideration, were never nice discriminators of causes. Daily experience assures us of this.

In a very curious old ballad reprinted in the second volume of Dr. Percy’s Reliques of An-

cient Poetry, 'Blind Ignorance,' who is gazing upon a razed abbey, is made to say in the broad Somersetshire dialect,

'Chill tell thee what, good vellowe,
'Before the vriers went hence,
'A bushell of the best wheate
'Was zold vor vourteen pence;
'And vorty egges a penny,
'That were both good and newe;
'And this che zay my zelf have zeene,
'And yet ich am no Jewe.'

In the following Information of Abuses upon the Suppression of Monasteries, more stress is laid upon the deceitful dealings by which the royal treasury was defrauded, than upon the evils which had been produced to the country at large, in a statistical point of view. To account for this it is sufficient to observe that the representation is addressed to the Queen. Elizabeth might be supposed to feel compunction for the grievances of her own coffers, but she was much too elevated a being to be touched with a feeling for the miseries of 'the poor tenants.'

But to those who have occasion to consider the effects of the dissolution upon landed property, this Memorial may furnish some useful information. It is to be observed that it appears rather as the rough draught of heads intended for future enlargement, than as the finished composition to meet the eyes of Majesty. The wording is uncommonly bad and obscure. The whole is copied out of Harleian MSS. No. 6839, and the editor has searched in vain for a more perfect copy. No name of memorialist appears, but from the manner in which the writer speaks of his opposition to the frauds, and the 'much leisure' and great losse' that ensued to him, one would imagine him to have been an official person.

PARTE of the corrupte, deceitfull, fraudulent, and unrighteous dealinge of many subjects of this realme at and since the visitation and suppression of abbayes, (which, with all the rest, God by his grace hathe made me hate and refuse, and also deteste and resiste in others to the uttermoste of my small power; being contrary to this comaundement of the second table; 'Thow shalt not steale:') whereby the possession, revenues, and treasure of the crowne, have bin unmeasurably robbed and dyminshed, to the great offence of God and sclaunder of the gospell; and to the no small impoverishing and weakeninge of the imperiall crowne, and utter undoing of a number of your Majestie's poore tenants and subjects, and so to the great sclaunder of your Majestie, and withdrawing of their heartes from you, whose act it is told them to be; and soe to them it seemeth, because some of your seales be at all or the most part of them, and the confirmacion of your head-officers at the reste: and to the utter spoylinge and undoinge (before God and good men) of a number of learned persons and excellent wittes; who, (understanding that many before them had bin thereby greatly enriched and advanced, and that the gap thereunto, as unto a vertue, was made wide open for all without any punishment, but rather comendacion) were and are still the easelier overcome by temptation of the wisdom of Sathan, the world, and the flesh, to seeke and labour to become ritche by lyke wicked wayes; of whome as the number is now of late yeares greatly increased, so also deceive they more subtilly and detestably, and in moe things then ever before:

For redresse whereof, and of a number of other cunnunge and cleanelly thestes and deceites which I know, and in tyme can remember and describe; beside a multitude out of

my compasse, said by comon brute to be in other calings, there must be penned by some persons learned in the law that be knowne to hate all kindes of unrighteousnes, some strong act or acts (to passe by parliament, and afterwarde to be roundly executed) with great penalties, forfeitures, and punishments; to reache unto lands, goods, and body, as the greatnesse or smallnesse of the case shall requier: without which, God wilbe yet more offended, the gospell more sclaundered, the crowne more impoverished and weakened, your people more undone, your Majestie more sclaundered, your people's heartes more drawn from you, the learned persons and excellent wittes of your people more spoiled. And many other particuler evils grow thereby, besides God's great strokes, which at length will come, without repentaunce and amendment: Whereas, if reformation be had, God wilbe therein pleased, the gospell commended, the crowne enriched, your people profited, their love towards you encreased, the learned and excellent wittes enforced from deceite, to seeke preferment and wealth by godly and honest meanes: and many other good things will grow thereby beside God's good blessinge, which your Majestie shalbe sure to have for it.

To wit,

DECEIPTFULL AND UNRIGHTEOUSE DEALINGS,

At and upon the Visitation and Suppression of Abbeyes:

VIZ.

1. Where the images of gold and silver, &c. with the costly shrines, tabernacles, altares, and roodeloftes; and the pretious jewells of right stone and pearle, &c. belonging to the same; and the pixes, chalices, patens, basines, ewers, candlestickes, crewets, sensers, and multitudes of other rich vessells of gold and silver, &c.; and the costly altar-clothes, curtins, copes, vestments, aulbes, tunicles, and other riche ornamentes; and the fine lynnyn, jette, marble, pretious woode, brasse, iron, leade, bells, stone, &c.; and the houshold-plate, houshold-stuff, and furniture of houshold; and the leases and chattulls; and the horses, oxen, kine, sheepe, and other cattell; and the superfluous houses and buildinges; and multitudes of other things that belonged to abbeyes, &c.; were worth millions of gold, &c.

The sales of parte whereof were soe cunningly made, and the preservation of the reste was such, that your Majestie's father and the crowne of England had in comparison but meane portions of the same, of which much was unpaid¹ by ill dealing in many yeares after; for the findinge out and punishment of which great deceipte and fraude, there was not then, neither hath there bin at any time since, for the like evils, afterwarde also committed to this day, any good order or diligent labor taken, but let passe, as though to find oute and punishe such wickednesse were noe profit to the prince and crowne, or good service to God. All which have bin the easilier let slip, because perhaps some of them that should have punyshed under the prince might also be partlye guilty and soe *tarried justice*.²

2. Item, where divers of the visitors and suppressors had afterwarde yearly allowance of fees, annuities, corrodies, &c. graunted by the abbeyes, &c. to themselves, their servants, and freindes; was it likely that they came by them without fraude?³

¹ [This word is doubtful, the MS. having been so carelessly stitched, as to have hidden the inner edge of this page.]

² [These two words are conjectural.]

³ [The records of the dissolution abound with illustrations of this charge. I am sorry to find Sir T. Pope implicated in this concern, notwithstanding the pains which his biographer Warton has taken to clear his conduct during the exertion of his visitorial capacity. The following document in the Augmentation-office, which Warton had not seen, seems to tell against him:—

'A bill of Tho. Pope esquier, treasurer of the augmentacions, witnessing that he had received of Tho. Woodcock, prior of Bevall in Nott. 100 marks sterling, in partie of a more summe for a fyne for contynuaunce of y^e said monastery without suppression or desolucion. Dat. 1 July, 30 H. 8.'

It is notorious that all the visitors accumulated prodigious property by some means or other, though very few of them applied it, like Sir Tho. Pope, to the benefit of learning.]

3. The most parte of the evidences of abbayes and nunryes were pilfired away, solde, and loste; as herein folowing, under the title of your Majestie's time more plainly apeareth.

In the reste of the Time of that puissant Prince Kinge H. the viijth, your Majestie's Father,

4. Mannors, landes, and tenementes, and other hereditamentes, were often solde at under yearly rente by many subtile deceites and fraudes.

5. Mannors, landes, and tenements, &c. were sometye sold, with the appurtenances, at the old yearely rentes: but where the woodes thereon were unvalued (as ofte they were), the same went from the kinge without recompence.

6. Mannors, landes, and tenements, &c. sold to divers: and after the woodes were felled and sold, and the rentes enhaunsed, or, for great fines, leased out for many yeares; then the same mannors, &c. were returned to the K. in exchange for other landes that had plenty of woodes, and were unenhaunsed and unleased in all or in parte, or the leases were neere expired.

7. Much landes and tenementes, and many great woodes and, other hereditamentes, were then sold away, where the mony for the same (by deceitfull defrawde) was not paid in many yeares after the due dayes of payment.

In the Time of the Raigne of that blessed Kinge Edwarde the vith, your Majestie's Brother,

8. Many thinges then done amisse, thoughe not soe many and soe great as before.

Exchanges more then, then in K. Henrye's tyme, and almoste as badd; whereof the rentes of many of them must needes decay in a great parte, when that leases shall end, that were made by the exchaungers, or when their bondes made to warrant those rentes shall either be lost, forgotten, or not extended.

Much lande, &c. sold at undervalews, by great deceipte of many.

In the short Time of the Raigne of your Majestie's Sister, Queene Mary,

9. Many great giftes, sales, and exchanges were then, wherein was great deceipte and losse to the prince and crowne.

In your Majestie's Tyme of Gospell and gracious long Raigne and before,

10. All or the greatest parte of all the evidences of the lands, possessions, and hereditaments of all the abbayes, &c. have by litle and litle, by fraudulent meanes, bene soe pilfered and solde away, and soe drawn into many private men's hands, that there is almost none of them left to your Majestie's use: soe that your Majestie hathe nothings to maintaine your title (if neede soe required), but only the long possession, and your owne recordes made since the suppression, whereof a number of them be also gone: (*ut patet inferius.*)

11. Records of revenues, &c. rated particulers, &c. many since the suppression of abbayes; and some of late yeares have bin stolne, and some lost by negligence; and some lent upon small gages, and soe forgotten and not re-delivered; and some left in the hands of those that then were, or now be, noe officers, to whom the custody belongeth not: but they gayne many wayes thereby to your Majestie's losse. By lack of which records also,

many matters in question do at tymes go against your Majestie, where otherwise they should not.

12. Mannors and lands, &c. of greater yearely value then your Majestie's comissions reached unto, have bin sold by cunnyngge deceipte.

13. And where some men have bought onely the demeanes of a mannor, or some halfe, thirde, or fourth parte of a mannor, and have soe prevailed by corrupt meanes, that the auditor hath put thereto in his particuler thereof NOMEN MANERII;⁴ or else if the penner of the lettres-pattentes for that purchase have corruptly put it into the drawghte or transcripte, and the perusers overpast it eyther by too much confidence in the penner, or (for lack of tyme) by too slite conferring of the particuler and transcripte, suffered such a scape: and so if the same have passed under the greate seale, then is there noe remedy, but he must have and enjoy the whole mannor, though afterwarde it apeare never soe plainly, that he purchased but onely a parte thereof. Such be the lawes and statutes, they say: neither hath there bin (that ever I could knowe or heare of) any dilligent inquiry made or labor taken to finde out by whose corruption it came, and to punish the buyer and also his corrupte instrument as the wickednesse of the act did deserve; and soe as all other might by their punishment be terrifide from that ill kinde and innumerable other kindes of like corrrupt dealinge.

14. Likewise of concealed lands, and other lands whatsoever, found out and certifide by comission out of the Exchequier: if the comissioners (through freindship or corruption) have found out a mannor or other landes to be worth yeerly 5 s. whereas the old yeerly rent of the same was noe lesse then xx li. by yeare; and thereupon if the procurer of the comission obtayne it by lease or purchase at v s. by yeare, your Majestie hath no remedy but he must soe enjoy it *causâ predictâ*, notwithstanding the truth thereof doe afterwarde never soe plainly apeare.

15. And soe also of many other things, both of lands, woods, goods, and cattelles, debtes, and other things answerable, in your Majestie's court of Exchequier, within the accomptes of your Highnesse' sheriffes, exchetors, and other officers and persons authorised to take the same to your Majestie's use: if they find out and seise any mannors, lands, hereditamentes, goods, &c. at a farre under value; though it be never soe plainly knowne, they are not blamed or punnished for it: No; some will say, thoffices would els never be sued for a pittifull hearing.

16. Stately mannors and meane⁵ mannors, with the parkes and woodes, have bin sold, given, and otherwise graunted, where the parkes have past at no rent, and the woodes at noe value, or very little, in comparison; yea, and some mannors, &c. where divers fees of the keepers of the parkes and of the houses, &c. have bin deducted: so that the values at which the said mannors have paste, have bin a great deale lesse then they ought to have bin.

17. *Item*, divers of the copyholds both of your stately and meane mannors, which is your best and richest lands, for their small rent be sometimes purchased, sometimes graunted in fee-farme, and sometimes leased out; whereby the mannors be dismembred, your tenaunts taken from you and impoverished, and your comons much greived, and provoked to murmure, when they see copyhold tenure (the good ancient tenure of England), whereby the most of them hold and ever have helde their lands and livings, to be (now-a-dayes) made voide and of none effect.

18. *Item*, perquisites and profites of the courtes of divers of your Majestie's mannors be leased out, and some solde away; whereby all the mannors be dismembred, the tenants and their services had from your Majestie: a matter of great waight.⁶

⁴ [That is, when the name of 'Manor' has been given to some inferior portion of land, whereby the actual manor in which the land was situated has passed, instead of the portion intended to be granted.]

⁵ [That is, I suppose, 'mesne manors.' By the 'stately manors' are probably meant the fees held *in capite*.]

⁶ [Particularly as military tenures, and other incidents of the feudal system, were still existing: consequently the power of the crown must have been in some degree dependent upon the extent of its demesnes. But since

19. Item, the profittes of the courtes of many of the manors that remayne your Majestie's, be yerely yll answered, and sometimes partly pilfered away; and the easier, because the stewardest deliver not up yerely doubles⁷ of their court-rolles, as by good order they should do; and because deceit ys not sought out and punished.

20. Item, many of your Majestie's riche woods, with the soiles, both notable great and stately, and also meane and small, some lying and being within forrestes, chases, parkes, commons, &c.; and other some within the late demaines or proper occupacions of abbots, priors, nonnes, &c.; or of other former owners of castells, honors, lordships, mannors, lands, tenements, and hereditamentes, common to your Majestie's auncestors and to your selfe, which never yelded any yearely rent, except some trifle for therbage and pawnage, beinge kept for royall and stately pleasure, and comon and domesticall profite, have bin sold away for litle or nothing in comparison, and some parte of them letten oute to noe comon benefite or particuler profite for your Majestie, because the rentes are small and the woods are suffered to be spoiled.

21. Of many other goodly woodes of great value (which remained of the multitude) the tymbre and woode of them have bin sold away for litle or nothing: whereas, if, when they were ready to be sold, proclamation for the sale had bin made a litle before in the next market-townes, they that had neede thereabouts, would have given soe for them, to have had every one a peece according to their neede, that it wold greatly have benefited them and profited your Majestie. But the same have bin sold away to other endes, and to serve other turnes; and the soiles since that are either lett out or kept to as small profytt, as were the sales.

22. A great parte of the rest of the woodes now remayninge be lately letten oute by lease to divers persons at meane rents: and yet some of them deale soe, that they have sold away and spoiled, or are felling away and spoiling all the whole woods contrary to their leases.

23. Old rentes of lands and other hereditaments have sometimes bin demynished under colour of being in decay or lack of reparacions, where none was, or else soe small that many neighbours and others would gladly have repayred the same, and also continued the old rentes; yea, and rather then faile, some would also have done soe, and therewith have given reasonable fines too.

24. Item, if a man purchase a tenement in London, which belonged to such a chauntry in such a parishe of xls. by yeare, and takeinge out the auditor's particuler thereof, and getting it rated at the comissioner's hands, and at length passe it under the great seale: accordingly, with this ordinary covenant, that your Majestie shall discharge the purchaser of all manner of charges and rentes whatsoever goinge out of the same, saving of such a yeerely rent and service as is reserved to your Majestie upon that graunt; and though and afterwardest it come to light that your Majestie, or your auncestors, were deceived in the graunt, for that by the righte of another chauntry in another parish of London your Majestie had fower poundes by yeare more in the name of a rent going out of the tenements which cometh to light, when the said purchaser refuseth to paye the said 4 *li.* rent, which he knew of before, but said nothing thereof to the auditor, when he toke out the particuler, of purpose to deceive your Majestie thereof, and to get it without paying any thing for it, and which the auditor could not see when he made the particuler, for that the 4 *li.* was recorded in another place within the possessions of the other parish and other chauntry: yet shall the said purchaser for a decree in the Exchequier be cleanly discharged of the said 4 *li.* rente, and the auditor comaunded to discharge it oute of your Majestie's recordes without any recompence for it to your Majestie, and without any punishment eyther in body, goodes, or name, extended upon the said deceiving purchaser.

25. And even soe and likewise in purchasing of mannors, lands, tenements, or other he-

the abolition of knight's service, the variations produced by revolving years have made the crown lands rather a perplexing burthen than a source of power, or even of revenue.]

[*Id est, duplicates.*]

reditaments, where like rents issuing out of them belonged to other mannors or to other abbeyes, colleges, or possessions, the purchasers by like deceit carry away not only many such and greater yeerely rents, but also many great summes of arrerages for the same, which belonged to other of your Majestie's mannors, landes, and possessions, that were never sold unto them in part or in all, nor once named in their grauntes.

26. Likewise also of parcells of abbeyes, or parcells of mannors, or parcell of towneships, where one parte belonged to one abbaye, mannor, or towneship, and the other to another abbaye, manor, or towneship: if a man purchase but the one abbaye's, mannor's, or towneship's parte, and can get words strong enough in his graunt, he shall carry away and enjoy the other abbaye's, mannor's, or towneship's parte too;—and no man say, “Black is his eye.”

27. Item, where mannors, lands, and hereditaments of great yearely rent, have bin graunted by your Majestie or your auncestors to certaine persons in consideracion of service, &c. and to their heires-males, or the heires of their bodyes lawfully begotten, or for terme of their lives, or for terme of certain yeares, paying yeerely during that time no more but a red rose, or a penny, or a groat, or a shilling, or a pound; what will your Majestie thinke, if there be no good order for bringing in againe of those mannors, &c. when the times have bin expired, do expire, or shall expire? So that I am sure their is much lande in that case, of great yeerely rent, besides great arrerages, which of righte shoulde be now, and some should long since have bin, in your Majestie's possession, with the rents and profitts; which to find out, together with all other concealements, why should not your Majestie have as good and ready meanes to doe it substancially and well, as lewde prolers have, whereby they accomplish their deceit? And what more if in the meane tyme devises are found out that other persons, whom your Majestie intends not soe to benefite, shall afterwardes take and enjoye the same mannors, &c. at the said under-rents, and not at the old due rents, eyther by lease, exchange, feeferme, or purchase, for denying of which I have had much leisure and great losse.

28. The rents and profitts of divers other lands and hereditamentes, be not yet put in charge, nor answered, which belong to your Majestie, by reason of exchanges, purchases, recompences for debte, and other wayes; because the same be not certyfied to the auditors, that they might put them in charge.

29. Likewise of a multitude of parcells of concealed lands and hereditaments which (for the most parte) be not valued at the tenth parte of the old accustomed rentes, neyther in the particulers which the takers themselves are suffered to make, nor yet in the certificates of the comissioners, whereby the same passe from your Majestie.

30. And among those purchased, what if one of your officers have taken the profitts of a mannor, and of certaine of the lands and tenements therewith purchased; and when one of your auditors soughte to recorde the same, that the profitts might come [to] your Majestie as apperteyned: what if the concealer cunningly put it off four or five years, and at length in a graunt the hastelyer obteyned of his office, gate such woords, that afterwardes he claymed it as incidente to his office, and after that by a comission and pickt comissioners had it confirmed; and when the auditors complayned thereof, then what favour the concealer found to enjoy still the greatest parte of the concealement; and how his deceit therein would not be seene, nor he dealt with accordingly; and how hardly the finder out was dealt with, and what danger he was in for it, God knoweth, and soe may your Majestie, if it be not soe painefull for you to heare and see that long discourse.

31. Item, of your Majestie's ordinary fines which should be had upon graunting of new leases in reversion or in possession, upon surrender or otherwise, many of them have bin given and are dayly, somme wholly and some partely in respecte of decay, and mainetayning of marshe walles, and other charges and reparacions, and in many other respectes, whereof but few have bin or be true, but are grounded upon, &c. or given in favour or in respecte of, &c.

32. Many yeares together customers were suffered to have in their hands great somes

of mony; among whome he hath lately ought^s the great somme was one, and perhaps he had bin soe suffered still, if hee had not exceeded to to much, and also if, &c.

33. Item, some accomptes of theirs have bin uncalled for and untaken [f]or longti me, during which the whole or a great parte of the money hath remayned in their hands.

34. Of debtes and sommes of money due by recognizance, stallmente, orders of the court, and otherwise, multitudes have remained unpaid a long time by favor, &c.; and some doe soe still: and the easilier because there is never any ordinary accompte yeelded and kepte of them, as muste be before the same can be duly and truly answered: a matter of very greate waighte to your Majestie, and of great corruption (in some officers.)

35. And in making of eastalments,^s some parte of the principall debtes is sometye cunningly lefte out of the statement; and soe your Majestie hath double losse thereby; and by multitudes of other great things which will apeare, if your Majestie can looke into that office, and also into the nexte office to it, where many corruptions be used and maintayned to your Majestie's great losse, and to the hurt and losse of many of your Majestie's subjectes.

36. Item, of eastalments being many, and a matter of great waight, losse, and infamie to your Majestie, and of great intisement of your people to that ill kind of deceit, and soe sclaunderous to the ghospell, it is wonderfull to good men, that after ill men have a long time deceitfully defrauded your Majestie of your rentes, revenues, customes, or other dutyes; that then, albeit they or their suretyes be able enough to pay the debte, and also beare the penalty of the statutes for the time they have wrongfully withheld it: yet, against all equity and conscience, in steade of punishment, they must have it estalled to be paid in a number of yeares to come: a pyttifull case.

And when I speake, write, or worke against these and multitudes of other like good things; what adooe their is on every side, and what outcrying their is against mee, and what inward hatred is borne me, which sometimes breakes forth and shewes it selfe by their sower lookes, bitter speaches and tauntes, and by their lifting at me, and paying me home one way or other when they can themselves, or when others can for them, your Majestie wold wonder if you knew; and the more because some of them beare great sheow and name of good men and ghospellers; but, alas! piteous ones; God amend them and us all, that wee together that professe the gospell, may study and strive not onely to love and doe what he comaundes, and to hate and resiste what he forbiddes; but also those of us that be in authority, to bring all others thereunto by great intreaty and good rewardes, if that will serve; if not, by roughe threatens and sharpe strokes as he hath appointed for the bringing home unto himselfe of every creature.

Mem. Maintainers of your Majestie's title and profit would be much made of in all your courts of recoorde, and passe through all offices without paying of any fees, or sustaining of any charges.

Nota. A righte court of conscience, with judges that loved righteousnes and hated iniquity, would remedy these and hundreds of other great injuryes and wrong which have bin and dayly are done to your Majestie and to the crowne of Englande, and thowsands of great injuryes and wrongs which have bin and dayly be done to the poorer sort of your people, under colour of the law: whereas the law, by the originall groundes, principles, and maximes thereof (grounded upon God's word and equity) is said to condemne all deceit, injury, and wrong whatsoever, and to appoint punishment for the same.

^s [Owed.]

^s [Instalments.]

Memoriæ Honoratissimi Domini Francisci, Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani, sacrum.

Londini in Officina Johannis Haviland. 1626

[Quarto, Seventeen Leaves.]

Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, &c. died 9th of April, 1626, at the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, being Easter-day, and was privately buried in the chapel of St. Michael's church, within the precincts of Old Verulam. In the chancel of which church, his faithful friend, &c. Sir Thomas Meautys caused a neat monument of white marble to be erected, with his Lordship's effigies sitting in a contemplative posture, with the following inscription written by Sir Henry Wotton. The present tract is of very rare occurrence.

FRANCISCUS BACON,
Baro de Verulam, Sancti Albani Vicecomes;
Seu notioribus Titulis,
Scientiam Lumen, Facundiæ Lex,
Sic sedebat.

Qui postquam omnia naturalis Sapientiæ,
Et civilis Arcana evolvisset,
Naturæ Decretum explevit,
Composita solvantur;
Anno Domini, M.DC.XXVI.
Ætatis LXVI.

Tanti Viri

Mem.

Thomas Meautys
Superstitis Cultor,
Defuncti Admirator,
H. P.

Lectori S.

QUOD præcipuum sibi duxit honoratissimus Dominus meus, Vice-Comes Sancti Albani, academiis et viris literatioribus ut cordi esset, id (credo) obtinuit; quandoquidem insignia hæc amoris et mœstitiæ monumenta indicant, quantum amissio ejus eorundem cordi doleat. Neque verò parcâ manu symbolum hoc conjecerunt in eum musæ; (plurimos enim, eosque optimos versus apud me contineo;) sed quia ipse mole non delectabatur, molem haud magnam extruxi. Satis etiam sit, ista veluti fundamenta, præsentis sæculi nomine, jecisse; fabricam (puto) hanc exornabit et amplificabit unumquodque sæculum; cuinam autem sæculo ultimam manum imponere datum sit, id Deo tantum et fati manifestum.

G. RAWLEY, S. T. D.

Deploratio Obitûs omnia doctissimi et clarissimi Viri D. Francisci Bacon
S. Albanensis.

ALBANI plorate lares, tuque optime martyr,
Fata Verulamii non temeranda senis.
Optime martyr et in veteres i tu quoque luctus,
Cui nil post dirum tristius amphibalum.

Baconi Opera literaria vocantur ad Rogum.

INSTAURATIO magna; dicta acutè;
Augmentum geminum scientiarum,
Et scriptum patriè et dein Latinè
Auctu multiplici, profunda vitæ
Mortisque historia, ut lita anne lota
Rivo nectaris Atticive mellis!
Henricus neque septimus tacetor;
Et quicquid venerum politiorum, et
Si quid præterii inscius libellum
Quos magni peperit vigor Baconi.
Plus novem edecumata musa musis,
Omnes funebribus subite flammis,
Et lucem date liquidam parenti.
Non sunt sæcula digna quæ fruuntur
Vobis, ah Domino (ah nefas) perempto.

S. COLLINS, R. C. P.

In Obitum incomparabilis Francisci Vicecomitis Sancti Albani, Baronis
Verulamii.

DUM longi lentique gemis sub pondere morbi
Atque hæret dubio tabida vita pede;
Quid voluit prudens fatum, jam sentio tandem:
Constat, Aprile uno te potuisse mori:
Ut flos hinc lacrymis, illinc Philomela querelis
Deducant linguæ funera sola tuæ.

GEORGIUS HERBERT.

In Obitum honoratissimi Viri ac Domini, D. Francisci de Verulamio, Viceco-
mitis Sancti Albani, nuperi Angliæ Cancellarii.

ADHUC superbis insolente purpurâ
Feretri rapinis inclytos in tot viros
Sterile tribunal? cilicio dicas diem,
Saccumque totam facito luxuriam fori.
A Themide libra nec geratur pensilis,
Sed urna, prægravis urna Verulamii.
Expendat. Eheu! Ephorus haud lancem premit,
Sed Areopagus; nec minor tantus sophos,
Quam porticus bracchata. Nam vester, scholæ,

Gemiscit axis, tanta dum moles ruit.
Orbis soluta cardo litterarii,
Ubi studio coluit togam et trabeam pari.
Qualis per umbras ditis Euridice vagans
Palpare gestiit Orphæum, quali Orphæus,
Saliente tandem (vix prius crispâ) Styge,
Alite fibras lyræ titillavit manu;
Talis plicata philologon ænigmatis
Petiit Baconum vindicem, tali manu
Lactata cristas extulit philosophia:
Humique soccis reptitantem comicis
Non proprio ardelionibus molimine
Sarsit, sed instauravit. Hinc politiùs
Surgit cothurno celsiore, et organo
Stagirita virbius reviviscit novo.

Calpen superbo Abylamque vincit remige
Phœbi Columbus, artibus novis novum
Daturus orbem; promovet conamina
Juvenilis ardor, usque ad invidiam trucem
Fati minacis. Quis senex vel Hannibal,
Oculi superstitis timens caliginem,
Signis suburram ventilat victricibus?
Quis Milo multus quercubus bilem movet,
Senecta tauro gibba cùm gravior premit?
Dum noster heros traderet scientias
Æternitati, prorsus expeditior
Sui sepulchri comperitur artifex.
Placida videtur ecstasis speculatio,
Quâ mens tueri volucris idæas boni
In lacteos properat Olympi tramites.
His immoratur sedibus domestica,
Peregrina propriis. Redit. Joculariter
Fugax; vagatur rursus, et rursus redit.
Furtiva tandem seriò, se substrahit
Totam; gementi, morbido cadaveri
Sic desuescit anima, sic jubet mori.

Agite lugubres musæ, et à Libani jugis
Cumulate thura. Sydus in pyram illius
Scintillet omne; scelus sit accendi rogam
Regum Prometheo culinari foco.
Et si qua fortè ludat in cineres sacros
Aura petulantior, fugamque suadeat,
Tunc flete; lachrymis in amplexus ruent
Globuli sequaces. Denuò fundamine
Ergastuli everso radicitùs tui
Evehere fœlix anima, Jacobum pete,
Ostende, et illuc civicam fidem sequi.
E tripode juris, dictites oracula
Themidos alumni. Sic (beati cœlites)
Astræa pristino fruatur vindice,
Vel cum Bacono rursus Astræam date.

R. P.

*Memoriae Meritisque honoratissimi D. Francisci D. Verulamii, Vice-Comitis
Sancti-Albani*

LUGETE fletu turbulenta flumina,
Sub calce nata Pegasi,
Rivoque nigrum vix trahente pulverem
Limo profana currite.
Viridisque Daphnes decidens ramis honos
Arescat infœlicibus.
Quorsum Camænæ laureas inutiles
Mœsti colatis hortuli?
Quin vos severis stipitem bipennibus
Vanæ secatis arboris!
Vivos reliquit, cui solebat unico
Coronam ferre lauream,
Divûm potitus arce Verulamius
Coronâ fulget aureâ:
Supra cœli terminos sedens amat
Stellas videre cernuus:
Sophiam qui sede cœlitum reconditam
Invidit immortalibus,
Aggressus orbi redditam cultu novo
Mortalibus reducere:
Quo nemo terras incolens majoribus
Donis pollebat ingeni:
Nec ullus æquè gnavitèr superstitem
Themis maritat Palladi.
Adductus istis, dum vigeat, artibus
Aonidum sacer chorus,
In laude totam fudit eloquentiam,
Nihil reliquit fletibus.

Posui WILHELMUS BOSWELL.

*In Obitum honoratissimi Domini Francisci Baconii, magni nuper totius
Angliæ Cancellarii, &c.*

AUDAX exemplum quò mens humana feratur
Et sæcli vindex ingeniose tui,
Dum senio macras recoquis fœliciter artes,
Subtrahis et prisco libera colla iugo,
Quo deflenda modo veniunt tua funera? quales
Exposcunt lacrymas, quid sibi fata volunt?
An timuit natura parens ne nuda jaceret,
Detraxit vestem dum tua dextra sacram?
Ignotique oculis rerum patuere recessus,
Fugit et aspectum rimula nulla tuum?
An verò, antiquis olim data sponsa maritis,
Conjugis amplexum respuit illa novi?
An tandèm, damnosa piis atque invida cæptis,
Corripuit vitæ fila (trahenda) tuæ?

Sic ultra vitreum Siculus ne pergeret orbem
Privati cecidit militis ense senex.
Tuque tuos manes ideò (Francisce) tulisti,
Ne non tentandum perficeretur opus.

In Eundem.

SUNT qui defuncti vivant in marmore, et ævum
Annosis credant postibus omne suum :
Ære micant alii, aut fulvo spectantur in auro,
Et, dum se ludunt, ludere fata putant.
Altera pars hominum, numerosâ prole superstes,
Cum Niobe magnos temnit iniqua deos :
At tua cælatis hæret nec fama columnis,
Nec tumulo legitur, siste viator iter :
Siqua patrem proles referat, non corporis illa est,
Sed quasi de cerebro nata Minerva Jovis :
Prima tibi virtus monumenta perennia præstat,
Altera, nec citiùs corruiura, libri :
Tertia nobilitas ; ducant jam fata triumphos,
Quæ (Francisce) tui nil nisi corpus habent.
Utraque pars melior, mens et bona fama supersunt,
Non tanti ut redimas vile cadaver habes.

T. VINCENT, T. C.

In Obitum nobilissimi Domini Francisci Baronis Verulamii, &c.

VISA mihi pridem nec in uno vivere posse
Tot bona sunt, unquam nec potuisse mori ;
Queis, quasi syderibus cælum, tua vita refulsit,
Et quæ sunt fatum cuncta secuta tuum ;
Ingenium, et largo procurrens flumine lingua,
Philosophi pariter, juridicique decus.
Nunc video potuisse quidem ; sed parcite amici,
Hic si non redeat, non reditura puto.

I. VINCENT, T. C.

*In Obitum illustrissimi clarissimique Herois, Domini Francisci Baconi,
Baronis de Verulamio, Ὀρυσωδία.*

MUSÆ fundite nunc aquas perennes
In Threnos, lacrymasque Apollo fundat
Quas vel Castalium tenet fluentum :
Nam Letho neque convenire tanto
Possint nænia parva, nec coronent
Immensa hæc modicæ sepulchra guttæ :
Nervus ingenii, medulla suadæ
Dicendique Tagus, reconditarum
Et gemma pretiosa literarum
Fatis concidit, (heu trium sororum

Dura stamina) nobilis Baconus.
 O quam te memorem Bacone summe
 Nostro carmine! et illa gloriosa
 Cunctorum monumenta seculorum,
 Excusa ingenio tuo, et Minervâ!
 Quam doctis, elegantibus, profundis,
 Instauratio magna, plena rebus!
 Quanto lumine tineas sophorum
 Dispellit veterum tenebricosas
 Ex chao procreans novam σοφίαν:
 Sic ipse Deus inditum sepulchro
 Corpus restituet manu potenti:
 Ergo non moreris (Bacone) nam te
 A morte, et tenebris, et à sepulchro,
 Instauratio magna vindicabit.

R. C. T. C.

In Obitum honoratissimi Baronis Verulamiensis, &c.

EN iterùm auditur (certè instauratio magna est!)
 Stellatâ camerâ fulgidus ore Bacon:
 Nunc verè albatus, judex purissimus audit;
 Cui stola (Christe) tuo sanguine tincta datur.
 Integer ut fiat, priùs exuit ipse seipsum:
 Terra, habeas corpus; (dixit,) et astra petit.
 Sic, sic, Astræam sequitur prænobilis umbra,
 Et Verulam verum nunc sine nube videt.

De Connubio Rosarum.

SEPTIMUS Henricus non ære et marmore vivit;
 Vivit at in chartis (magne Bacone) tuis.
 Junge duas (Henrice) rosas; dat mille Baconus;
 Quot verba in libro, tot reor esse rosas.

T. P.

In Obitum nobilissimi doctissimique Viri Dom. Fran. Bacon, Baronis Verulamiensis, &c.

SIC cadit Aonii rarissima gloria cœtus?
 Et placet Aoniis credere semen agris?
 Frangantur calami, disrumpanturque libelli,
 Hoc possint tetricæ si modo jure deæ.
 Heu quæ lingua silet, quæ jam facundia cessat,
 Quò fugit ingenii nectar et esca tui?
 Quomodo musarum nobis contingit alumni
 Ut caderet nostri præses Apollo chori?
 Si nil cura, fides, labor, aut vigilantia possint,
 Sique feret rapidas, de tribus una, manus;
 Cur nos multa brevi nobis proponimus ævo?
 Cur putri excutimus scripta sepulta situ?

Scilicet ut dignos aliorum à morte labores
Dum rapimus nos Mors in sua jura trahat.
Quid tamen incassum nil proficientia fundo
Verba ? quis optabit te reticente, loqui ?
Nemo tuam spargat violis fragrantibus urnam,
Nec tibi pyramidum mole sepulchra locet ;
Nam tua conservant operosa volumina famam,
Hoc satis, hæc prohibent te monumenta mori.

WILLIAMS.

In Obitum honoratissimi Domini, D. Francisci Vicecomitis Sancti Albani,
Baronis Verulamii, Viri incomparabilis.

PARCITE: Noster amat facunda silentia luctus,
Postquam obiit solus dicere qui potuit :
Dicere, quæ stupeat procerum generosa corona,
Nexaque sollicitis soluere jura reis.
Vastum opus. At nostras etiam Verulamius artes
Instaurat veteres, condit et ille novas.
Non qua majores: penitos verum ille recessus
Naturæ, audaci provocat ingenio.
Ast ea, siste gradum, serisque nepotibus, (inquit,)
Linque quod inventum sæcla minora juvet.
Sit satis, his sese quod nobilitata inventis,
Jactent ingenio tempora nostra tuo.
Est aliquid, quo mox ventura superbiet ætas ;
Est, soli notum quod decet esse mihi :
Sit tua laus, pulchros corpus duxisse per artus,
Integra cui nemo reddere membra queat :
Sic opus artificem infectum commendat Apellem,
Cum pingit reliquam nulla manus Venerem.
Dixit, et indulgens cæco natura furori,
Præsecuit vitæ filum operisque simul.
At tu, qui pendentem audes detexere telam,
Solut quem condant hæc monumenta scies.

H. T. Coll. Trin. Socius.

In Obitum nobilissimi Viri, Francisci Domini Verulam, Vicecomitis Sancti
Albani.

TE tandem extincto secum mors læta triumphat,
Atque ait ; hoc majus sternere nil potui ;
Hectora magnanimum solus laceravit Achilles,
Obrutus ac uno vulnere Cæsar obit :
Mille tibi morbos dederat mors, spicula mille,
Credibile est aliter te potuisse mori ?

THO. RHODES, Col. Regal.

In clarissimi Viri Francisci Bacon, Baronis de Verulamio, Vicecomitis Sancti
Albani, Memoriam.

NATURE vires pandens, artisque labores,
Arte potens quondam studio indagavit anhelos

Anglus, Rogerius Bacon, celeberrimus olim :
 Optica qui chymicis, physicisque mathemata jungens,
 Perspectiva, suæ præclara molimina mentis,
 Vivit in æternum præclaræ munere famæ.
 Anglus et alter erat clarus Bacon Joannes,
 Abdita Scripturæ reserans oracula Sacræ.
 Stirps Baconiadum quamvis generosa Britannis
 Pignora plura dedit, longè celebrata per orbem ;
 Franciscum tandem tulit hunc : generosior alter
 Ingenio quisquamne fuit ? majora capessens ?
 Ditior eloquio ? compluraque mente revolvens ?
 Scripta docent ; veterum queis hic monumenta sophorum
 Censurâ castigat acri ; exiguoque libello
 Stupendos ausus docet Instauratio magna ;
 Ventorum historiæ ; Vitæque et mortis imago.
 Quis mage magnanimus naturam artesque retexens ?
 Singula quid memorem, quæ multa et clara supersunt ?
 Pars sepulta jacet ; parti quoque visere lucem
 Rawleyus præstat Francisco fidus Achates.

ROBERTUS ASHLEYUS, Medio-Templarius.

In Domini Francisci Baconi jam mortui Historiam Vitæ et Mortis.

HISTORIÆ scriptor vitæ mortisque Bacone,
 Sera mori, ac semper vivere digne magis ;
 Cur adeo æternas præfers extincte tenebras,
 Nosque haud victuros post te ita tecum aboles ?
 Nostram omnium historiam vitæ mortisque (Bacone)
 Scripsti ; quæso tuam quis satis historiam
 Vel vitæ, vel mortis, iō ? quin cedite Graii,
 Cede Maro Latiâ primus in historiâ.
 Optimus et fandi, et scribendi, et nomine quo non
 Inclytus, eximius consilio atque scholâ ;
 Marte idem, si Mars artem pateretur, et omni
 Excellens titulo semihomoque ac studio ;
 Temptor opum, atque aurum tenui dum posthabet auræ,
 Terrea regna polo mutat, et astra solo.

In eundem Virum eloquentissimum.

VIDERIT utilitas, moniti meliora, sed adde
 Ex Ithacâ, fandi fictor, et omne tenes.

E. F. Regal.

In Obitum literatissimi juxta ac nobilissimi Viri Francisci Domini Verulam, Vicecomitis Sancti Albani.

OCCIDIT ante diem musarum phosphorus ! ipsa
 Occidit ah clarii cura, dolorque Dei.

Deliciæ (natura) tuæ; mundique Baconus:
Mortis (quod mirum est) ipsius ipse dolor.

Quid non crudelis voluit sibi parca licere?
Parcere mors vellet, noluit illa tamen.

Melpomene objurgans hoc nollet ferre; deditque
Insuper ad tetricas talia dicta deas.

Crudelis nunquam verè prius Atropos; orbem
Totum habeas, Phœbum tu modo redde meum.

Hei mihi! nec cœlum, nec mors, nec musa (Bacone)
Obstabant fatis, nec mea vota tuis.

In Obitum ejusdem.

Si repetes quantum mundo musisque (Bacone)
Donasti, vel si creditor esse velis;
Conturbabit amor, mundus, musæque, Jovisque
Arca, preces, cœlum, carmina, thura, dolor;
Quid possunt artes, quidve invidiosa vetustas?
Invidiam tandem desinat esse licet.
Sustineas fœlix, maneatque (Bacone) necesse est,
Ah natura nihil, quod tibi solvat, habet.

In Obitum ejusdem, &c.

Si nisi qui dignus, nemo tua fata (Bacone)
Fleret, erit nullus, credito nullus erit.
Plangite jam verè Clio, Cliûsque sorores,
Ah decima occubuit musa, decusque chori.
Ah nunquam verè infœlix prius ipse Apollo!
Unde illi qui sic illum amet alter erit?
Ah numerum non est habiturus; jamque necesse est,
Contentus musis ut sit Apollo novem.

Ad utrasque Academias Carmen Παράμυθλιτικόν.

Si mea cum vestris valuissent vota sorores,
(Ah venit ante suum nostra querela diem!)
Non foret ambiguum nostri certamen amoris,
(Et pia nonnunquam lis in amore latet:)
Nos nostrum lacrymis, et te potiremur Apollo
Delicium patriæ (docte Bacone) tuæ.
Quid potuit natura magis, virtusque? dedisti
Perpetui fructum nominis inde tui.
Cum legerent nostri pars te prudentior ævi,
Unum jurabant usque decere loqui.
Hunc nimium tetricæ nobis, vobisque negârunt
(Ah sibi quid nolunt sæpe licere) deæ.

Dignus erat cœlo, sed adhuc tellure morari,
 Pro tali quæ sunt improba vota viro ?
 O fœlix fatum ! cum non sit culpa (Bacone)
 Mortem, sed fœlix gloria, flere tuam.
 Sistite jam meritos fletus, gemitusque sorores ;
 Non potis est mæstos totus inire rogos.
 Et noster, vesterque fuit : lis inde sequuta est,
 Atque uter major sit dubitatur amor.
 Communis dolor est, noster, vesterque : jacere
 Uno non potuit tanta ruina loco.

GULIEL. LOE, Coll. Trinit.

In Obitum illustrissimi Domini Verulamii, Vicecomitis Sancti Albani.

DUM scripturivit multùm Verulamius heros,
 Imbuit et crebris sæcla voluminibus :
 Viderat excultos mors dudum exosa libellos,
 Scripta nec infœlix tam numerosa tulit.
 Odit enim ingenii monumenta perennia, quæque
 Funereos spernunt æmula scripta rogos.
 Ergo dum calamum libravit dextera, dumque
 Lassavit teneras penna diserta manus ;
 Nec dum finitam signârat pagina chartam
 Ultima, cùm nigrum Theta coronis erat :
 Attamen et vivent seros aditura nepotes,
 Morte vel invitâ, scripte (Bacone) tua.

JACOBUS DUPORT, T. C.

*Ad Viatorem, Honoratissimi Domini, Francisci Domini Verulam,
 Monumentum insipientem.*

MARMORE Pieridum gelido Phœbique choragum
 Inclusumne putes, stulte viator ? abi :
 Fallere : jam rutilo Verulamia fulget Olympo :
 Sydere splendet aper magne Jacobe tuo.

*In Obitum illustrissimi et spectatissimi tum à Literis tum à Prudentiâ et
 nativâ Nobilitate Viri, Domini Francisci Bacon, Vicecomitis Sancti Al-
 bani, &c.*

NON ego, non Naso si viveret ipse litaret
 Exequiis versu magne Baconæ tuis.
 Deducti veniunt versus à mente serenâ,
 Nubila sunt fato pectora nostra tuo.
 Replesti mundum scriptis, et sæcula famâ,
 Ingredere in requiem, quando ita dulce, tuam.
 Et tibi doctrinæ exaltatio scripta (Bacone)
 Exaltat toto jam caput orbe tuum.
 Curta cano, quin nulla magis ; sin carmina vitæ
 Te reparare tuæ, quanta (Bacone) darem ?

In Obitum honoratissimi Domini, Domini Francisci Baronis de Verulamio,
Vicecomitis S. Albani.

QUI fuit legis moderator, illâ
Lege solutus, reus ipse mortis
Sistitur, nostram politeia turbat

Sic radamanthi.

Qui Novo summum sophiæ magistrum
Organo tandem docuisset uti,
Mortis antiquâ methodo coactus

Membra resolvit.

Quippe præmissis validè nocivis
Parca conclusum voluit supremum
Huic diem, sensus ratione fatis

Insit iniquis.

Multa qui haud uno revelanda sæclo
Κρυπτὰ naturæ patefecit, ipse
Justa naturæ facili novercæ

Debita solvit.

Artium tandem meliore venâ
Occidit plenus, moriensque monstrat
Quam siet longa ars, brevis atque vita,
Fama perennis;

Qui fuit nostro rutilans in orbe
Lucifer, magnos et honoris egit
Circulos, transit, proprioque fulget
Fixus in orbe.

Carmen Sepulchrale.

SUB tumulo est corpus, (non debita præda sepulchri)
Virtutum exterius nomina marmor habet;
Sic pia saxa loqui docuit vestigia figens
Marmore in hoc virtus, ipsa datura fugam:
Nostra dabunt tumulumque æternum corda, loquantur
Ut famam illius saxa hominesque simul.

HENR. FERNE, Trin. Coll. So.

Ad Statuam literatissimi verèque nobilissimi Viri Domini Francisci Bacon.

OCTOGINTA negat qui te numerasse Decembres,
Frontem, non libros inspicit ille tuos:
Nam virtus si cana sanem, siserta Minervæ,
Reddant; vel natu Nestore major eras.
Quod si forma neget, veterum sapientia monstret;
Longævæ ætatis tessera certa tuæ.
Vivere namque diu cornicum condere lustra
Non est, sed vitâ posse priore frui.

G. NASH, Aul. Pem.

De Inundatione nuperâ Aquarum.

SOLVERAT Eridanus tumidarum flumina aquarum :
 Solverat; et populis non levis horror erat :
 Quippe gravis Pirrhæ metuentes tempora cladis
 Credebant simili crescere flumen aquâ.
 Ille dolor fuerat sævus, lachrymæque futuri
 Funeris, et justis dona paranda novis.
 Scilicet et fluvios tua (vir celeberrime) tangunt
 Funera, nedum homines, mœstaque corda virum.

JAMES.

*In Obitum honoratissimi Viri Francisci Bacon, Vice-comitis Sancti Albani,
 Baronis de Verulam, &c.*

ERGO te quoque flemus ? et æternare Camenas
 Qui poteras, poteras ipse (Bacone) mori ?
 Ergo nec æthereâ fruerere diutiùs aurâ ?
 (Indigni scriptis ventus et aura tuis ;)
 Scilicet indomiti tandem vesania fati
 Placari voluit nobiliore rogo :
 Sævaque vulgares jam dedignata triumphos
 Ostendit nimio plus licuisse sibi :
 Unaque lux tanti nunc luctûs conscia, peste
 Insolitâ quanti nec prior annus erat.

R. L.

*In Obitum nobilissimi Viri, Francisci Baconis, olim Magni Sigilli Angliæ
 Custodis.*

QUID ? an apud Deos coorta lis fuit ?
 An æmulum senex Saturnus filium
 Jovem vocavit in jus, rursûs expetens
 Regnum ? sed illic advocatum non habens
 Relinquit astra, pergens in terras iter,
 Ubi citò invenit parem sibi virum,
 Baconem scilicet, quem falce demetens
 Jus exequi coëgit inter angelos,
 Et ipsum se Jovemque filium suum.
 Quid ? an prudentiâ Baconis indigent
 Dei ? vel liquerit Deos Astræa ?
 Ita est : abivit : ipsaque astra deserens,
 Ministrabatur huic Baconi sedulè.
 Saturnus ipse non fælicioribus
 Degebat ævum sæculis, quibus nomen
 Vel aureum fuit, (sunt hæc poëtica)
 Quàm judicante nos Baconem degimus :
 Beatis ergo nobis numina invidentia,
 Volebant gaudium hoc commune demere :
 Abiit, abiit : sat hoc doloribus meis
 Est protulisse : non dixi est mortuus :
 Quid est opus jam vestimentis atris ? en en

Arundo nostra tincturâ fluit nigrâ ;
Camænarumque fons siccum se fecerit,
In lacrymas minutas se dispertiens :
Frequentibusque nimbis Aprilis madet
Dolores innuens : quippè insolentiùs
Furit fraterna ventorum discordia :
Uterque scilicet gemens non desinit
Ab intùs altius suspirium trahens.
O omnibus Bone, ut videntur omnia
Amâsse te vivum, et dolere mortuum !

HENR. OCKLEY, C. Tr.

In Languorem diuturnum, sed Mortem inopinatam, nobilissimi Domini
sui, Vice-comitis Sancti Albani.

MORS priùs aggressa est, fuit inde repulsa ; putabam
Incepti et sceleris pœnituisse sui.
Callidus obsessas ut miles deserit urbes
Incautis posito quò ferat arma metu ;
Mors pariter multùm hunc vulnus defendere doctum,
Averso à musis lumine sæva ferit.
Quam cupiam lacrymis oculos absumere totos ;
Nostra sed heu libris lumina servo suis.

Sic maculis chartam lugentem emittere cordi est ;
Nil salis hic nisi quod lacryma salsa dedit.

GUIL. ATKINS, Dominationis suæ Servus Domesticus.

In Obitum Domini Francisci Baconi, Baronis de Verulamio, et totius Angliæ
nuperi Cancellarii.

DUM moriens tantam nostris Verulamius heros
Tristitiam musis, luminaque uda facit :
Credimus heu nullum fieri post fata beatum,
Credimus et Samium desipuisse senem.
Scilicet hic miseris, fœlix nequit esse, Camænis,
Nec se quam musas plus amat iste suas.
At luctantem animam Clotho imperiosa coëgit
Ad cœlum invitos traxit in astra pedes.
Ergone Phœbeias jacuisse putabimus artes ?
Atque herbas clarii nil valuisse Dei ?
Phœbus idem potuit, nec virtus abfuit herbis,
Hunc artem atque illas vim retinere putes :
At Phœbum (ut metuit ne rex foret iste Camænis)
Rivali medicam crede negasse manum.
Hinc dolor est ; quod cum Phœbo Verulamius heros
Major erat reliquis, hac foret arte minor.
Vos tamen ô, tantùm manes atque umbra, Camænæ,
Et pœnè inferni pallida turba Jovis,
Si spiratis adhuc, et non lusistis ocellos,
Sed neque post illum vos superesse putem :

Si vos ergo aliquis de morte reduxerit Orpheus,
 Istaque non aciem fallit imago meam :
 Discite nunc gemitus, et lamentabile carmen,
 Ex oculis vestris lacryma multa fluat.
 En quam multa fluit ? veras agnosco Camænas
 Et lacrymas, Helicon vix satis unus erit ;
 Deucalionæis et qui non mersus in undis
 Pernassus (mirum est) hisce latebit aquis.
 Scilicet hic periit, per quem vos vivitis, et qui
 Multâ Pierias nutriit arte deas.
 Vidit ut hic artes nullâ radice retentas,
 Languere ut summo semina sparsa solo ;
 Crescere Pegaseas docuit, velut hasta Quirini
 Crevit, et exiguo tempore Laurus erat.
 Ergo Heliconiadas docuit cum crescere divas,
 Diminuent hujus secula nulla decus.
 Nec ferre ulterius generosi pectoris æstus
 Contemptum potuit, diva Minerva, tuum.
 Restituit calamus solitum divinus honorem,
 Dispulit et nubes alter Apollo tuas.

Dispulit et tenebras sed quas obfusca vetustas,
 Temporis et prisci lippa senecta tulit ;
 Atque alias methodos sacrum instauravit acumen,
 Gnossiaque eripuit, sed sua fila dedit.
 Scilicet antiquo sapientum vulgus in ævo
 Tam claros oculos non habuisse liquet ;
 Hi velut Eoo surgens de littore Phœbus,
 Hic velut in mediâ fulget Apollo die :
 Hi veluti typhis tentârunt æquora primùm,
 At vix deseruit littora prima ratis,
 Pleiadas hic Hyadasque atque omnia sydera noscens,
 Syrtes, atque tuos, improba Sylla, canes ;
 Scit quod vitandum est, quo dirigat æquore navem,
 Certiùs et cursum nautica monstrat acus.
 Infantes illi musas, hic gignit adultas ;
 Mortales illi, gignit at iste deas.
 Palmam ideo reliquis magna instauratio libris
 Abstulit, et cedunt squalida turba sophi.
 Et vestita novo Pallas modò prodit amictu,
 Anguis depositis ut nitet exuviis.
 Sic Phœnix cineres spectat modò nata paternos,
 Æsonis et rediit prima inventa senis.
 Instaurata suos et sic Verulamia muros
 Jactat, et antiquum sperat ab inde decus.

Sed quanta effulgent plus quam mortalis ocelli
 Lumina, dum regni mystica sacra canat ?
 Dum sic naturæ leges, arcanaque regum,
 Tanquam à secretis esset utrisque, canat ;
 Dum canat Henricum, qui rex idemque sacerdos,
 Connubio stabili junxit utramque rosam.

Atqui hæc sunt nostris longè majora Camænis,
 Non hæc infælix Granta, sed aula sciat :

Sed cum Granta labris admoverit ubera tantis
Jus habet in laudes (maxime alumne) tuas.
Jus habet, ut mœstos lacrymis extingueret ignes,
Posset ut è medio diripuisse rogo.
At nostræ tibi nulla ferant encomia musæ,
Ipse canis, laudes et canis inde tuas.
Nos tamen et laudes, quâ possumus arte, canemus,
Si tamen ars desit, laus erit iste dolor.

THO. RANDOLPH, T. C.

FINIS.¹

¹ [The following is a MS. insertion by Herbert in his copy of this tract :

'The Glasse of Time in the two first Ages, divinely handled by Thomas Peyton of Lincolne's Inne, Gent.'
Lond. 1623. 4to.

1st Dedication (in verse) to the illustrious Prince Charles, Prince of Wales.

2d, To the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Lord Chancellor of England.

Most honoured Lord, within whose reverend face,
Truth, mercy, justice, love, and all combine,
Heaven's dearest daughters of Jehovah's race
Seem all at full within thy brows to shine :
The king himself (t'immortalize thy fame)
Hath in thy name fore-typed out the same.

Great Verulam, my soul hath much admir'd
Thy courtly carriage in each comely part,
Worth, merit, grace, when what the land desir'd
Is pour'd upon thee as thy just desert,
Grave liberal mind contending with the rest
To seat them all in thy judicious breast.

Thrice noble Lord, how dost thou prize of gold,
Wealth, treasures, money, and such earthly cash ?
For none of them thou hast thy justice sold,
But held them all as base (infected) trash
To snare, allure, out from a dunghill wrought,
The seared conscience of each muddy thought.

Weigh but my cause, refer me not to those
That from the first were partial in my right,
Ah, this is more than once thine honour knows,
Thou seest mine own hath now undone me quite,
Whilst by a trick they got me in their paw,
Against the order of thy court, and law.

If I were such as some would have thee think,
I mean my foes, which utterly defame
Mine innocence, and all together link
To wound my state, and blemish much my name :
Yet justice wills, what in their hands hath lain,
Thus to my loss, should be restor'd again.

Ah, dearest Lord, hold but the scales upright,
Let court nor favour oversway my cause,
To press me more than is beyond my might,
Is but their reach to cross thy former laws,
Let me have peace, or that which is mine own,
And thy just worth shall o'er the world be blown.

Your Lordship's in all humbleness,

THOMAS PEYTON.

The Bodleian catalogue mentions an edition of the above in 1620.]

England's Elisabeth: Her Life and Troubles, during her Minoritie, from the Cradle to the Crown; historically laid open and interwoven with such eminent Passages of State, as happened under the Reigne of Henry VIII. Edward VI. Q. Mary; all of them aptly introducing to the present Relation. By Th. Heywood.

Cambridge: printed by Roger Daniel: and are to be sold by J. Sweeting, at the signe of the Angel in Popes-head-alley. 1641.

[Duodecimo, containing 214 Pages.]

Thomas Heywood, the author of this historical narrative, was a writer of almost incredible copiousness. This may be learned from the Biographia Dramatica, where he is described (from his own relation) to have had "an entire hand, or, at least, a main finger," in two hundred and twenty plays!! He appears to have been an actor, a translator, a poet, a dramatist, a deviser of city pageants, a various biographer, and an auctorial pauper. For, in allusion to one of his dramas, the following strange lines are cited by Langbaine from some contemporary:

*Well of the Golden Age he could entreat,
But little of the mettall he could get:
Threescore sweet babes he fashioned at a lump,
For he was christened in Parnassus' pump.*

His present literary offspring furnishes a curious detail of the troublous years of Elizabeth, while she continued a princess, and as he is said to have flourished during her reign, this circumstance may add some credibility to the incidents and conversations that are here narrated. Had something more than mere assertion given authenticity to the several statements, few tracts of a similar kind could have proved more minutely interesting.

A small whole length by Martin D[roeshout] is prefixed, which escaped the notice of Granger. It represents Elizabeth when a princess, with an enormous laced ornament rising above her head, that resembles a pair of wings. The Psalter lies open before her on a table, at Ps. lxiv. ver. 14: and a label issues from her mouth, with the words, "If the Lord had not been on my side." A view of Woodstock-house appears in the back-ground, and amid the clouds over a descending crown is inserted, "Many daughters have done well; but thou surpasses them all." I am indebted to Sir Egerton Brydges for the loan of Heywood's scarce publication.

To the right honourable the Lord Henry, Earl of Dover, Viscount Rochford,
Lord Hunsdon.

RIGHT HONOURABLE! when I had finished this short tractate, (which may be rather styled a superficial remembrance, than an essential expression of the passages of Queen

Elizabeth's life in her minority) I could not apprehend unto whom the patronage thereof might more justly belong, than to your honour, whose noble grandfather, Henry Lord Hunsdon, after lord chamberlain to her Majesty (her near and dear kinsman) was the most constant friend and faithful assistant in all her troubles and dangers: who not only employed his whole industry, and made use of his best friends; but liberally expended his means, and hazarded his own person as an interposer betwixt her safety and the malice of her both cruel and potent adversaries.

Which makes me something to wonder, that so great and remarkable a zeal, expressed in a time of such inevitable danger, when all her friends were held the queen her sister's enemies; and her enemies the queen's friends; when nothing but examinations, sentences of imprisonment, and terrors of death, were thundered against her; that he (I say) whom neither promises of favour could dissuade from her love, nor threatenings of death deter from her service, should not be so much as once remembered by the collectors of her history.

Be this, therefore, (right honourable) a lasting testimony of his unchanged affection to her and her innocence from the beginning; as likewise a long-lived monument of her royal gratitude towards him, extended even unto his end, and to his noble issue after him.

What great confidence she had in his loyalty, appeared at the camp of Tilbury, in the year 1588, where he solely commanded the guard for her majesty's own person; which consisted of lances, light-horse and foot, to the number of thirty-four thousand and fifty.

It hath pleased your lordship to censure favourably some of my weak labours, not long since presented before you: which the rather encouraged me to make a free tender of this small piece of service. In which, if my boldness should beget the least distaste from you, I must flee for refuge to those words of the poet Claudian:—

————— *leones,*
Quæ stravisse valent, ea mox prostrata relinquunt.

Thus wishing to you, and to all your noble family, not only the long fruition of the blessings of this life present, but the eternal possession of the joys future, I remain

Your lordship's in all observance,

TH. HEYWOOD.

—————
To the generous Reader.

WERE I able to write this little historical tractate with the pen of Tacitus, the ink of Curtius, and set down every line and letter by Epictetus's candle; yet can I see no possibility to avoid the critics of this age: who with their frivolous cavils and unnecessary exceptions, ambush the commendable labours of others, when they themselves will not or dare not, (either through idleness or ignorance,) adventure the expence of one serious hour in any laborious work intended for the benefit of either church or commonweal. And such polypragmatists this age is full of.

————— *Sed meliora spero:*

I doubt not but that they will spare this argument for the worth thereof. And though their carping may correct my poem, yet they will have a reverend respect of the person here drawn out: whose never-dying fame, even in this our age, is so sacred amongst all good men, that it is scarce remembered, at the least uttered, without a devout thanksgiving.

The prosperous and successful reign of this royal queen and virgin, hath been largely delivered in the Latin tongue, whereby all foreign nations have been made partakers of

her admirable virtues, and religious government. But for that part of her life, during her tender and sappy age, all our domestic remembrancers have been sparing to speak.

As they have shewed you a queen, I expose to your view a princess: they in her majesty; I in her minority: they the passages of her incomparable life from the sceptre to the sepulchre, as she was a sovereign; I the process of her time from the cradle to the crown, as she was a sad and sorrowful subject.

In the discovery whereof I have not fallen so pat as to make the relation of her minority the whole scope of my intentions; but have, for the better enlightening thereof, made use of all such eminent occurrences of state, as may aptly introduce thereunto.

As for those passages in the characterizing of King Edward the Sixth, the Lady Jane Gray, and others,

Vix ea nostra voco,

I have borrowed them from my good friend Master H. H.¹ stationer, who hath not only conversed with the titles of books, but hath looked into them, and from thence drawn out that industrious collection, intitled, *Heroologia Anglicana*. Not to hold thee any longer in that to which all this introduceth; if the book please thee I am satisfied, and shall rest still.

Thine,

N. R.

Henry VIII. Anno 1501.

England's Elizabeth: her Life and Troubles.

THE better to illustrate this history, needful it is that we speak something of the mother before we proceed to the daughter.

A match was concluded betwixt Prince Arthur, the eldest son and heir apparent to Henry VII. king of England, and the infanta Catharine, daughter to the king of Spain. She landed at Plymouth, *anno* 1501, and was married to Prince Arthur. In April next following, he expired at Ludlow, in that castle which hath been an ancient seat belonging to the Princes of Wales. Death having thus made a divorce betwixt these two princes, the two mighty and potent kings (by their grave and politic governments known to be as eminent in wisdom as greatness) for the more assured continuance of league and amity betwixt them, treated of a second match betwixt Henry, the second son (but then the sole heir and hope of England) and the late dowager, princess of Spain. The contract, by a dispensation solicited, and after granted by the pope then reigning, was accordingly performed. The marriage countenanced by their known wisdoms on the one side, and authorised by his ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the other side, was held not only tolerable, but irrevocable.

Notwithstanding, the father dying, and the sovereign son inaugurated by the name of Henry VIII. for many years together enjoying a peaceable and quiet reign, whether distasting his queen, by reason that by this time she was grown somewhat in years; or that he had cast an affectionate eye upon a more choice beauty; or that through scruple of conscience (which for his honour's sake is most received) I am not able to censure. But sure it is, that he began deeply to consider with himself, that notwithstanding the usurped liberty of the pope (whose prerogative till then was never thought disputable) that his marriage was not only unlawful but incestuous. Some are of opinion that he was hereunto moved by the nobility; others, that he was instigated by the clergy. But if we may give credit to his own protestation in open court, the first original of this touch in conscience was, because the bishop of Bayonne being sent ambassador from the French

¹ [Henry Holland, a member of the society of stationers, and editor of the *Heroologia*.]

king, to debate a marriage betwixt the Duke of Orleans, his second son, and the Lady Mary, the sole surviving issue of him and his Queen Katharine; as the match was upon the point to be concluded, the bishop began to demur, and desired respite, till he were fully resolved whether the Lady Mary (by reason of the king's marriage with his brother's wife) were legitimate or not. The cause is doubtful, but the effect I am sure is unquestionable.

Although the king received from this Spanish lady a prince called Henry, born at Richmond on new-year's day, in the second year of his reign, for whose nativity great triumphs were kept at Westminster, yet breathed his last upon St. Matthew's day following. Besides, he had by her a second issue, the Lady Mary before-named. So that neither sterility nor barrenness could be aspersed upon her, nor any known disobedience or disloyalty objected against her: but that, (as the king himself often protested) she was a wife no way refractory, but in all things corresponding to his desires and pleasures. These things notwithstanding, the pretended divorce, was to the king's great cost and charge, so effectually negociated, that after they had lived together by the space of twenty-two years and upwards in unquestioned matrimony, it was made the public argument in schools, debated by the French, Italian, German, and our own modern doctors, both ecclesiastical and civil, by an unanimous consent determined, and for the better confirmation thereof, by the seals of divers academies signed, that the marriage betwixt the king and queen (never till now called his sister, or brother's wife) was a mere nullity, absolutely unlawful, and that his sacred majesty had liberty and licence (howsoever the pope sought by all means to antipose their opinions) warrantable from them, after a legal divorce sued out from the court, to make choice of any other lady to his wife, where he himself best liked.

Cardinal Campejus was sent from his holiness, and Cardinal Wolsey was joined with him in commission, to determine of this difficult point: the king and queen were convened in open court, then held in Black-friars. The resolution of the weighty argument then in hand was so abstruse, that it puzzled all; though many seemed confident, yet not a few of the best orthodoxical divines then staggered in their opinions; insomuch that the legate departed the land before he would give up a definitive sentence in the cause: the reason was, because he desired further order and instruction from his holiness.

In the interim, the good princess, greatly beloved, was much pitied; and the king, much honoured, was greatly feared. For now most men's thoughts were in their hearts; a time better to think than speak. But before the divorce was publicly denounced, the Lady Anne Bullen, on the first of September, *anno* 1532, was at Windsor created Marchioness of Pembroke, and one thousand pound *per annum* conferred upon her by the king. Which news no sooner arrived to the dejected princess' ear, but she began to consider with herself the fickleness and instability of greatness; and seeing that sun to set in a cloud on her, which was beginning to rise serenely on another, who was now majestically ascending those steps by which she was miserably descending, expressed a woman's wondrous modesty, and without speaking any distasteful or irreverend word against the king, said, "Great men enterprising great things, ought neither by the laws of God nor man, to employ their power as their own mind willeth; but as justice and reason teacheth:" but fearing lest in speaking so little she had spoken too much, shut up the rest of what she thought to utter, in a modest and well-beseeming silence.

Upon the 25th of January, *anno* 1533, the king was married in his closet at Whitehall, to the Marchioness of Pembroke, the Lady Anne Bullen, but very privately: few were present at the ceremonies, then celebrated by Dr. Rowland Lee, not long after consecrated Bishop of Chester.

In this concealed solemnity, one Mrs. Anne Savage, much trusted by them both, bore up the queen's train. This lady was, within a few months after, espoused to the Lord Berkley.

On Easter-eve, being the 12th of April, the queen being known to the king to be young with child, went to the chapel openly as a queen, and was proclaimed publicly the same

day, Queen of England, and upon Whitsunday following crowned at Westminster, with all the pomp, state, and magnificence thereto belonging. Queen Katharine, who for many years had been their sovereign lady, is now quite forgotten : and Queen Anne, being to the people scarcely known, is solely honoured. The rising sun is only adored : their joyful acclamations readier for the coronation of the one, than their unjust exclamations to forward the deposing of the other.

Upon the 7th of September, being Sunday, betwixt the hours of three and four in the afternoon, Queen Anne was delivered of a fair daughter at Greenwich, who (to the great unspeakable joy both of prince and people) was christened on the third day following, being Wednesday ; the mayor of London and his brethren, with more than forty other of the gravest citizens, being commanded to attend upon the solemnities. It was performed in the Friars church in Greenwich, the font was of silver, placed in the middle of the church, with an ascent of three steps high ; the old Duchess of Norfolk bore the babe, wrapped in a mantle of purple velvet. The con-sponsors or witnesses were, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duchess of Norfolk, and the Marchioness of Dorset, both widows.

Not long after the birth of the Lady Elizabeth, a general oath of allegiance passed through the kingdom, to bind all such as by their years were capable thereof, to maintain and uphold the successive heirs descending from the bodies of the king and queen Anne, lawfully begotten, in the true and legal possession of the throne, crown, sword, and sceptre, with all the royalties and imperial honours thereunto belonging.

The conjectural of the administration of this oath, together with the suddenness of the queen's coronation, was to strengthen the match, and make the legitimation of her issue (which, by the king's former match, was, amongst many, yet made questionable) of more validity : for (as one observeth) *Anna coronatur, quod nulli nisi regni hæredibus contingere solet*. Queen Anne was, therefore, crowned, because it is an honour solely conferred upon such whose issue are capable of succession. Whereby it is probable that the king's purpose was to annihilate and extinguish the title of his daughter Mary, and to leave the crown and dignity royal, to the sole heirs of Queen Anne. For this cause were the two young ladies brought up apart, which may be a reason why they were after so different in their dispositions, and so opposite in their religions : both of them, though not sucking the milk, yet as well imitating the minds, as following the steps of their mothers ; Queen Katharine living and dying a constant Roman catholic ; Queen Anne, both in her life and death, resolute in the defence of the reformed religion ; which (as the most probable conjectures have left to us upon file) was, by the instigation of some Romists then powerful with the king, who was not then fully settled in those tenets which he after made his maxims, the prologue to her fall and life's catastrophe, which not long after happened.

On May-day, *anno* 1536, was a great justing held at Greenwich, in the which the chief challenger was the Lord Rochford, brother to the queen ; and the defendants were, one Henry Norris, of the king's bed-chamber, with others. They managed their arms with great dexterity, and every course which they ran, came off with the loud applause of the people ; insomuch that the king, at first sight, seemed, in outward show, to be wondrously delighted : but about the middle of the triumph (like a storm in the midst of a quiet sea,) the king arose suddenly from his seat, and, attended with six persons only, took barge, and was rowed to Westminster ; leaving no small amazement behind him, every one wondering and conjecturing, as their affections led them, what might be the occasion thereof. All things were with the night hushed up and in quiet ; no appearance of discontent either in king or courtier perceived : but no sooner did the day peep out, but the king's discontent appeared with it. George Bullen, Lord Rochford, the queen's brother ; and Henry Norris, the defendant ; were saluted with a cold breakfast next their hearts in their beds, and both conveyed to the Tower. The news being brought to the queen, struck as cold to her heart : and having passed over dinner with discontent, because the king, as his custom was, had sent none of his waiters to bid " Much good do it " her," at the table ; but perceiving her servants about her, some with their eyes glazed

in tears, but all with looks dejected on the earth, it bred strange conceptions in her; yet, being confident in her own innocence, bred in her rather amazement than fear.

The same day entered into her chamber, Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor; the Duke of Norfolk; Thomas Cromwell, secretary: and, a distance after them, Sir William Kinsman, constable of the Tower. At their first appearance her apprehension was, that they were sent from the king to comfort her about the imprisonment of her brother; but observing them to look more austere upon her than usually they were accustomed, she began to mistrust their message; but casting her eye beyond them, and espying the constable of the Tower to accompany them in their unwelcome visit, she grew then confident that her death was now approaching, and that these were the heralds to prepare it: so expressing more modesty than majesty, both in her behaviour and countenance, she prepared herself to attend their message, which the chancellor delivered unto her in few words; telling her, "That it was his majesty's command, that she must instantly be conveyed from thence to the Tower, there to remain during his highness' pleasure." To which she answered, "That her innocence and patience had armed her against all adversities whatsoever; and if such were his majesty's command and pleasure, they both should with all humility be obeyed." So, without change of habit, or any thing necessary for her remove, she put herself into their safe custody, and by them was conveyed into her barge.

Just upon the stroke of five, she entered the Tower: the lords, with the lieutenant, brought her to her chamber: to whom, at their departure, she spake these few words following: (falling upon her knees) "I beseech God Almighty to be my assistance and help, only so far forth, as I am not guilty of any just crime, that may be laid against me." Then turning to the lords, "I entreat you to beseech the king in my behalf, that it will please him to be a good lord unto me." Which words were no sooner uttered but they departed.

The 15th of the same month, the lords of the council met at the Tower; the queen was called to the bar, and arraigned before the Duke of Norfolk, who sat as lord high steward; the lord chancellor on the right hand, and the Duke of Suffolk on the left hand, with divers other marquisses, earls, and barons; the Earl of Surrey, son to the Duke of Norfolk, sat directly before his father, a degree lower, as earl marshal of England. The queen sitting in a chair, divers accusations, especially touching inconstancy, were objected against her: to all which she answered punctually, with such gravity and discretion, that it appeared to her auditory she could not be found guilty of any aspersion whatsoever. But when in their favourable censures they were ready (not without great applause, to acquit her; the jury brought in a contrary verdict, by which she was convicted, condemned, and had her judgment to be burned, or else her head to be cut off, at the king's pleasure. The sentence being denounced, the court arose, and she was conveyed back again to her chamber, the Lady Bullen, her aunt, and the Lady Kinsman, wife to the constable of the Tower, only attending her.

Two days after were brought unto the Tower-hill, George Lord Rochford, Henry Norris, Mark Smeton, William Brierton, Francis Weston, all of them of the king's privy chamber; who severally suffered, and had their heads stricken off; no other account of their sufferings being given out abroad, but that they deservedly died for matters concerning the convicted queen.

Two days after, the queen was brought to the green within the Tower, and there mounted on a scaffold, where were present most part of the nobility, the lord-mayor of London, with certain aldermen, and many other spectators. Her last words were these, "My honourable lords, and the rest here assembled; I beseech you all to bear witness with me, that I humbly submit myself to undergo the penalty to which the law hath sentenced me. As touching my offences, I am sparing to speak; they are best known to God, and I neither blame nor accuse any man, but commit them wholly to him; beseeching God, that knoweth the secrets of all hearts, to have mercy on my soul; next I beseech the Lord Jesus to bless and save my sovereign and master, the king, the

“ noblest and mercifullest prince that liveth ; whom I wish long to reign over you. He
 “ hath made me Marchioness of Pembroke, vouchsafed me to lodge in his own bosom :
 “ higher on earth he could not raise me, and hath done therefore well to lift me up to
 “ those blessed innocents in heaven.” Which having uttered with a smiling and chear-
 ful countenance, as no way frightened with the terror of death, she gently submitted herself
 to her fate ; and kneeled down on both her knees, with this short ejaculation in her
 mouth, “ Lord Jesus Christ, into thy hands I commend my soul !” With the close of
 the last syllable, the hangman of Calais at one blow struck off her head.

*Phœnix Anna jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
 Secula Phœnices nulla tulisse duos.*

The king, loth to shew himself too sad a widower for so good a wife, the very next en-
 suing day was married to the Lady Jane Seymour, daughter to Sir John Seymour, knight,
 sister to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Duke of Somerset.

Queen Anne was no sooner frowned on by the king, but she was abandoned by her late
 friends and servants. The young lady, her daughter, lost a mother before she could do
 any more but smile upon her. She died the phœnix of her sex, but left a daughter be-
 hind, who proved the phœnix of her time, the true daughter of so rare a mother phœnix.
 Queen Jane is now the sole object of all the people's joy ; but within little more than the
 revolution of one year all their hopes are crossed. Death nipped the bud, but preserved
 the blossom for a while after.

On the 12th day of October, in the year 1537, the queen was delivered both of a son
 and her own life together, at Hampton-Court, about two of the clock in the afternoon. It
 is said, that news being brought to the king in the time of her travail, that her throes were
 very violent, insomuch that her life was in great peril, by reason of the extremities of her
 hard labour ; nay, that the issue was driven to so strait an exigence, that either the mother
 or the infant must necessarily perish ; humbly desiring his highness in so great an extre-
 mity. His answer was, “ that the mother then should die ; for certain he was that he
 “ could have more wives, but uncertain whether to have more children.” Hereupon
 preparation was made to save both, if possible ; but her body was ript up to give way to
 her child in the conclusion, and two days after her delivery, her soul expired.

The queen died much pitied, and the young prince, called Edward, was, the 18th of the
 same month, created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Chester.

The father was so joyful of his son, that he seemed to cast a neglect upon his two
 daughters ; yet, of them both, the Lady Elizabeth was in most favour and grace. For
 when Mary was separated from the court, and not so much as suffered to come within a
 certain distance thereof limited, the Lady Elizabeth was then admitted to keep the young
 prince company in his infancy, who, in the time of his minority, was committed to the
 tuition of Dr. Coxe and Sir John Cheke. As they were guardians and school-masters to
 the prince, so were they the daily instructors of the sweet young lady. She was three
 years older than her brother, and therefore able, in her pretty language, to teach and di-
 rect him (even from the first of his speech and understanding) in the principles of religion
 and other documents. The Archbishop Cranmer, her godfather, was ever chary and
 tender over her, as one that at the font had took charge upon him to see her educated in
 all virtue and piety. Cordial and entire grew the affection betwixt this brother and sister ;
 insomuch, that he no sooner began to know her, but he seemed to acknowledge her, and
 she being of more maturity, as deeply loved him. Both coming out of one loins, their
 affection was no less than if they had issued likewise from one womb. They were, indeed,
 one way equally fortunate and unfortunate ; having one father, and either of them de-
 prived of a mother. And even in their several deaths there was a kind of correspondency :
 the one died by the sword, the other in child-bed ; both of them violent and enforced
 deaths.

So pregnant and ingenious were either, that they desired to look upon books as soon as

the day began to break. Their *horæ matutinæ* were so welcome, that they seemed to prevent the night's sleeping for the entertainment of the morrow's schooling. Besides, such were the hopeful inclinations of this princely youth and pious virgin, that their first hours were spent in prayers and other religious exercises; as either reading some history or other in the Old Testament, or else attending the exposition of some text or other in the New. The rest of the forenoon (breakfast-time excepted) they were doctinated and instructed, either in language, or some of the liberal sciences; in moral learning, or other collected out of such authors as did best conduce to the instruction of princes. And when he was called out to any youthful exercise, becoming a child of his age, (for study without action breeds dullness) she in her private chamber betook herself to her lute or viol, and (wearied with that) to practise her needle. This was the circular course of their employment. God was the centre of all their actions. *A Jove principium*: they began with God, and he went still along with them; insomuch, that in a short time they were as well entered into languages as arts. Most of the frequent tongues of Christendom they now made theirs. Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, were no strangers nor foreign idioms, but now made familiar with their native English,

—— *merito ut puer unicus orbis*
Jure vocaretur Phœnix; virgo, altera Pallas.

These concurrences met in such a concordancy, that the scholars (though princes) for their good instructions were in a kind of duty obliged to their tutors, and their tutors (for their willingness and industry) as much graced and honoured by their scholars. Alexander the Great confessed himself more obliged to Aristotle, his schoolmaster, for his learning, than to his father, King Philip, for his life: by the one he became a man, by the other an understanding man. This princely couple cannot be taxed of ingratitude; if all the malice in the world were infused into one eye, it shall never be able to detract either of them. How forward was the one during his time to promote Dr. Cox, his tutor? and the life of that Marian persecution being drawn to the last breath, the other recalled him from beyond the seas, whither he was fled, restored him to many church-dignities, and graced him so far, as that by her appointment he made a learned sermon that day when she went to her first parliament.

These tender young plants being past their sappy age, and now beginning to flourish, the old stock begins to wither. The king, feeling himself dangerously sick, many infirmities growing more and more upon him, called his council about him, made his last will and testament, part of which, so much as concerns this present discourse, shall be delivered as it hath been extracted out of the original copy, still reserved in the treasury of the Exchequer, dated the 30th day of December, 1546. *Item*, "I give and bequeath unto
"our two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, if they shall be married to any outward potentate, the sum of ten thousand pounds a-piece; and that to be paid them by the consent of our council, in money, plate, jewels, and household stuff, if we bestow them not in
"our life-time; or a larger sum, at the discretion of our executors, or the most part of
"them. And both of them upon our blessing to be ordered as well in marriage, as all
"other lawful things, by the advice of our aforesaid council; and in case they will not,
"that then those sums are to be diminished at our council's pleasure. Further, our will is,
"that from the first hour of our death, until such time as they can provide either of them,
"or both, of an honourable marriage, they shall have either of them or both of them, three
"thousand pounds *ultra reprisas* to live upon." I have known many a nobleman's daughter left as great a legacy, nay, a larger dower, who never had any claim or alliance to a crown; but so it pleased the king at that time.

Upon the 19th day of January following, the king, lying upon his death-bed, even when he was ready to give an account to God for the abundance of blood already spilt, when he knew himself was no longer able to live, he imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk, the father; signed a warrant for the execution of the Earl Surrey, the son: within nine days

after he himself expired, and on the 18th of February following, was, with great state and magnificence, interred at Windsor.

On the same day wherein the father deceased was the son inaugurated King of England, by the name of Edward the Sixth, being of the age of nine years. On the 19th of February following, he rode with his uncle the Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset, through the city of London, and the next day ensuing was anointed King at Westminster, by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who that day administered the holy eucharist, together with sundry other ceremonies appropriated for such solemnities.

Great is the person of a king; reigning here upon earth amongst men, he is a lively emblem of the high and glorious majesty of God in heaven. The king was no sooner crowned, but the Lady Elizabeth gave way to his state. There was now a discontinuance of that frequent and private familiarity, usual betwixt them; formerly she loved him as a brother, now she honours him as her sovereign. Honour and royalty make difference betwixt the son and the father; the degrees of state distinguish betwixt brother and sister: they which lived sociably in all familiarity together, now do not so much as talk but at a distance. The death of the father which raised him to the crown, removed her from the court; set him in the throne, sent her down into the country. In which retirement, being nobly attended, as well by divers voluntary ladies and gentlewomen, as her own train and household servants, she led there, though a more solitary, yet a much more contented life; as having now more leisure hours to contemplate and ruminate on those rudiments and exercises, wherein she had formerly been conversant. Diligence is the breeder and product of arts, but practice and exercise doth nourish and cherish them. She in her great discretion made gainful use of this solitude, as is apparent by the future.

Being settled in the country, to add unto her revenue, she had many gifts and visits sent her from the king; who was very careful both of her honour and health. She lived under the charge of a noble and virtuous lady, who was styled her governess. Scarce was she yet full fourteen years of age, when one of her uncles, then in great office and place about the king, brought unto her a princely suitor, as great in means as comely in person; a stranger richly habited and nobly attended, whose name my author gives not. He, after much importunity both from himself and friends, yet at last crossed in his purpose by modest repulses, and cold answers; and finding her immutable disposition solely addicted to a single life, as not enduring the name of a husband; settled, in his mind, (though not satisfied in her denial) retired into his country. For though it may be said of women in general, that they are spare in their answers and peremptory in their demands and purposes, that their affections are still in the extremes; either so passionate, as by no counsel to be redressed; or so counterfeit, as to be by no man believed: and again, if they are beautiful, they are to be won with praises; if coy, with prayers; if proud, with gifts; and if covetous, with promises; yet this sweet lady, though her beauty was attractive, yet by no flattery could be removed from her settled resolution; and being conscious neither of pride, coyness, or covetousness, could not be easily drawn within the compass of any subtle temptation. This first unwelcome motion of marriage was a cause why she lived afterwards more solitary and retired. If at any time the king, her brother, upon any weighty or important occasion, had sent to enjoy her company at court; she made no longer residence than to know his highness' pleasure, and to make humble tender of her duty and allegiance. That done, with all convenient speed she returned back into the country; where she spent the entire season of her brother's reign.

The king had three uncles left him by the mother's side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour. Edward was Lord Protector, and Thomas, High Admiral of England. These two brothers being knit and joined together in amity, were like a bunch of arrows, not easily broken asunder; but once dispersed and distracted betwixt themselves, they made but way for their adversaries how to assail them with little disadvantage.

The two great Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, Dudley and Gray, murmuring that his majesty's two uncles should bear such great sway in the kingdom (by which their glory seemed to be eclipsed and darkened) sought all means how to oppose this great

united strength of fraternal love. But finding that there was no other way left to cast this yoke from off their necks (which their ambition held to be intolerable) but only by making a disjunction of that brotherly love which had so long continued; and doubting how to work it by their servants, took a nearer course to effect it by their wives; so to draw their ruins out of their own bosoms. And most successfully to their own purposes thus it happened. Sir Thomas Seymour, Admiral, and the younger brother, married the queen dowager,² whose hap it was of all the rest to survive her husband. She contested with her sister-in-law for precedence and priority of place. Both were privately encouraged, both swelled alike with spleen; neither would give way to the other. The one claimed it as she had been once queen, the other challenged it as she was the present wife of the Protector. The two dukes were as fuel to this fire, new kindled betwixt the women. Dudley incenseth the one privately, Gray encourageth the other secretly; the wives set their husbands at odds by taking their parts, the Gordian knot of brotherly love is thereupon dissolved. Northumberland and Suffolk take hold of this advantageous occasion, insomuch that within a short time after, the Admiral was questioned for treason; by consent of his brother, condemned in parliament, and his head stricken off at the Tower-hill, March 20, 1549; his brother, the Protector, with his own hand signing the warrant for his death. The one being thus removed, there was now less difficulty to supplant the other. In the same month of February in which his brother lost his head, was the Protector committed to the Tower by the lords of the council. Many articles, especially touching the government of the state, were commenced against him; but the year after, upon his submission to the lords, and intercession made for him by the king, he was released. This proved but a lightning before death. His great and potent adversaries still prosecute their malice against him; insomuch, that not long after calling him to a second account, when he had acquitted himself of all such articles of treason as could be inferred against him, he was in a trial at Guildhall convicted of felony, and on the twenty-second of January was beheaded on the Tower-hill.

These two, next kinsmen to the king, the props and stays on which the safety of his minority leaned, the hinges on which the whole stated turned, being thus cut off; it was a common fear and general presage through the whole kingdom, that the two uncles being dead, the nephew would not survive long after. And so accordingly it happened: for all such gentlemen and officers as the Protector had preferred for the king's attendance, were suddenly removed: and all such as were the favourites of the two dukes, only suffered to come near his person.

In the interim was the match concluded betwixt the Lord Guilford Dudley, son to the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Jane Gray, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk. Not long after, the king fell sick, and died the sixth of July, in the seventh year of his princely government; and on the tenth of the same month the Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen. It is to this day a question both how he died, and where he was buried; yet others say he lies buried at Westminster. He was a prince of that hope, that it would seem improper thus to leave his honour in the dust uncharacterised.

He was studious for the propagation of the gospel, the refining and establishing of true religion; the foundation whereof his father had projected. Images he caused to be demolished, and (as idolatrous) to be taken out of all churches within his dominions. The learned men of his time he encouraged, and commanded them to open and expound the scriptures; caused the Lord's Supper to be administered in both kinds unto his people. In the third year of his reign, by parliamentary decree he abolished the mass, commanded the liturgy to be made, and our common prayer and service to be read in the English tongue. He was acute in wit, grave in censure, mature in judgment; all which concurring in such tender years, were beyond admiration. In the liberal arts so frequent, that they appeared rather innate and born with him, than either acquired by teaching or study.

² Catharine Parr.

All the port-towns and havens in England, Scotland, and France, he had *ad unguem* : not the least punctilio of any state affairs passed beyond his observation ; nor did he commit such observations to memory ; but had a chest every year for the reservation of such acts as past the council-board, himself keeping the key. He would appoint certain hours to sit with the master of requests, only to dispatch the cause of the poor. He was the inchoation and instauration of a glorious church and commonweal. He was perfect in the Latin, Greek, Italian, French, and Spanish tongues, and (as Cardanus reports) was well seen in logic, and the principles of natural philosophy ; no stranger to music, singing at first sight. In Melanchthon's common-places he was conversant, and in all Cicero's works, with a great part of T. Livius. Two of Isocrates' orations he translated out of the original into Latin. He was facetious and witty, as may appear in the fourth year of his reign, and thirteenth of his age ; being at Greenwich on St. George's day, coming from the sermon with all the nobility in state correspondent for the day, said, " My lords, I pray you, what saint is St. George, that we so much honour him here this day ? " The lord-treasurer made answer, " If it please your majesty, I did never in any history read " of St. George, but only in *Legenda Aurea* ;³ where it is thus set down, that St. George " out with his sword and ran the dragon through with his spear." The king having something vented himself with laughing, replied, " I pray you, my lord, and what did he " with his sword the while ? " " That I cannot tell your majesty ; " said he. To conclude ; he was so well qualified that he was not only the forwardest prince of all his ancestors, but the sole phoenix of his time. *Dic mihi musa virum* ; shew me such another. As he began and continued hopefully, so he ended religiously. Being fallen sick of a pleurisy, (some say, consumption of the lungs) having made his peace with God and the world, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, prayed to himself, thinking none to have heard him, after this manner :—

" Lord, deliver me out of this miserable life, and take me among thy chosen : howbeit, " not my will, but thy will be done : Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou " knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee : yet for thy chosen's sake send me " life and health, that I may truly serve thee. Oh, my Lord God, bless thy people, and " save thine inheritance ; Oh ! Lord God, save thy chosen people of England ; defend " this land from papistry, and maintain thy true religion ; that I and thy people may " praise thy holy name, for thy son Jesus Christ his sake : " to which he added, " Oh ! I " faint, have mercy on me, O Lord, and receive my spirit." With which ejaculation his life ended ; not without suspicion of poison delivered him in a nosegay : but the devilish treason not being inquired after, never came to light.

The Lady Mary being, at the time of the king's death, at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, was much perplexed with the news of the proclamation of the Lady Jane, as Queen of England ; but more especially understanding that it was done by the consent of the whole nobility. Hereupon the Suffolk men assemble themselves about her, (not liking such shuffling in state,) proffered their free and voluntary service, towards the attaining of her lawful inheritance. This being bruited at court, the great Duke of Northumberland having a large commission granted and signed with the great seal of England, by the virtue thereof raised an army with purpose to suppress and surprise the Lady Mary. The design was no sooner advanced and on foot, but the lords in general, repenting them of so great an injury done to the king's sister, and the immediate inheritrix, sent a countermand after him, the nobility forsook him, the commons abandoned him ; so that being come to Cambridge, he, with his sons and some few servants, were left alone : where, notwithstanding, he and his associates proclaimed the Lady Mary Queen of England, in the market-place, yet for all this, he was arrested of high treason in the King's College, and from thence brought to the Tower, and on a scaffold on the hill, the twelfth day of August, lost his head. This was the end of the great Duke of Northumberland.

³ He that shall but peruse the history of St. George, new written by Mr. Heylin, may soon go beyond the lord-treasurer's answer to the king.

Now those two great opposing dukes, Somerset and Northumberland, whose unlimited ambitions England and the government thereof could not satiate, one piece of ground contains them: they lie quietly together in one small bed of earth, before the altar in St. Peter's church in the Tower, betwixt two queens, wives of King Henry VIII. Queen Anne and Queen Katharine, all four beheaded. All their greatness and magnificence is covered over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet*. Northumberland overthrew Somerset, and raised himself upon his ruins. Mary, who was friend to neither, but indifferent to both, easily dispensed with the cutting off Northumberland, thinking herself to stand more firm by his fall and ruin.

The Lady Elizabeth, residing at her manor in the country, much lamented the death of her brother: being strangely perplexed in her mind, as not knowing by any probable conjecture, what these strange passages of state might come to. But, considering that amongst these tempestuous storms, her sister Mary's and her own were now at an adventure in one bottom, she resolutely first aided her sister with five hundred men, herself the foremost, *prima ibi ante omnes*; then the storm being over, she attended her majesty in her barge to the Tower, where was released, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Courtney, and Dr. Gardiner. Soon after, divers bishops, suspended in the days of her brother Edward, were restored: viz. Dr. Gardiner to Winchester, and John Poynt put out; Dr. Bonner to London, and Nicholas Ridley confined; John Day to Chichester, and John Scory excluded; Dr. Tonstall to Durham, Dr. Heath to Worcester, John Hooper excluded and committed to the Fleet; Dr. Vesey to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale cashiered. The miserable face of a wretched kingdom began now to appear. They that could dissemble their religion, took no great care how things went; but such whose consciences were joined to truth, perceiving that the lamps of the sanctuary began to shine dim, seeing those bright tapers pulled out of their sockets and extinguished, concluded that coals were now kindled, which would prove the destruction of many a good Christian; which accordingly happened.

From the Tower of London the queen rode through the city towards her palace at Westminster. The Lady Elizabeth, to whom all this while she shewed a pleasant and gracious outside, rode in a chariot next after her, drawn with six horses, trapt in cloth of silver, the chariot being covered with the same; wherein sat, only to accompany her, the Lady Anne of Cleve.

The fifth day of October she was crowned at Westminster, by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Thomas Cranmer being at that time in the Tower. The Lady Elizabeth was most princely attended at her sister's coronation. Five days after began the parliament, wherein, besides the supplantation of the reformed religion, Guilford Dudley, and the Lady Jane his wife, lately proclaimed queen, were both arraigned and convicted of treason. As for the Lady Jane, how unwilling she was to take the imperial dignity upon her, doth appear by this letter following, sent to her father a little before her death.

" Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life
 " should rather have been lengthened: yet can I so patiently take it, that I yield God
 " more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given
 " into my possession, with life lengthened at mine own will. And albeit I am very well
 " assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your own
 " woe, and especially (as I am informed) my woful estate: yet, my dear father, (if I
 " may without offence rejoice in mine own mishaps) herein I may account myself blessed,
 " that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry
 " before the Lord, '*Mercy to the innocent.*' And yet, though I must needs acknowledge
 " that being constrained, and (as you know well enough) continually assailed; yet, in
 " taking upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and
 " her laws: yet do I assuredly trust that this my offence towards God is so much the less,
 " in that, being in so royal estate as I was, my enforced honour never mingled with mine

“innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I
 “presently stand, my death at hand. Although to you, perhaps, it may seem woful,
 “yet to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to
 “aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure, with Christ my Saviour.
 “In whose stedfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father) the
 “Lord that hath hitherto strengthened you, so continue to keep you, that at the last we
 “may meet in heaven with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. I am,
 “Your obedient daughter till death,
 “JANE DUDLEY.”

She was no way conscious of those illegal proceedings practised against the queen by her own and her husband's father. Much grief there was for the Lady Jane. The queen herself took the sadness of her estate into consideration, gave her leave to walk in the queen's garden, not debarring her of any pleasant prospect belonging to the Tower: and had not her father, after first offence remitted, ran headlong into a second, it is generally conceived she would have pardoned her life. His miscounselled rashness hastened the deaths of these two innocents, Guilford and Jane. The statists of that time, especially such as were addicted to the Romish faction, held it not policy to suffer any that were addicted to the contrary faction to live, especially if they could entrap them, being fallen into any lapse of the law. Therefore, upon the twelfth of February, 1554, being the first day of the week, Guilford Dudley was brought to the scaffold on the Tower-hill: where having with great penitence reconciled himself to God, with a settled and unmoved constancy, patiently subjected himself to the stroke of death. The head, with the body still bleeding, were both laid together in a cart, and brought into the chapel within the Tower, even in the sight of this sad and sorrowful lady: the object striking more terror, than the sight of that fatal axe, by which herself was presently to suffer death. Being instantly led to the green within the Tower, and mounted on a scaffold, with a cheerful and undaunted countenance, she spake as followeth:

“Good people, I am come hither to die, and by law I am condemned to the same. My
 “offence against the queen was only in consent to the device of others, which now is
 “deemed treason; yet it was never of my seeking, but by counsel of those, who should
 “seem to have further understanding of things than I, which knew little of the law, and
 “much less of titles to the crown. But touching the procurement thereof by me, or on
 “my behalf, I do wash my hands in innocency thereof, before God and the face of you
 “all this day.” And therewithal she moved her hands, wherein she had a book, and
 then proceeded thus:—“I pray you all, good Christian people, bear me witness that I
 “die a true Christian woman, and that I look to be saved by no other means than by the
 “mercy of God, in the blood of his only son Jesus Christ. I confess, that when I did
 “know the word of God, I neglected it, and loved myself and the world; and therefore
 “this plague and punishment is justly and worthily happened upon me for my sins: yet
 “I thank God of his goodness, that he hath given me a time and respite to repent. And
 “now, good people, whilst I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers.”

As soon as she had thus spoken, she humbly kneeled down, and rehearsed the one and fiftieth Psalm in English; then she raised herself upon her feet, and delivered her book to Mr. Bridges,⁴ who was then lieutenant of the Tower. Beginning to untie her gown, to prepare herself for death, the executioner offered to help her; but she, turning herself to the two gentlewomen that then attended her, was by them disrobed both of her gown and other attires. Then the headsman kneeled down to ask her forgiveness; to whom she replied, “The Lord forgive thee, as I do; and I entreat thee to dispatch me as soon as thou
 “canst.” Then kneeling again, she looked suddenly back, and said, “Wilt thou take it
 “before I lie down?” He answered, “No, Madam.” Then she tied her handkerchief

⁴ [Sir John Bridges, created Lord Chandos immediately after.]

before her eyes; and being blindfold, she felt about for the block, and said twice, "Where is it?" Then laying her neck upon it, she stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit." The axe met with the last word, and she expired.

Never was a lady's fall more deplored; and herein it was remarkable; Judge Morgan, who gave the sentence of her death, presently fell mad, and in all his distracted fits cried out continually, "Take away the Lady Jane from me;" and in that extreme distemperature of passion ended he his life. Some report that the Lady Jane was young with child at the time of her departure: but though her Romish opposites were many, and the times bloody, Christian charity may persuade us, that they would not use such inhumanity against so great a person. She was, indeed, a royal lady, endued with more virtues than are frequently found in her sex, in religion and piety pre-excellent: her devout prayer to God, and oration to the people, demonstrated no less at the time of her execution. She was but sixteen years of age, of enforced honours so unambitious, that she never attired herself in regal ornaments, but constrainedly and with tears. Whilst she was prisoner in the Tower, these subsequent verses were found written on the wall with a pin:—

*Non aliena putes, homini quæ obtingere possunt:
Sors hodierna mihi cras erit illa tibi.*

Think nothing strange that doth on man incline:
This day my lot is drawn, to-morrow thine.

And thus,

*Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus:
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras, spero lucem.*

God on our side, vain is all strife's intention:
And God oppos'd, bootless is all prevention.
After night, my hope is light.

There be extant of her works in the English tongue, a learned Epistle to Mr. Harding, chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, her father, formerly a stout champion in King Edward's days, but now a renegado from the faith. A Colloquy with one Fecknam, a priest, two nights before her death, about faith and the sacraments.⁵ An Epistle to her sister, written in the end of the New Testament, in Greek, sent the night before she died.⁶

As for the Duke of Suffolk, her father, I can parallel his betraying to none so properly as to the Duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Richard III. As the one had a Banister, the other had an Underwood, a man raised by him only to a competent estate; unto whose trust and guard he committed his person, was by him conveyed into an hollow tree, morning and evening relieved with sustenance by him; every time of his appearance renewed his confidence unto him, and engaged himself, with millions of oaths, for the performance of his truth and fidelity. Yet easily corrupted with some small quantity of gold, and many large promises, Judas-like, betrayed his master, discovered him, and delivered him up to the Earl of Huntington: under whose conduct he was, with a strong guard, conveyed through London to the Tower, arraigned and convicted of treason, in the great hall at Westminster, and upon the 12th of the month of February, wherein the daughter expired, was the father beheaded on the Tower-hill.

Northumberland, and his son Guilford, Suffolk with his daughter Jane, being thus cut off, *paries nunc proximus ardet*, it was generally feared that the Lady Elizabeth's turn would be next. The queen was no sooner crowned, but she slighted her, and removed

⁵ [See this, printed in Vol. iii. p. 116.]

⁶ [See Vol. iii. p. 118, and last edit. of Noble Authors, i. 303.]

her into the country. The good lady was in the mean time much troubled to see how Bethel lay in the dust unregarded, and Babel only exalted; true religion dejected and superstition advanced; but more especially, understanding that herself was the but, and her life the mark they aimed at. Yet the snare was broken, the sword was turned into their own bosoms; she passed the storm, and at last arrived safely, to the joy of all true-hearted Christians.

This birth of ours is but an entrance into this life, where, in the sight of heaven, we must endure, for a trial of our valour, the furious shocks of many fierce encounters. He that sojourns in the camp of this life, must not hope for holidays; his travel can have no rest, his labour can have no end; no country but can yield a Pharaoh to destroy him, no clime but can afford an Herod to pursue him. The allusion needs no further illustration; the troubles of the Lady Elizabeth will make a perfect comment. She swam to the crown through a sea of sorrow, and having obtained it, how dangerously was her life insidiated by popish assassins? There wanted not a jesuitical Mariana to persuade treason, nor a bloody Raviliac to perform it; then the pope menaced her with his bulls abroad; now the Bishop of Winchester, the pope's agent, endeavours to supplant her with warrants at home; now she lives captivated to an incensed sister's indignation, hurried from one place to another, from post to pillar.

Quocunque aspicio nihil est nisi pontus et aer.

The sea of her sorrow is so broad and spacious, I can see no shore, descry no land at all.

She was greatly stomached by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and other Romists, as well of the laity as of the clergy; who studied by all means possible, not only to supplant her from the queen's love, but to deprive her of her life; the first being the way to the second. For the better effecting whereof with the more speed and safety, fortune seemed thus to smile upon their enterprise. Sir Thomas Wyat's insurrection and suppression both happening within some few weeks; but being over, and many having suffered for the same, others were likewise had in suspicion by the clergy, especially those whom they termed of the new religion. Here the train is laid for the lady, the net is spread, they think now all sure; but the phoenix they aimed at was delivered from the hands of the fowler.

This, which at the first was in the queen but mere suspicion, by Bishop Gardiner's aggravation grew after into her high indignation; insomuch, that a strict commission was sent down to Ashridge, (where she then sojourned,) to have her with all speed removed from thence, and brought up to London; there to answer all such criminal articles as could be objected against her.

The charge was committed to Sir John Williams, Lord of Tame, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis; all three counsellors of state. And for the better accomplishment of the service, a guard of two hundred and fifty horsemen were attendant on them.

The princess was, at the same time, dangerously sick, and even almost to death, the day was quite spent, and the evening come on. News being brought unto her by her servants (much affrighted) that so great a strength had begirt her house, and in such a time when her innocence could not so much as dream of any thing dangerous that might be suggested against her, it bred in her, howsoever, no small amazement. But ere she could well recollect herself, a great rapping was heard at the gate. She sending to demand the cause thereof, instead of returning an answer, the lords stept into the house, without demanding so much as leave of the porter; and coming into the hall, where they met Mrs. Ashley, (a gentlewoman that attended her,) they willed her to inform her lady that they had a message to deliver her from the queen. The gentlewoman went up, and told her what they had said; who sent them word back by her again, (it being then an unseasonable time of the night, she in her bed, and dangerously sick) to entreat them, if not in courtesy, yet for modesty's sake, to defer the delivery of their message till morning. But they,

without further reply, as she was returning to the princess's chamber, followed her up the stairs, and pressed in after her, presenting themselves at her bed-side: at which sight she was suddenly moved, and told them that "she was not well pleased with their uncivil intrusion." They, by her low and faint speech, perceiving her debility and weakness of body, desired her grace's pardon (the Lord of Tame speaking in excuse of all the rest) and told her they were sorry to find such infirmity upon her; especially, since it was the queen's express pleasure, that the seventh day of that present month she must appear before her majesty, at her court, near Westminster. To whom she answered, "That the queen had not a subject in the whole kingdom more ready or willing to tender their service or loyalty to her highness, than herself; yet hoped withal, in regard of her present disability, they, who were eye-witnesses of her weak estate, might, in their own charity and goodness, dispense with their extremity of haste." But the haste was such, and the extremity so great, that their commission was to bring her either alive or dead: "A sore commission it is," said she. Hereupon they consulted with her physicians, charging them on their allegiance to resolve them, whether she might be removed thence without imminent peril of her life. Upon conference together they returned answer, that she might undergo that journey without death, though not without great danger; her infirmity being hazardful, but not mortal. Their opinions thus delivered, they told her grace that she must of necessity prepare herself for the morrow's journey; and withal, that the queen, out of her great favour and care, had sent her own litter. At which words she raised herself upon her pillow, thanking the queen for such grace and favour extended towards her, telling them that she would contend with death to tender her life before her majesty, and, with that small strength she had, be ready for them in the morning; entreating them to take such slender provision as her house, at such time, could afford, and afterwards to repose themselves in such lodgings as were provided for them, and so gave them the good-night. They took their leave with great respect and reverence to her person; and after they had set a strong watch upon the house, first went to supper, and after that to bed.

Early the next morning, by the rising of the sun, she was mounted into her litter, and set onwards towards London. The people, as they passed the way, wondering at so great a guard, especially set upon one they so dearly affected, fearing the more, the less they knew; and because they saw her conducted as a prisoner, generally commiserated her case; some smothering their griefs in silence, and shaking the head; some expressing it in tears, others in loud acclamations, that the Lord God Almighty would safe-guard and protect her from all her enemies. In this manner she passed onward on her way to Redburn, where she was guarded that night: her sickness and infirmity had been guard enough, being able to ride but three miles the next day, tarrying that night in Sir Ralph Rowlet's house at St. Alban's. From thence she passed to South-Mims, resting her wearied body at Mr. Dodd's house there; and so the next day to Highgate; where, being very weak in body, and much dejected in mind, she staid that night, and the next day following. Thus was she brought to the court, and for full fourteen days after remained in a private chamber, altogether solitary and comfortless; not so much as suffered to see, much less to speak with any friend, but only the Lord Chamberlain and Sir John Gage, who attended at the door of her lodging. She had no comforter but her innocence, no companion but her book; she was armed with patience to undergo the heat of the day, to endure all opposition.

————— *Quò fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur:*
Quicquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est. —————

None can be brought to so wretched a condition, but they may have hope of better fortune. She knew that the clouds being over, the day would become clear; the sun but once appearing, those thick mists would be soon expelled. Thus she remained a sorrowful and dejected prisoner, in the hands of spleenful and potent adversaries; brought into

so strait an exigent, either to forsake her faith, or else to fall under the merciless cruelty of such as sought her innocent life.

Upon the Friday before Palm-Sunday, the Bishop of Winchester, with nine others of the council, convented her. Being come before them, and offering to kneel, the Earl of Sussex would by no means suffer her, but commanded a chair to be brought in for her to sit on. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and then Lord Chancellor, taking upon him to be the mouth of the rest, began very sharply to reprove her, (as if she had been already convicted) for having a hand in Wyat's rebellion. To whom she mildly answered with a modest protestation, that she never had the least knowledge of his practice and proceedings: "For proof whereof, (said she) when Wyat, at his death, was, by some malicious enemies of mine, demanded whether I was any way knowing, or accessory to his insurrection; even at the parting of life and body, having prepared his soul for heaven, when no dissimulation can be so much as suspected; even then he pronounced me guiltless. Besides, the like question being demanded of Nicholas Throckmorton and James Crofts, at their arraignment, I was likewise cleared by them: and, being acquitted of all others, (my lords) would ye have me to accuse myself?" After this she was questioned about a stirring in the west, raised by Sir Peter Carew; but answered to every particular so distinctly, that they could not take hold of the least circumstance, whereby they might any way strengthen their accusation. Which Gardiner perceiving, told her that it would be her safest course to submit herself to the queen, and to crave pardon of her gracious majesty. Whereunto she answered, "That submission confessed a crime, and pardon belonged to a delinquent; either of which being proved by her, she would then, and not till then, make use of his grace's counsel." Gardiner told her she should hear more anon; retiring with the rest of the lords, to know the queen's further pleasure. They being gone, she left alone, without either servant to attend her, or friend to cheer her, began to think with herself, that beauty was but a flower soon faded, health a blessing soon altered, favour a sun-shine often clouded, riches and glory no better than broken pillars; but innocency and truth unmoved columns. In the midst of these conceptions, Gardiner and the rest entered the chamber, and told her that it was her majesty's pleasure she must instantly be conveyed to the Tower; that her household was dissolved, and all her servants discharged, except her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms; and that for her guard two hundred northern white-coats were appointed that night to watch about her lodging, and early in the morning to see her safely delivered into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower. The very name of Tower struck a deep horror into her; insomuch, that the cheerful blood forsaking her fresh cheeks, left nothing but ashy paleness in her visage. She spake these words: "Alas, my lords! how comes it that I have so incensed my sister and sovereign? If it be held to be either criminal or capital to be daughter to King Henry, sister to King Edward of sacred memory, or to be the next in blood to the queen, I may then, perhaps, incur as well the severity of censure, as the rigour of sentence: but otherwise, I here protest before heaven and you, I never, either in act or thought, have as yet trespassed against her majesty. Whose pleasure, if it be so, that I must be confined, and my liberty restrained; my humble suit is unto you, to be petitioners on my behalf unto her majesty, that I may be sent unto some other place less notorious; that being a prison for traitors and malefactors in the highest degree." The Earl of Sussex presently replied, that her request was both just and reasonable; desiring the rest of the lords to join with him on her behalf. Whereupon the Bishop of Winchester cut him off, and told him that it was the queen's absolute command, and her pleasure was unalterable. When, after a little pause, "Well, (said she)

"FleBILE principium melior fortuna sequetur."

"Injury is but the trial of our patience, troubles are only instructions to teach us wisdom: by the one, falsehood from faith may be perceived; by the other true friends from traitors may be easily discerned."

"Gutta cavat lapidem."

"Hard things may be mollified, crooked things straightened, a rock will in time relent, and Troy, though it stands out long, it yields at last; whilst there is a sun to set, I will not despair of a good issue: *Non omnium dierum sol occidit*, shall be still my comforter." And with these words they all left her.

That night being spent in pious devotion, the next day following two lords brought word that she must instantly to the Tower, and that the barge was ready at the stairs to convey her thither: for, saith one of them, (whose name I purposely omit) "The tide will tarry for nobody." Upon which she humbly besought them, that she might only have the freedom of one tide more, and that they would solicit the queen for so small a favour. Whereunto he very churlishly replied, "That it was a thing by no possible means to be granted." Then she desired that she might write unto the queen; which he would not admit. But the Earl of Sussex, (being the other that was sent from the queen), kneeled unto her, kissed her hand, and said, "That upon his own peril she should not only have the liberty to write, but, as he was a true man to God and his prince, he would deliver her letter to the queen's own hands, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof."

Whilst she was writing, (for a small piece of paper could not make sufficient report of her sorrows, being so great in quantity, so extraordinary in quality) the tide was spent. Then they whispered together to take advantage of the next: but that course was held to be inconvenient, in regard that it fell out just about midnight. The difficulty alleged was, lest that being in the dark, she might perhaps be rescued.

Therefore, the next day, being Palm Sunday, they repaired unto her lodging again, and desired her to prepare herself; for that was the latest hour of her liberty, and she must to the barge presently. Whereunto she answered, "The Lord's will be done, since it is her highness's pleasure, I am therewith very well contented." Passing through the garden and the guard to take water, she looked back to every window, and seeing none whose looks might seem to compassionate her afflictions, said thus, "I wonder whither the nobility intend to lead me, being a princess, and of the royal blood of England. Alas! why, being an harmless innocent woman, am I thus hurried to captivity? the Lord of Heaven knows whither, for I myself do not." Great haste was made to see her safe in the barge, and much care to have her pass by London unseen: which was the occasion that both she and they were engaged to a remarkable danger. The tide being young, the bargemen feared to shoot the bridge: but being forced to it against their wills, the stern struck against one of the arches, and, wanting water, grated against the channel, with great hazard to be overwhelmed; but God in his mercy preserved her to a fairer fortune. She was landed at the Tower stairs, the same intended for traitors. Loth she was to have gone ashore there, laying open her innocent and loyal behaviour, both towards the queen and present state: but being cut short by the churlish reply of one who was her convoy, she went ashore, and stepped short into the water, uttering these words: "I speak it before thee, O God; having no friend but thee in whom to put my confidence: here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs, since Julius Cæsar laid the first foundation of this structure."—"Well, if it prove so" (said one of the lords) "it will be the better for you." As she passed along, the warders then attending, bade "God bless your grace:" for which some were rebuked in words, others by a mulct in the purse.

She was then delivered to the charge of the constable of the Tower, who received her as his prisoner, and told her, that he would shew her to her lodging; but she being faint, began to complain. The good Earl of Sussex, seeing her colour began to fail, and she ready to sink under his arms, called for a chair: but the constable would not suffer it to be brought. Then she sat down upon a fair stone, at which time there fell a great shower of rain: the heavens themselves did seem to weep at such inhuman usage. Sussex offered to cast his cloak about her, but she by no means would admit it. Then the lieutenant, Mr. Bridges, entreated her to withdraw herself from the violence of the storm into

some shelter. To whom she answered, "I had better to sit here than in a worser place; for God knoweth, not I, whither you intend to lead me." At which words, looking upon her gentleman-usher, and seeing his eyes full of tears, she told him he did not well to disconsolate her with his sorrow, who had so much grief of her own, that she doubted whether she had strength enough to support it.

Being locked and bolted in her lodging with some of her servants, she was much daunted and perplexed; but called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to lay her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather might not prevail against her. Whereunto she added, "The skill of a pilot is unknown but in a tempest, the valour of a captain is unseen but in a battle, and the worth of a Christian is unknown but in trial and temptation. This earthly globe, O Lord, is but a theatre on which thou hast placed us, to get some proof from hence of our sufficiency. Death will assail us, the world will entice us, the flesh will seek to betray us, and the devil ready to devour us: but all this and much more shall never deject my spirits; for thou, O King of kings, art my spectator; and thy son Christ, my saviour Jesus, hath already undergone these trials for my encouragement. I will therefore come boldly to the throne of grace: there it is, I am sure, that I shall find comfort in this time of need. Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident, thou Lord art my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? thou Lord art the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?" In this interim the lords took advice about a more strict watch and ward to be set upon her, all agreeing that it should be exactly performed. But the good Earl of Sussex was very passionate to hear all this, and said, "My lords, my lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will well bear: consider that she was the king our master's daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing as may hereafter prove answerable." The other lords agreed to his words, saying, "It was well spoke of him;" and so for that time departed.

Two days after, Gardiner making use of the queen's name and authority, caused mass to be enforcedly said and sung before her; which seemed to be the greatest trial she had till that time endured: but necessity having no law, she was forced to give way to it, and not unadvisedly. That spirit is prodigious, which rather than shake hands with inconvenience, would cast itself into the jaws of danger. She, with a settled countenance, swallowed down, upon extremity, the bitter potion of indignity: she would rather bow than break; rather strike sail than perish in the storm. The greatness of her mind gave place to the weakness of her means: because she could not harbour where she would, she anchored where she might with best security.

Philip of Spain being interested in this story, as one whom God used for an instrument to preserve the Lady Elizabeth (all those that interposed his coming into the kingdom being cut off, namely, the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Wyatt, with all his confederacy, and the much suspected Lady Elizabeth being under safe custody in the Tower) I hope it will not be impertinent to impart somewhat of his landing, marriage, and coronation.

On the twentieth day of July, *anno* 1554, he arrived at Southampton, and was there honourably met and received by the queen's council, and the greatest part of the nobility. At his first setting foot on land, the garter was presented to him, and fastened about his leg. Before he would enter into any house, he went first to the church of Holyrood, there to give thanks for his prosperous and successful voyage. Having spent about half an hour in devotion, he mounted on a goodly jennet, richly caparisoned, sent to him that morning from the queen, and rode back again to his lodging, near adjoining to the Water-gate.

The Monday following, he left Southampton; and being most honourably attended by the nobility and gentry of England, he rode toward Winchester: but by reason of much rain that fell that day, the journey seemed less pleasant.

The next day, betwixt six and seven in the evening, he was there received magnificently, and rode to church before he saw his lodging. Loud music sounded at his alight-

ing; the bishop of that see, with four others, met him at the church door, with priests, singing-men, and choristers, attired in rich copes, with three fair crosses borne before them. At his first entrance into the church, he kneeled down to pray; which done, he arose and went under a canopy from the west door up to the quire. Perceiving the sacrament, he put off his hat to do it reverence, then entered into a goodly traverse hung with rich arras, and there kneeled again, till the chancellor began *Te Deum*, and all the quire seconded. That done, he was brought thence by torch-light, going on foot to his lodging, where the queen's guard attended on him. All the way as he passed along, he turned himself to the people on both sides, with a pleasant countenance.

After supper certain of the council brought him to the queen by a private way: she received him both graciously and lovingly: they had conference together about half an hour in the Spanish tongue. Which ended, he took his leave, and was conducted back to his lodging.

Upon Tuesday following, about three in the afternoon, he came from his lodging on foot, accompanied by the Lord Steward, the Earls of Derby and Pembroke, with other lords and gentlemen, as well strangers as English. He was all in black clothes; he shewed himself freely and openly to all men. At his entrance into the court, loud music played. The queen met him in the great hall, and kissed him in the presence of all the people; and taking him by the right hand, they went up together into the great chamber of presence, and talked together about a quarter of an hour. He then took leave of her majesty, went to the cathedral to hear evensong, from thence was conveyed to his lodging with torch-light.

On St. James's day, being the tutelary saint of Spain, July 25, the king and queen came from their lodgings towards the church, all on foot, richly attired in gowns of cloth of gold, set with stones and gems; he with his guard, and she with hers; each of them having a sword borne before them; that of hers, by the Earl of Derby; the other of his, by the Earl of Pembroke. Being come into the church, he went to one altar, and she to another, both hanged with curtains of cloth of gold; which being after drawn, it was thought that they were there shriven. Then they resumed their places, and being met, courteously saluted each other, he being at that time bare-headed. Six bishops went to the place prepared for the ceremony; the king was on the left hand, and she on the right. Winchester celebrated the nuptials; first in Latin, then in English. The marriage-ring was a plain hoop-ring of gold without any stone. The ceremonies being consummated, they both went hand in hand together; coming to the altar, they both kneeled a while, with each of them a lighted taper in their hand. After the mass was ended, the king of heralds openly in the church proclaimed their majesties King and Queen, with their styles and titles as followeth:

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith: King and Queen of Spain, Sicilia, Leon, and Arragon, Arch-dukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, Counties of Hasborough, Flanders, and Tyrol: Lords of the Islands of Sardinia, Majorca, Minorca, of the Firmland and the Great Ocean Sea: Palatines of Henault, and the Holy Empire: Lords of Friezland and Ireland, Governors of all Asia and Africa."

The trumpets ceasing, the king and queen came forth hand in hand, royally attended, and dined together openly in the hall at one table.

On the eighteenth of August they came to Suffolk-place in Southwark; there they dined, after dinner rode over the bridge, and so through London to Westminster. Great triumphs met them by the way, with the presentation of divers pageants and shews, having reference to their persons, and the great joy conceived of their royal marriage.

Here is one sister in her majesty, the other in misery; the one upon her throne, the other in the Tower, every day expecting some news or other of her death. It would make a pitiful and strange story, to relate what examinations and rackings of poor men there was, to find but out that knife which might cut her throat. Gardiner, with divers others of the council, came to have a second examination of her; demanding what conference

she had with Sir James Crofts, being then a prisoner in the Tower, and brought into her presence on set purpose to confront her: alleging that the speech which they had privately, was about her removal from Ashridge to Dunnington-Castle. At the first she was somewhat amazed, not remembering that she had any such house; but having recollected herself, "I do remember, my honourable lords, that I have such a house: but methinks you do me great injury, thus to press, examine, and produce every petty mean prisoner against me. If they have been delinquents and done ill, let them at their own peril answer it: but neither number me, nor join me, with such malefactors and offenders. As touching my remove to Dunnington, my officers, and you (Sir James Crofts) being then present, can well testify whether any rash or unbeseeming word did at that time pass my lips, which might not have well become a faithful and loyal subject. But what is all this to the purpose, my lords? Might I not without offence go to my house at all times, when I best pleased?" At which words the Earl of Arundel kneeling down, said, "Your grace saith truth; and for mine own part, I am much grieved that you should be thus troubled about matters of no greater moment." "Well, my good lords," (said she) you sift me very narrowly, but you can do no more unto me than God in his divine providence hath appointed; and to him only will I direct my prayers to forgive you all." Sir James Crofts kneeled unto her, (being heartily sorry that ever he should see that day to be a witness against her,) taking God to witness, that he never knew any thing by her worthy of the least suspicion. Yet notwithstanding there appeared not the least probability of any fault, nothing but mere suspicions and suggestions could be objected; she was still kept close prisoner: the constable of the Tower, then lord chamberlain, would not suffer her own servants to carry up her diet, but put it into the hands of rude and unmannerly soldiers. Of which she complaining to her gentleman-usher to have that abuse better ordered, the lieutenant not only denied to see it remedied, but threatened him with imprisonment, if he again did but urge such a motion. Neither would he suffer her own cooks to dress her diet, but mingled his own servants with hers. Violent he was in the persecution of her innocence, his malice was sharp and keen against her; insomuch that she was ready to sink under the heavy and insupportable burthen of his cruelty, but that God who still protected her, raised up an instrument to take off the edge of his so violent oppression. The Lord Chandos, then one of her keepers, moved the lords of the council on her behalf, and by his only intercession she had the freedom of the queen's lodgings, and liberty to open her casements to take in the air: which, before that time, could by no means be possibly granted.

In the interim a warrant came down under seal for her execution. Gardiner was the only Dedalus and inventor of the engine; but Mr. Bridges⁵ had the honour of her delivery: for he no sooner received the warrant, but mistrusting false play, presently made haste to the queen. She was no sooner informed, but renounced the least knowledge thereof; called Gardiner and others, whom she suspected, before her; blamed them for their inhuman usage of her, and took advice for her better security. And thus was Achitophel's bloody device prevented.

Soon after, on the fifth of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged, and one Sir Henry Benningfield⁶ succeeded in his place; a man altogether unknown to her grace, and therefore the more to be feared. The suddenness of the change did at that time somewhat daunt her; but the same power which removed the one out of his lieutenantship, at the very same time released her out of her close and strict imprisonment in the Tower, and from thence conveyed her to Woodstock, under the conduct and charge of Sir Henry Benningfield: with whom was joined in commission Sir John Williams, the Lord of Tame, and an hundred northern blue-coats to attend them. These presenting themselves before her, she instantly apprehended them to be her new guardians: but at the sight of Sir Henry, whom she had never till that time seen, she suddenly started back, and called to one of the lords, privately demanding of him, whether the scaffold were yet standing

⁵ [Thomas Bridges, Lord Chandos's younger brother.]

⁶ [Or Bedingfield, commonly pronounced Benfield.]

whereon the innocent Lady Jane had not long before suffered? He resolved her, that upon his honour it was quite taken down, and that no memorial thereof was now remaining. Then she beckoned another nobleman unto her, and asked of him what Sir Henry was? if he knew him? or if a private murder were committed to his charge, whether he had not the conscience to perform it? Answer was made, that he was a man whom the queen respected, and the chancellor much favoured; and that she should without doubt find him a man better qualified than she supposed, both of a stricter conscience and more Christian-like condition. "It is well (said she) if it prove so." She seemed herein something satisfied, and the rather, because from the mild aspect of the Lord of Tame, she expected some comfort: she perceived compassion in his eye, to defend her from the countenance of the other, which prefigured unto her nothing but oppression.

The nineteenth of May she removed from the Tower towards Woodstock, being that night appointed to lie at Richmond: whither they were no sooner come, and she entered into her lodgings, but the soldiers were placed about her, and all her servants billeted in by and out-houses. Which she perceiving, called her gentleman-usher fearfully unto her, bade him and all the rest of hers to pray for her; for she doubted that night to be there murdered, and that she had no hope to survive that morning. Wherewith he being struck to the heart said, "God forbid! that any such wickedness should be intended against your grace. If it were so, that God who hath thus favourably supported you hitherto, will defend you still: he is God omnipotent, God all-sufficient, God that hath relieved, God that can help, God that never will forsake all such as put their trust in him. Be of good courage, let not your grace be dejected; though sorrow be here in the evening, yet joy will be in the morning." She thanked him for his comfortable advice, and added, "Be merciful unto me, O God, be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee; yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast." Hereupon he departed with tears in his eyes, leaving her to God and herself; but could not rest, till he had acquainted the Lord of Tame with all such fears as her grace had conceived. Coming down into the hall, he found Sir Henry Benningfield and the Lord of Tame walking together; and having singled out the Lord of Tame, told him, that the cause of his coming was to be resolved, whether there were any secret plot intended against her grace that night or no; and if there were, that he and his fellows might know it; for they should account themselves happy to lose their lives in her rescue. The Lord of Tame nobly replied, that all such fears were needless; for if any such thing were attempted, he and all his followers would spend their bloods in her defence. So, praise be to God, they passed that night in safety, though with no little grief of heart.

The next morning, the country people understanding which way she was to take her journey, had assembled themselves in divers places, some praying for her preservation and liberty, others presented her with nosegays, and such expressions of their loves as the country afforded. The inhabitants of neighbour villages commanded the bells to be rung; so that what with the loud acclamations of people, and the sound of bells, the very air did echo with the preservation of Elizabeth. Which being perceived by Sir Henry Benningfield, he called them rebels and traitors, beating them back with his truncheon. As for the ringers, he made their pates ring noon, before they were released out of the stocks. The princess entreated him in their behalf, and desired that he would desist from the rigour used to the people. "I cannot by any means suffer (saith he) their clamorous outcries, they grate my ears with their babblings: besides, it is not tolerable by virtue of my commission." And at every word he spoke, he still had up his commission: which, the princess taking notice of, told him, "that he was no better than her jailor." The very name of jailor moved his patience: but knowing not how to mend himself, he humbly entreated her grace not to use that name; it being a name of dishonour, and a scandal to his gentry. "It is no matter (said she) Sir Henry: methinks that name and your nature agree well together; let me not hear of that word commission; as oft as you but nominate your commission, so oft will I call you jailor."

As she passed along towards Windsor, divers of her servants seeing her pass so sadly by the way, (being such as had been formerly discharged at the dissolution of her household)

requested her grace that she would vouchsafe to resolve them whither she was carried. To whom she sent back an answer in these two narrow words, "*Tanquam ovis*," as a sheep to the slaughter.

She lodged that night at the dean of Windsor's house, and passed the next day to Mr. Dormer's house. By the way there was great concourse of people to see her grace. The next night she came to the Lord of Tame's house; where she was most nobly entertained by all the gentry of the country, coming to congratulate her safety, and to condole her misery. Whereat Sir Henry Benningfield was highly displeased, and told them, that "they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer the least part of their actions; informing them that she was the queen's prisoner, and no otherwise; advising them withal to take heed what they did, and beware of afterclaps." Whereunto the Lord of Tame made answer, "that he was well advised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he; and that he would warrant both her grace's mirth and entertainment in his house." Sir Henry being thus opposed, went up into a chamber where was prepared a chair, two cushions, and a rich carpet for her grace to sit in. But he impatient to see such princely furniture for her entertainment, rather than he should not be taken notice of (like Erostratus that set the temple of Diana on fire, only to get him a name) he presumptuously sat in the chair, and called one Barwick, his man, to pull off his boots. Which being known over the house, he was well derided for his uncivil behaviour. That night she passed as a welcome guest to the Lord of Tame. But Sir Henry being formerly galled, (what with the royal entertainment of her grace, and partly by the jeering speeches lately put upon him,) he would not suffer her to sleep under the sole custody of the Lord of Tame, being in mistrust of his own shadow; and therefore set a strong watch upon the house.

The next day they came to Woodstock; where she was no sooner entered, but locked and bolted up as formerly in the Tower. Here her fears grew greater, and her liberty less; her lodging the meanest and coarsest about the house, night and day guarded with rude and uncivil soldiers. Besides, the keeper of the house was reputed a notorious ruffian, of an evil-conditioned life, one that waited his opportunity to deprive her of hers; and being encouraged by some great ones then at court, made divers attempts; but by the immediate hand of God was still prevented. And, for Sir Henry Benningfield, he was still the same, omitting not the least occasion to set his commission on the tenterhooks of severity. In this only she espied some small glimpse of comfort, that by the means of a worthy knight in Oxfordshire, joined in commission with Sir Henry, she had at last the liberty of the gardens to walk in; but Sir Henry locked and unlocked the doors himself, not daring to trust any with the keys. Whereupon she said unto him, "Why? are you not now my jailor?" "I beseech your grace, (said he) do but forbear that word: I am not your jailor, but an officer appointed by her majesty to keep you safe." "God bless her majesty, (said she) and from such officers, good Lord deliver me." Being in the garden, she was always employed in devotion, taken up with one meditation or other. Not the least pile of grass she trod on, but afforded instruction: *humus aut humi repens*, grass or grasshopper she acknowledged herself to be. Then casting her eyes upon those goodly parks, furnished with tall and stately oaks, whose erected tops and large-spreading branches overlooked the underwoods and lesser plants, not so much as admitting any sun-beam to reflect upon their boughs, but such faint chequer-spotted light as shined through the sufferance of their leaves; nor allowing the rain of heaven to fall upon them, only such as from superfluity and abundance dropped from their branches. To these straight and extending trees, she compared the nobility; to the *arbusculæ*, or smaller plants, the commons; but to the tamarix, the brier and bush, the poorest and meanest of the people. Then conferring the estate of the honourable with the condition of the humble, the tempests that shake the mighty, and blow over the mean, as being situate in the less eminent place: that it is the longest robe which contracts the greatest soil; they that walk on the tops of pinnacles are only in the danger, whilst those which are upon the ground march more securely.

Many were the troubles of this good lady, her dangers more, She had very near been

burned in her bed one night, had there not been prevention. She was *in medio ignis*, "in the midst of a fire," kindled (as it is reported) on set purpose to have consumed her; but being espied by a worthy knight in Oxfordshire to flame through the boards of her chamber, was presently extinguished. She was *in medio ignis*, in the midst of that fiery trial; the whole kingdom was then inflamed with bonfires of God's saints. There was fire in the centre, fire all about the circumference; fire at home, fire abroad; fire in her private chamber, fire all over the whole kingdom. What a dangerous exigent must she needs come to, whose life was thus assaulted?

*Tu quibus ista legas incertum est, lector, ocellis :
Ipse equidem siccis scribere non potui.*

Reader, with what eye canst thou this peruse,
Since writing them I wept, and could not chuse?

God, whose breath is as a flaming fire, blasted all her fiery adversaries, suspended the violent rage of all this fire, and snatched her as a brand out of the midst thereof; not so much as a hair of her head being singed. Being thus delivered out of the hands of her enemies, she persevered in the service of God all the days of her life; and for the present having well weighed the danger lately escaped, she said, "*Quid tibi retribuam, Domine?*" "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his blessings, so favourably from time to time bestowed upon me?" Then retiring into her private chamber, she thus began to pray:

The Lady Elizabeth's Prayer in the midst of her sorrow.

"O gracious Lord God, I humbly prostrate myself upon the bended knees of my heart before thee, intreating thee, (for thy son's sake) to be now and ever merciful unto me. I am thy work, the work of thine own hands, even of those hands which were nailed to the cross for my sins. Look upon the wounds of thy hands, and despise not the work of thy hands. Thou hast written me down in thy book of preservation, with thine own hand; O read thine own hand-writing, and save me: spare me, that speak unto thee; pardon me, that pray unto thee. The griefs I endure enforce me to speak, the calamities I suffer impel me to complain. If my hopes were in this life only, then were I of all people most miserable. It must needs be so that there is another life; for here they live many times the longest lives who are not worthy to live at all. Here the Israelites make bricks, and the Egyptians dwell in the houses; David is in want, and Nabal abounds; Sion is Babylon's captive. Hast thou nothing in store for Joseph, but the stocks? for Esau, but a saw? will not Elias adorn the chariot better than the juniper-tree? will not John Baptist's head become a crown as well as a platter? Surely there is great retribution for the just, there is fruit for the righteous. Thou hast palms for their hands, coronets for their heads, white robes for their bodies; thou wilt wipe all tears from their eyes, and shew them thy goodness in the land of the living. How good and desirable is the shadow of thy wings, Lord Jesus! There is the safe sanctuary to flee unto, the comfortable refreshing of all sin and sorrow. Whatsoever cup of affliction this life propines unto me, is nothing to those bitter draughts thou hast already drunk unto me. Help me, O thou my strength, by which I shall be raised; come thou, my light by which I shall be illuminated; appear, thou glory to which I shall be exalted; hasten thou life, through which I shall be hereafter glorified. Amen, amen."

Thus did she both devoutly and religiously make use of all afflictions imposed upon her: she ever laid her foundation upon that *primum quærite*, which is the chief cornerstone both of divinity and philosophy. But being overwhelmed with an inundation of sorrow and fear, she humbly petitioned the council that they would admit her to write to the queen: which at first was prohibited, but afterwards most lovingly permitted. Sir

Henry Benningfield brought her pen, paper, and ink, and would not so much as depart the room whilst she had pen to paper ; and ever when she was weary of writing, he carried her letters away and brought them again at his pleasure. But having finished her letters, he said that he would carry them to court. " No (said she) one of my own shall carry them, I will trust neither yourself, nor any that belongs to you therein." Whereunto he replied, " You are a prisoner to the queen ; I hope there is none of your servants dares be so bold as to deliver any letters of yours to her majesty ; you being in that case." " Yes (quoth she) I have none that are so dishonest, but will be as willing to do for me in that behalf, as ever they were." " That is true, (said he) but my commission is to the contrary ; I can by no means suffer it." Her grace replying again, said, " You charge me very often with your commission ; I pray God you may hereafter answer the cruel dealing used towards me." Then he, kneeling down, desired her grace to consider, that he was but a servant put only in trust by her majesty to keep her safe ; protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly observe her grace, as now he did the queen's highness. For his answer she returned him thanks ; beseeching God that she might never stand in need of such servants as he was : giving him further to understand, that his actions towards her were neither good nor answerable ; nay, such as the best friends he had could never maintain. " I doubt not (said he) but to make good account of my actions ; there is no remedy but that I must answer them ; and so I will well enough, I'll warrant you." Being angered and vexed with her grace's speeches, he kept the letters four days after they were dated. But in conclusion, he was fain to send for her gentleman-usher from the town of Woodstock, and asked him whether he durst deliver his mistress's letters to the queen. " Yes (said he) that I dare, and with all my heart." Then Sir Henry, half against his stomach, delivered them unto him.

Not long after her grace fell sick ; which the queen no sooner heard of, but she sent Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy to visit her. Being come to Woodstock, they carefully administered unto her, let her blood, and in six days set her on foot again ; and so taking leave of her grace, returned to court, and made a large report both to the queen and council of her humble behaviour and allegiance towards them. The queen no sooner heard it, but rejoiced at it. Her adversaries looked black in the mouth, not knowing how to mend themselves, but only by inciting the queen against her ; telling her, that they much wondered that she did not submit herself, having offended her highness.

In the interim, her grace was much solicited by divers pretended friends, to submit herself to the queen ; informing her, that it would be well taken, and be very conducive to her benefit and further enlargement. The words were no sooner uttered, but she most resolutely made answer in this manner, " I will never submit to any one whom I never offended in all my life. If I am a delinquent, and have offended, *currat lex* ; ' let the law take course ;' I crave no mercy at all ; the law is just, and will not condemn me ; my keeper that locketh me up day and night, doth continually molest me. If I were but as free from the one, as I am from the other, I should think myself most happy. Howsoever, God in his good time will either mollify his heart, or move some other to procure my further enlargement."

The council-board, especially the adverse party, were no sooner possessed with the constancy of her resolution, but they sent up for Sir Henry Benningfield her keeper. No way was unattempted, which might make for their ends. Great consultation was held about a marriage for her. The Spaniards thought it most convenient to be with some stranger, that she might have her portion and so depart the land ; some thought that not to be the safest course, to send her abroad. But one lord, and Gardiner, resolved upon a more speedy one ; the one said, that the king would never have any quiet commonwealth in England, till her head were stricken off from her shoulders : the other, " My lords, we have but all this while been stripping off the leaves, and now and then lopped a branch ; but till such time as we strike at the root of heresy (meaning the Lady Elizabeth) nothing to purpose can be effected." " God forbid, (replied the Spaniards,) that our king and master should once conceive a thought to consent unto such a mischief."

And from that day forward they did not let slip the least opportunity to solicit the king on her behalf; informing him that the like honour he could never obtain, as he should have by delivering her out of prison: which was not long after effected. Sir Henry Benningfield staying long at court, made her jealous that his business was not greatly for her good. During his residence there, one Basset, a gentleman and great favourite to the Bishop of Winchester, came to Blandenbridge, a mile distant from Woodstock, where met him twenty men well appointed, and secretly armed in privy coats. From thence they came to the house, earnestly desiring to speak with the princess about serious and important affairs; but by God's great providence, Sir Henry her keeper had left so strict a charge behind him, that no living soul might have access unto her, upon what occasion soever, till his return: no, though a messenger were dispatched from the council, or the queen herself, he should not be admitted. By which extraordinary providence of God, drawing the means of her safety even from the malice of her adversaries, their bloody enterprise was utterly disappointed. These things, with others of the like nature, being delivered unto her, her doubts and fears daily more and more increasing, it is constantly reported, that hearing the milk-maids morning and evening singing so sweetly, considering their hearts to be so light and hers so heavy; their freedom, her bondage; their delights abroad, her dangers within; she wished even from her soul, both for the safety of her person, and security of her conscience, that no royal blood at all ran in her veins, but that she had been descended from some mean and humble parentage.⁷

Queen Mary was bruited to be with child, great thanksgiving was made, and prayers for that purpose were appointed to be read in churches: King Philip was chosen by a decree in parliament protector of the infant, male or female. Yet notwithstanding he greatly favoured the Lady Elizabeth. Her adversity made him very jealous of the English nation; apprehending that if they aimed at the life of a naturalist, being their queen and sovereign's sister, they would then make it a small scruple of conscience to assault him and his followers, being mere aliens and strangers. He did therefore hasten her enlargement; which happily was granted within few days after. But before her departure from Woodstock, having private notice that one Mr. Edmund Tremain and Mr. Smith-week were on the rack, and strictly urged to have accused her innocence, at her remove from thence she wrote these two verses with her diamond in a glass window:

"Much suspected by⁸ me,

"Nothing proved can be,

"Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner."

Immediately after, order came down to bring her up to court; whereupon, all things were prepared for the journey. Sir Henry Benningfield with his soldiers, the Lord of Tame, and Sir Henry Chamberlain, were her guardians on the way. As she came to Ricot, the wind was so high, that her servants had much ado to keep her clothes about her; her hood was blown from her head twice or thrice: whereupon she desired to retire herself to a gentleman's house near adjoining, to dress up her head, which, by the violence of the wind was all unready. The request was reasonable and modest, but Sir Henry would not by any means permit it; insomuch that she was fain to alight under an hedge, and there to trim herself as well as she could. That night she lay at Ricot, the next day they journeyed to Mr. Dormer's, and the third to Colebrook. Lying at the sign of the George, divers of her gentlemen came thither to see her: but, by the queen's command, were immediately sent out of the town; to both their and her grace's no small heaviness, being not so much as suffered to speak to each other. The next day following, her grace entered Hampton Court on the backside, the doors being shut upon her, the soldiers in their ancient posture for watch and ward. She lay there fourteen days, before any man had admittance unto her. Many were her fears, her cares doubled; but at length a sun of consolation appeared, the Lord William Howard came unto her, used her

⁷ [See Shenstone's graceful ballad, founded on this tradition.]

⁸ [By has here the signification of *of*.]

very honourably, condoled with her, and raised her dejected spirits with comfortable speeches; wherein she conceived much joy, and requested his favourable encouragement, that she might speak with some of the council; which he most lovingly effected. For, not long after, came her fast friend the Bishop of Winchester, accompanied with the Lords of Arundel and Shrewsbury, and secretary Peter, who with great humility humbled themselves to her grace. She was not behind in courtesy, but lovingly re-saluted them again, and said, "My honourable lords, I am glad with all my heart to see your faces; for methinks I have been kept a great while from you, desolately alone, committed to the hands of a strict keeper. My humble request is to all your lordships, that you would be the happy instruments of my further enlargement. It is not unknown unto you what I have suffered now a long time: I beseech you therefore to take me into your loving consideration." The Bishop of Winchester, kneeling down, replied thus, "Let me request your grace but to submit yourself to the queen, and then I doubt not but that you shall presently enjoy a happy issue of your desires." "No (said she) rather than I will so do, I will lie in prison all the days of my life. If ever I have offended her majesty in thought, word, or deed; then not mercy, but the law is that which I desire: if I yield, I should then speak against myself, confess a fault which was never on my part intended, by occasion whereof the king and queen may then justly conceive an ill opinion of me. No, no, my lords, it were much better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be, at liberty, suspected by my prince." She had no sooner uttered the words, but they all departed; promising to declare her mind to the queen.

On the next day the Bishop of Winchester came unto her again, and kneeling on his knees, declared, that the queen wondered that she should so stoutly stand out, not confessing to have offended; so that it should seem, the queen's majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her. "No (said she) I never had any such thought: it may please her majesty to punish me as she thinketh good." "Well (quoth he) her majesty willed me to tell you, that you must tell another tale before you are set at liberty." "Alas (said she) I had rather be here in custody with honesty and truth, than abroad at liberty suspected by my prince; and this that I have said, I will stand to: for I will never belie myself." "Why then (said he) your grace hath the advantage of me and the rest of the lords, for your long and wrong imprisonment." "What advantage I have, (said she) God and your own conscience can best tell: and here before him I speak it, for that dealing which I have had amongst you, I seek no remedy, but pray that God may forgive you all." "Amen, amen," (said he) and so departed. Seven days and nights she continued locked up in her lodging, not so much as having seen the queen, though both under one roof. Yet at last, after many letters written, long suit, and great friends made, she was admitted to the presence of the queen; whose face in two years and more she had not seen. King Philip having before mediated for her, and placed himself, unknown to the queen, behind the hangings of arras, on purpose to hear the discourse; her grace about ten of the clock at night was sent for into the presence. The suddenness of the message did somewhat daunt her, especially being at that time of the night. Whereupon, she intreated those that were about her, to pray for her; and then, with the constancy of her former resolution, she went towards the presence: where being entered, finding her majesty sitting in her chair of state, after three congées, she humbly fell down upon her knees, praying for the health, long life, and preservation of her majesty, protesting her truth and loyalty towards her person, notwithstanding whatsoever had been maliciously suggested to the contrary. Whereunto the queen very sharply answered, "Then you will not confess yourself to be a delinquent, I see, but stand peremptorily upon your truth and innocence; I pray God they may so fall out." "If not (replied the princess) I neither require favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands." "Well (said the queen) then you stand so stiffly upon your faith and loyalty, that you suppose yourself to have been wrongfully punished and imprisoned." "I cannot, (said she) nor must not, say so to you." "Why then belike (said the queen) you will report it to others." "Not so

" (replied the good lady) I have borne, and must bear, the burden myself; and if I may but enjoy your majesty's good opinion of me, I shall be the better enabled to bear it still: and I pray God, that when I shall cease to be one of your majesty's truest and loyal subjects, that then I may cease to be at all." The Queen only replied in Spanish, *Dios lo sabe*, that is "God knoweth it;" and so turning aside, left her to be conveyed to her former custody.

King Philip having privately overheard the conference, was now fully settled in a good opinion of her loyalty. He, well perceiving the inveterate malice of her adversaries, and her extraordinary patience in such a trial, did forthwith take order for her deliverance. She in the interim remained very solitary, not knowing what the event would be. Not one word of comfort could she imagine to have proceeded from her sister; yet, after long expectation in this deluge of sorrows, a dove appeared with an olive-branch in her mouth. Within seven days after, by the intercession of some eminent friends, she was discharged of her keeper, Sir Henry Benningfield; yet so, that Sir Thomas Pope one of her majesty's privy counsel, and Mr. Gage her gentleman-usher, were made superintendants over her. The change was (howsoever) most happy: she was now in *libera custodia*, under the hands of her loving friends; with whom she went down into the country, and there spent the remainder of her sister's reign.

The Bishop of Winchester, and others of his faction, looked black in the mouth, to see all their plots discovered, all their devices frustrate: yet rather than they would give off, they would play at small game; because they could not touch the Lady Elizabeth, they would have a fling at her household, and at those who were nearest unto her person. A warrant was sent down for no less than four of her gentlewomen at one time: which the lady no sooner heard of but said, "They will fetch away all in time." But not long after, it so pleased God that Gardiner himself was fetched away to give account for his actions. Howsoever, his death was the cause why she lived in less fear and more quietness.

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, hath had a long and tedious part in the troubles of the Lady Elizabeth: not one scene of all her tragical story but he hath had a share in it. It will not (I hope) be therefore impertinent to write a line or two of his *exit*; wherein I will wade no further than the warrant of sufficient authority shall direct me.

The same day that those two bright shining lamps, Bishop Ridley and Mr. Latimer, were extinguished at Oxford, Gardiner had invited the Duke of Norfolk and others to dinner; but caused the good old duke to stay for it till about three or four of the clock in the afternoon, being, as it should seem, not disposed to dine, till he had heard that fire was put to the two good martyrs. He would not feed his own body, till theirs was quite consumed. At length came in a servant betwixt three and four, and informed him of the certainty thereof. He no sooner understood it, but came out with great joy to the duke, and said, "Come, now let us go to dinner." The meat was served in, he fell merrily aboard; but before the second mess came in, he fell sick at the table, and was immediately removed thence to bed; where he remained full fifteen days in such anguish and torments, that he could not void what he had received, either by urine or otherwise. Lying in this extremity, Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester, came to visit and comfort him with words of God's promise, and free justification in the blood of Christ Jesus: which he no sooner heard, but he answered thus; "What, my lord, will you open that gap now? Then farewell altogether: to me, and such other in my case, you may speak it; but open that casement once to the people, and then farewell altogether." More he would have spoke; but his tongue being so swelled with the inflammation of his body, he became speechless; and soon after died.

After the death of Gardiner, one or other of the good lady's adversaries dropped away; insomuch, that by little and little her dangers decreased, fears diminished, and hope of comfort, (as out of a thick cloud) began to appear. She spent the remainder of her sister's reign in thanksgiving and praises unto God, who had thus mercifully preserved her.

The time of Queen Mary's reckoning being come, rumours were spread abroad that

she was already delivered of a son, yea, and such a one (as it was then suspected) was readily prepared : whereof King Philip being informed, and scorning that by any such imposture a counterfeit brood should be the heir of all his kingdoms, would not depart the chamber all the time of her travail. By which means the plot took no effect ; howsoever, the rumour of this young heir made the bells ring merrily in London, and spread itself as far as Antwerp : where it was entertained with great triumphs both on land and sea ; towards which charge, an hundred pistolets were conferred on the officers by the lady regent. But the news on their side was too good to be true, their joyful acclamations too extreme to continue : their *hallelujahs* were instantly turned to *lacrymæ* ; the report proved but pained, and turned the vane presently into another point. It was after known to all their griefs, that she never had conceived, or ever was likely so to do. Some gave out that she was with child, but miscarried ; some, that she had a tympany ; others, that such a thing was rumoured only for policy. But the truth is, King Philip seeing himself frustrate of his expected issue, and perceiving such shuffling and cutting among them, not long after took his leave of the Queen, to visit his father the emperor, and take possession of the Low Countries. His departure was very grievous unto her ; but (as most are of opinion) he did but little affect her.

King Philip staid beyond seas a full year and six months. During his abode there, the statists of that time lost not the least opportunity to extinguish, if it might be possible, that cause of God, that heretical faction, as they termed it. How many dear saints of God (during the King's absence in the space of eighteen months) mounted up with Elias in a fiery chariot to heaven ? The fire was then at the hottest, the flames were then at the highest, and the Lady Elizabeth, though peaceably seated in the country with her loving friends, yet was much daunted with the fearful apprehension of such extremities. She feared the more, because she knew that such as were adverse unto her, would, like the devil, work upon the weakness of her sister's frailty ; they would leap over the hedge where it is the lowest, and that now the absence of King Philip beyond the seas was the only opportunity for the advance of their intended designs. But King Philip's return into England, not long after, proved the happy resolution of all her fearful apprehensions. Her life was a continual warfare, like a ship in the midst of an Irish sea, where nothing can be expected but troublesome storms and tempestuous waves. And certainly it will appear, that those perilous occurrences she met withall in the four years of her *ante-regnum*, during the principality of her sister, will weigh down the balance ; being poised with those several treasons which threatened her majesty, being an absolute princess. Then her opposites were aliens, now natives (' It was thou, O my friend,' &c.) then foreign kings sought to invade her, now an homebred Queen strives to entrap her ; they strangers, this a sister ; she lived then at liberty without their jurisdiction, now a prisoner captivated to an incensed sister's indignation ; she was then attended by her nobility and grave counsellors, she hath now not any to converse with but keepers and jailors. But that God wherein she still trusted, first let her see her desire upon her adversaries ; then, in a good old age, gathered her to himself ; freed her from the opposition of the one, and the decease of Queen Mary, her sister, set a period to the malice of the other.

Cardinal Pool, with the rest of that surviving faction, seeing things thus retrograde to their desires, perceiving the discontents of the Queen, and that but a few sands were left in the glass of her time, they, Nebuchadnezzar-like, heated the oven of their persecution seven times hotter than before. For having already burned five bishops, twenty-one doctors, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, a hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, two infants (the one whipped to death, the other sprang out of its mother's womb, being at the stake, and was cruelly cast into the fire again :) sixty-four persecuted, whereof seven were whipped to death, sixteen died in prison, and were buried in dunghills, many in captivity abroad, leaving all they had only for conscience sake.

P
——— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet à lacrymis ?

Yet did not their fury cease here; they filled the cup up to the brim. Perceiving the heat of those fires begin to slack, and wanting fuel to increase the flames, they consulted to burn the bones of those which had been long since expired. They digged up the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius long since buried, (the one at St. Mary's the other at St. Michael's in Cambridge:) and with great pontifical state first degraded them, then committed them to the secular power, afterward to the fire.

And lest the one university should mock the other, they took up the bones of Peter Martyr's wife, formerly interred at Oxford, and buried them in a stinking dunghill. Nay, in this fury the bones of King Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, hardly escaped free.

Now they thought all sure, that the heretical faction (as they termed it) were with these bones utterly extinguished: but whilst they thus solace themselves in the supposed victory of God's saints, even then did the hand-writing appear upon the wall against them. News came over, that Calais in France, a town of great importance, was recovered by the French; having belonged to the crown of England two hundred and eleven years. And herein the loss of Calais was most memorable. It was first won by Edward the Third, being the eleventh king from William the Conqueror; and lost again by Mary, being the eleventh from Edward; in eight days.

The Queen took the loss to heart; the people began to murmur; some imputing the loss unto the neglect of the clergy, who then sat at the helm of state; others whispered that it was a just judgment of God for the abundance of blood already spilt and broiled in the land. In the interim, those of the faction strive to allay the heat of this distemperature, both in prince and people, by extenuation of the loss; saying, that it was a town of no such consequence, but rather of greater inconvenience than they were aware of: that it was only a refuge for runagate heretics; and consequently that no true Roman catholic ought to deplore, but rather rejoice at the damage.

*At regina gravi jamdudum saucia cura
Vulnus alit venis.—*

Howsoever, the Queen being struck to the heart, the wound became incurable. Then they called a parliament; many large proffers were made for the recovery of Calais, wherein the clergy did exceed. Yet all this would not do; Calais still stuck in the Queen's stomach, she went up and down mourning and sighing all the day long: which being asked her by some, what was the reason thereof; whether King Philip's departure were the occasion: "No, (said she,) the loss of Calais is written in my heart; "and there may be read the occasion of my grief, when after death my body shall be "opened." Her conceptions at length failing, great dearth in the land reigning, much harm done by thunders on shore, and by fire on her royal fleet at sea; home troubles, foreign losses, King Philip's unkindness, with other discontentments, brought her to a burning fever, of which she died at St. James's, near Westminster, on the seventeenth of November, being Thursday, *anno* 1558, and lies buried in a chapel in St. Peter's, Westminster, without any monument or remembrance at all.

Queen Mary was well inclined of herself. Had not the blind zeal of her religion, and authority of the clergy overswayed her, the flames of their consuming fire had not mounted so high as heaven, there to solicit for vengeance.

It is observed that her reign was the shortest of all kings since the Conquest, (Richard the Third only excepted) and that more Christian blood was spilt in her short time, than had been in the case of religion in any king's reign whatsoever, since King Lucius, the first establisher of Christianity in England. And God grant the like may never be seen again! Amen.

The cloud thus set, that wished sun appeared in our horizon, like a fresh spring after a stormy winter. The parliament then sitting at Westminster, news was brought that the Queen was deceased: the suddenness of the news struck the house into amazement.

Some looked backward to the dead Queen, others looked forward to the surviving

Princess; but at last they pitched upon the proclamation of the Lady Elizabeth, which was accordingly performed the same day, in the twenty-fourth year, second month, and tenth day of her age. At what time she removed from Hatfield to the Charter-house, from thence she was royally attended to the Tower of London; and the twenty-fourth of the same month passed with great state through the city to Westminster.

On the four and twentieth of November, Queen Elizabeth set forward from the Tower to pass through the city to Westminster: but considering that after so long restraint, she was now exalted from misery to majesty, from a prisoner to a princess; before she would suffer herself to be mounted in her chariot, she very devoutly lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, uttering these words:

Queen Elizabeth's Prayer coming out of the Tower.

'O Lord Almighty and ever-living God, I give thee most humble and hearty thanks, that thou hast been so merciful unto me, as to spare me to see this joyful and blessed day. And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as graciously and wonderfully with me, as thou didst with thy true and faithful servant Daniel, thy prophet, whom thou deliveredst, out of the lion's den, from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions: even so was I overwhelmed, and by thee delivered. To thee therefore only be thanks and honour and praise for evermore! Amen.'

Having made an end of her thanksgiving to God, she put onwards through the city; where divers magnificent pageants presented themselves to her view. The throng of people was extraordinary, their acclamations loud as thunder: many were the expressions of love tendered unto her, and by her as gratefully entertained as they were lovingly presented.

To make a particular relation of the several occurrences in that one day's entertainment, would require above a day's expression. I will only but point at some more remarkable passages, wherein she shewed herself extraordinarily affected to her people.

She would many times cause her chariot to stand that the people might have their full sight of her. Amongst the several speeches that were addressed unto her from the pageants, if at any time any word did reflect upon her, a change of countenance was observed in her, but a settled constancy to hear it out; then her love and courtesy in giving the people thanks.

In Cornhill a pageant presented itself, called 'The seat of worthy government,' intimating their dutiful allegiance to her, with the general-conceived hopes of her princely government. The speech was no sooner delivered, but she immediately answered:

"I have taken notice of your good meaning towards me; and will endeavour to answer your several expectations."

Passing forward, another pageant appeared, representing the eight beatitudes: every one applied to her in particular by the speaker; the multitude crying out, 'Amen, amen.'

Being come to the little conduit in Cheap, she perceived an offer of love, and demanded what it might signify. One told her grace that there was placed Time. "Time! (said she) and Time, I praise my God, hath brought me hither. But what is that other with the book?" She was resolved that it was 'Truth, the daughter of Time,' presenting the Bible in English. Whereupon she answered:

"I thank the city for this gift above all the rest; it is a book which I will often and often read over."

Then she commanded Sir John Perrot, one of the knights that held up the canopy, to go and receive the Bible. But being informed that it was to be let down unto her by a silken string, she commanded him to stay. In the interim, a purse of gold was presented by the recorder in behalf of the city, which she received with her own hands; and afterward, gave attention to a speech delivered, making reply in the conclusion:

"I thank my lord mayor, his brethren the aldermen, and all of you; and whereas your request is, that I should continue your good lady and Queen; be you assured, that I will be as good unto you as ever queen was yet unto her people. No will in me is wanting, neither (I hope) can there want any power. As for the privileges and charters of your city, I will, in discharge of my oath and affection, see them safely and exactly maintained. And persuade yourselves, that for the safety and quietness of you all, I will not spare, if need be, to spend my blood in your behalf. God bless you all, good people."

As she went along in Fleet-street, at St. Dunstan's church, the children of Christ's Hospital sat there with the governors. She took great delight in the object: and calling to mind that it was her brother's foundation; she expressed herself very thankful for the presentation of such a charitable sight, saying, "We are orphans all; let me enjoy your prayers, and ye shall be sure of my assistance." As she went through Temple-bar, the ordnance and chambers of the Tower went off, the report whereof gave much content. Thus passed she along to Westminster, royally attended with the nobility of the kingdom, and was there crowned, to the joy of all true-hearted Christians.

Est et quodd regnat causa fuisse piam.

Elizabetha quasi vivens. Eliza's Funerall. A fewe Aprill Drops, showred on the Hearse of dead Eliza: or, the Funerall Tears of a true-hearted Subject. By H. P.

London; printed by E. Alde, for M. Lawe, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, neere unto St. Austen's Gate. 1603.

[Quarto, Fourteen Leaves.]

This is one of the numerous Epicædia which were put forth on the Decease of our heroic Queen, and was re-printed by Mr. Nichols in his second volume of the Progresses. It is of rare occurrence; but is chiefly inserted here for the sake of introducing its courtly counterpart, from an unique copy obligingly imparted by a literary friend of high heraldic and editorial distinction, whom I am unwilling not to name. Several notices of the author, and of the work, are likely to be seen in No. XV. of the British Bibliographer, resulting from the industrious researches of Mr. Haslewood.

To the worthy and curteous gentleman, Mr. Richard Hildersham, H. P.
wisheth increase of worship and virtue.

I HAVE (worshipfull and wise) contrary to the expectation of many, presumed to publish the formall manner of my private sorowes, for the great losse of your late deceased Lady mistres, and England's soveraigne. And knowing your worship a sad and pensive mourner for so great a losse, I have made bold to shrowd my teares under your sad gar-

ment: which if you deigne to shadowe from the heate of envie, there is no fire of malice can have power to partch them. Shrowd them at your pleasure, keepe them no longer than you please to mourne, which I knowe will be of long continuance; not that you have cause by this late change, but that the memorial of so sweet a princes cannot be sodainly buried in oblivion. God graunt that the auncient saying in this barter may be verified; which is—'We have changed for the better.' Is it possible a better than shee should succeed? But what is impossible with the Almighty? What Eliza was in her life you know: nay, the world knows her fame girdles the earth. What her successor hath been in his kingdom of Scotland, his subjects they know, and we have heard, which hath been much to God's glory, his countreis peace, and his majesties honour. Therefore, since it hath pleased God to continue his wonted favour towards us, in blessing us his unworthy servants with so gracious a soveraigne, adding unto his royall crowne the highest tytle of majestie and earthlie dignitie; graunt, thou most of might (Almighty King!) that our dread soveraign JAMES, the first of that name of these three united kingdoms, England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the sixt, maye be so directed and governed by thy almightie hand, that he may rule his sevrall kingdoms in peace, to thy glory; raigne in tranquility Nestor's yeeres, to our comfort; and, in the end, dye in thy favour, to live againe in glory with his æternized sister, divine ELIZA. Thus, not dreading your kinde acceptance of my love, I humblie take my leave.

Your worship's most obsequious,

HENRY PETOWE.

THE INDUCTION.

I THAT obscure have wept till eyes be drye,
 Wil teach my pen another while to weep,
 Obdurant hartes that they may mollifye,
 For losse of her that now in peace doth sleep.
 Peace rest with her, but sorowe with my pen,
 Till dead Eliza doth revive agen.

Amongst high sp'rited paragons of wit,
 That mount beyond our earthlie pitch to fame
 Creepes forth my muse; ye great ones, favour it;
 Take her not up; alas! she is too tame.
 Shee'l come to hand, if you but lure her to you,
 Then use her kindly, for she'll kindly woo you.

And if this infant of mine art-lesse braine,
 Passe with your sweet applause, as some have done,
 And meane good favour of the learned gaine,
 For showring teares upon Eliza's tomb;
 My muse shall hatch such breed when she's of yeres,
 Shall bring you comfort, and dry up your teares.

The last of many, yet not the least of all,
 Sing I a heavie dirdge for our late queene,
 And singing, mourne Eliza's funerall,
 The *E per se* of all that ere have beene.
 She was, she is, and evermore shall bee
 The blessed queene of sweet eternitie.

With her in heaven remaines her fame; on earth
 Each moderne poet that can make a verse
 Writes of Eliza, even at their muses birth:
 Then why not I weepe on Eliza's herse?

Somewhere in England shall my lines go sleep,
Till England read, and (England reading) weepe.

ELIZA'S FUNERALL.

Then withered the primrose of delight,
Hanging the head ore sorowe's garden wall;
When you might see all pleasures shun the light,
And live obscurer at Eliza's fall,
Her fall from life to death; oh! stay not there,
Though she were dead, the shrill-tong'd trump of heaven
Rais'd her againe; think that you see her heere,
Even heere, oh where? not heere, shee's hence bereaven,
For sweet Eliza in Elizium lives,
In joy beyond all thought. Then weepe no more,
Your sighing weedes put off, for weeping gives
(Wayling her losse) as seeming to deplore
Our future toward fortunes,—mourne not then:
You cease awhile—but now you weepe agen.

Why should a soule in passion be deny'd
To have true feeling of her essence misse?
My soule hath lost herselfe now deified
I needes must moane her losse, though crown'd with blisse?
Then give me leave, for I must weepe a-while,
Till sorrowes deludge have a lower ebbe;
Let lamentation never finde a stile
To passe this dale of woe, untill the webbe
Appointed for my latest mourning weed,
Be spun and woven with a heavie hand;
Then will I cease to weepe, I will indeed,
And every beating billowe will withstand.
'Twill not be long before this web be spun,
Dy'd blacke, worne out, and then my teares be done.

Of April's month, the eight and twentieth day,
M. sixe hundred and three, by computation,
Is the prefixed time for sorowe's staye.
That past—my mourning weedes grow out of fashion,
Shall I by prayer hasten on the time?
Faine would I so, because mine eyes are drie:
What cannot prayers doo for soules divine,
Although the bodies be mortallitie?
Divine she is for whom my muse doth mourne,
Though lately mortall, now she sits on hie
Glorious in heaven, thither by angells borne,
To live with them in blisse eternally.
Then come, faire day of joyfull smiling sorow,
Since my teares dry, come happie day to-morow.

Yee herralds of my heart, my heavie groanes,
My teares which, if they could, would showre like raine
My heavie lookes and all my surdging mones
My moaning lamentations, that complayne,

When will you cease? or shall paine, never ceasing,
 Seaze on my heart? oh, mollifie your rage,
 Least your assaults, with over-swift increasing,
 Procure my death, or call on tymeles age.
 She lives in peace, whome I do mourne for so;
 She lives in heaven, and yet my soule laments,
 Since shee's so happie, I'll convert my woe
 To present joy turne all my languishments;
 And with my sorrowes see the time doth wast,
 The day is come, and mid-day wel nigh past.

Gaze, greedy eye; note what thou dost beholde,
 Our horizon is of a perfect hew,
 As cleere as christall, and the day not olde,
 Yet thousand blackes present them to thy view.
 Three thousand and od hundred cloudes appere
 Upon the earthly element belowe,
 As blacke as night, trampling the lower sphere,
 As by degrees from place to place they goe.
 They passe away: oh, whither passe they then?
 Into a further climate out of sight,
 Like cloudes they were, but yet like clowded men,
 Whose presence turn'd the day to sable night.
 They vanish thence: note what was after seene—
 The lively picture of a late dead queene

Who, like to Phœbus in his golden car,
 Was the bright eye of the obscured day;
 And though her glorious prograce¹ was not far,
 Yet, like the smiling sunne, this semblance lay.
 Drawne, in a jetty charriot vayld with blacke,
 By foure faire palfraies, that did hang the head,
 As if their lady-mistis they did lacke,
 And they but drew the figure of the dead.
 Oh, yee spectators which did view that sight!
 Say, if you truelie say, could you refraine
 To shed a sea of teares, in Deathe's despight,
 That reft her hence, whom art brought backe againe?
 He that knew her, and had Eliza seene,
 Would swear that figure were faire England's queene.

“ Faire England's queene, even to the life, though dead;”
 Speake, if I write not true, did you not crye?
 Cry forth amaine? and say—“ her princely head
 Lay on a pillowe of a crimson dye,
 Like a sweet beauty in a harmlesse slumber:
 She is not dead: no sure, it cannot be.”
 Thus with unlikely hopes the vulgar number
 Flatter themselves: (oh! sweet lyv'd flatterie!)
 Indeed, a man of judgement would have thought,
 Had he not knowne her dead, but seene her so
 Tryumphant drawne, in robes so richly wrought,
 Crowne on her head, in hand her scepter to;

* [Progress.]

At this rare sight he would have sworne and said—
 “ To parliament rides this sweet slumb’ring maide.”

But that my warrants seal’d by Truthe’s one² hand,
 That in her counterfeit³ art did excell;
 I would not say, that in this little land
 Pigmalion’s equall doth admired dwell.
 Enough of that:—and now my teares are done;
 Since she that dy’d lives now above the spheres:
 Luna’s extinct, and now beholde the sunne
 Whose beames soake up the moysture of all teares.
 A phoenix from her ashes doth arise,
 A king, at whose faire crowne all glory aymes;
 GOD graunt his royall vertues simpathize
 With late Eliza’s! so, God save King James!
 He that, in love to this, saies not *Amen*.
 Pray GOD the villaine never speake agen! *Amen*.

The true Order and formall Proceeding, at the Funerall of the Most High,
 Renowned, Famous, and Mightye Princesse, Elizabeth, of England, France,
 and Ireland, late Queene; from Whitehall to the Cathedral Church of
 Westminster, the 28th Day of Aprill, 1603.

BEFORE thou reade, prepare thine eyes to weepe,
 If that thine eyes containe one liquid teare:
 Or if thou canst not mourne, fall dead in sleepe,
 For naught but death such sorrow can out-weare.
 ’Twill grieve, heereafter, soules as yet unborne,
 That one soule’s losse did make so many mourne.

Did make so many mourne:—oh! heavie time
 That brought a period to her happie life:
 But, cruell death, the fatall stroke was thine,
 The losse is ours, heaven thereby gaines a wife.
 Yet had not sin bin hug’d in th’ armes of pride,
 England had smil’d, and heaven had lost a bride.

But now, oh now, our mourning weedes are on,
 And many thousand blacks for her are worne;
 Which do demonstrate that Eliza’s gone,
 For whose untimely losse so many mourne.
 What these sad mourners are, good reader see;
 And seeing, reade; and reading, weepe with me.

These persons heereafter named, came in their place and order, as was appointed. Also,
 the names of such noblemen and gentlemen as caryed the standers and other ornaments
 at the funerall.

First, Knight-marshal’s-men: to make roome.
 Then followed fifteen poore men.
 Next, 260 poore women, foure and foure in a ranke.

² [Own.]

³ [i. e. Resemblance, likeness.]

Petowe's Aprill Teares :

Then, servants of gentlemen, esquires, and knights.

Two porters.

Four trumpeters.

Rose, pursevant at armes.

Two sergeants at armes.

The standard of the *Dragon*, borne by the worshipfull Sir George Boucher.

Two querries, leading a horse covered in blacke clothe.

Messengers of the chamber.

Children of the almondry.

Children of the wood-yard.

Children of the scullery.

Children and furners of the pastry, scalding-house, and larder.

Then followed grooms, being

Wheat porters,

Coopers,

Wine porters,

Conducts in the bake-house,

Bel-ringer,

Maker of spice-bags,

Cart-takers, chosen by the boord,

Long carts,

Cart-takers,

Of the almonry,

Of the stable,

Wood-yard,

Scullery,

Pastry,

Scalding-house,

Poultrye,

Caterye,

Boyling-house,

Larder,

Kitchin,

Lawndrie,

Ewerie,

Confectionary,

Waferie,

Chaundrye,

Pitcher-house,

Buttrie,

Seller,

Pantrye,

Bake-house,

Counting-house.

Then, noblemen's and embassadours servants,

And grooms of the chamber.

Four trumpeters.

Blewemantle.

A sergeant at armes.

The standard of the *Greyhound*, borne by Master Herbert, brother to the Erle of Pembroke.

Yeomen: being

Servitors in the hall,

Cart-takers,

Porters,

Almonrye,

Herbengers,⁴

Wood-yard,

Scullerye,

Pastrye,

Poultrye and scalding-house,

Waferye,

Purveyor of the waxe,

Tallow-chandler,

Chaundrye,

Pitcher-house,

Brewers,

Butterye,

Purveyers,

Seller.

Purveyers of the poultrye,

Purveyers of the acatrie,

Stable,

Boyling-house,

Larder,

Kitchin,

Ewerie,

Confectionarye,

Pantrye,

Garnerer,

Bake-house,

Counting-house,

Spicerye,

Chamber,

Robes,

Wardrobe.

⁴ [Officers of the court, who provided suitable apartments for the Queen in her progresses.]

Erles and Countesses servants.

Foure trumpeters.

Portcullis.

A sergeant at armes.

Standard of the *Lyon*, borne by M. Thomas Somerset.

Two querries leading a horse, trapped with blacke velvet.

Serjeant of the vestrie.

Gentlemen of the chappel in copes: having the children of the chappel in the middle of their companye in surplices, all of them singing.

Clarkes.

Deputie clarke of the market,
Clarkes extraordinarye,
Cofferer,
Dyet,
M. Cooke for the housholde,
Pastrie,
Larder,

Scullerye,
Wood-yard,
Poultrye,
Bake-house,
Acatrye,⁵
Stable.

Sargeants.

Gentleman harbenger,
Wood-yard,
Scullerye,
Pastrye,
Caterye,

Larder,
Ewerie,
Seller,
Pantrye,
Bake-house.

M. Cooke of the kitchen.

Clarkes of the equerrie.

Second clarke of the chaundry.

Third clarke of the chaundry.

Second clarke of the kitchen.

Third clarke of the kitchen.

Supervisors of the dresser.

Surveyor of the dresses for the chamber.

Musicians.

Apothecaries.

Chirurgians.

Sewers of the hall.

Marshall of the hall.

Servers of the chamber.

Groom-porter.

Gentlemen-ushers; quarter-wayters.

Clarke.

Marshall.

Avenor.⁶

Chiefe clarke of the wardrobe.

Chiefe clarke of the kitchen.

Two clarkes-controllers.

Clarkes of the green-cloth.

M. of the housholde.

Sir Henry Cocke, cofferer.

Rouge Dragon.

The banner of Chester, borne by the Lord Zouch, between two sergeants at armes.

Clarkes of the counsell.

⁵ [Acatery: an office of check between the clerks of the royal kitchen and the purveyor.]

⁶ [An officer of the royal stables, who provides oats for the horses. *Bailey.*]

Petowe's Aprill Drops :

Clarkes of the privie seale.

Clarkes of the signet.

Clarkes of the parliament.

Doctors of phisicke.

Queene's chaplaines.

Secretaries for the Latine and French tongues.

Rouge Crosse.

The banner of Cornewall, borne by the Lord Herbert, eldest sonne to the Earl of Worcester, betweene two sergeants at armes.

Chief officers to the Lord-maior of London.

Solicitor.

Attourney.

Sergeants at law.

M. of the revels.

M. of the tents.

Knights bachelers.

Lord chiefe baron.

Lord chiefe justice of the Common Pleas.

M. of the jewell-house.

Knightes which have beene embassadours.

Gentlemen agents.

Servers for the queene.

Servers for the bodye.

Gentlemen of the privye chamber.

Gentlemen pencioners

holding their pol-axes downwards, covered all with blacke.

Heere, reader, stay ; and if thou aske me whye ?

'Tis to intreate thee beare them company ;

But if th' high spirit cannot weepe so lowe,

Weepe with these flowers of honour that drooping goe.

Lancastre.

The banner of Wales, borne by Viscount Bindon.

Lord Mayor of London.

Sir John Popham.

Sir John Fortescue.

Sir Robert Cicill, principall secretarie.

Controller of the housholde.

Treasurer of the housholde.

Masters of requests.

Agents for Venice, and for the estates.

Windsor.

The banner of Ireland, borne by the Earle of Clanricard.

Barons.

Bishops.

Erles eldest sonnes.

Viscounts.

Dukes second sonnes.

Erles.

Marquesses.

Bishop of Chichester, almoner, and preacher at the funerall.

Lord-keeper.

Archbishop of Canterburie.

French embassadour.
Foure sergeants at armes.
The great imbrodered Banner of England, borne by the Earl of Pembroke,
assisted by the Lord Howard of Effingham.
Somerset and Richmond.
Yorke, helme and crest.
Chester, target.
Norroy, king at armes, sword.
Clarencieux, king at armes, cote.

Art thou yet dry, as if thou hadst not wept?
Reade further, then, and thou wilt force a teare.
But hadst thou seene her figure as she slept,
In memorie thou would'st her semblance beare.
Whose deere remembrance would so touch thy minde,
That in thy passion thou no meane could'st finde.

The lively picture of her MAJESTIE'S whole body, in her parliament robes, with a
crowne on her head and a sceptre in her hand, lying on the corpes inshrined
in leade, and balmed: covered with purple velvet; borne in a charriot,
drawne by foure horses, trapt in blacke velvet.

Gentlemen ushers, with white roddes.
A canopie over the corpes, borne by sixe knightes.
Six earles, assistants unto the bodye.
On each side the corpes six banerols, caryed by twelve noblemen.
Footemen.

The Earle of Worcester, maister of the horse, leading the palfrey of honor.
Two esquiers and a groome to attende and leade him away.
Gentleman usher of the privie chamber.

Garter, king at armes.
The Lady Marques of Northampton, chiefe mourner;
Assisted by the lord treasurer, and the lord admirall;
her traine caryed up by two countesses, and
Sir John Stanhope, master vice chamberlaine.
Two earles assistants to her.
Fourteen countesses assistants.

Countesses.
Ladies of honour.
Viscountesses.
Earles daughters.
Baronesses.
Maides of honour, of the privie chamber.
Captaine of the guard, with all the guard following,
Five and five in a rank, holding their holberds downeward.

Loe! here are all that in blacke weedes do mourne:
And now, methinkes I see thy count'nance turne.
What, trill thy teares? nay, reader, then adon;
The firmament contains but one cleere sun.

And since that Delia is from hence bereaven,
We have another sun, ordein'd by heaven.
God graunt his virtues may so glorious shine,
That, after death, he may be crown'd divine! Amen.

The twelve bannerets were caried by twelve barons: beginning at the youngest first.
The first banner was of King Henry the Second and Elenor of Aquitaine; caried by the Lord Norris.

The second, of King John, and Isabel of Angolisme; caried by the Lord Compton.

The third, of King Henry the Third and Elenor of Arragon; caried by the Lord Chandois.

The fourth, of King Edward the First and Elenor of Castillia; caried by the Lord Rich.

The fift, of King Edward the Second and Isabel of France; caried by Lord Darcy of the South.

The sixt, of King Edward the Third and Philippa of Haynolt; by Lord Cromwel.

The seventh, of Edmond of Langley, Duke of Yorke, and Isabel of Castil; caried by Lord Windsor.

The eight, of Richard Earle of Cambridge and Anne Mortimer; caried by Lord Darcy of the North.

The ninth, of Richard Duke of Yorke and Cicely Nevill; caried by Lord Dudley.

The tenth, of King Edward the Fourth and Elizabeth Woodvile; caried by Lord Gray.

The eleventh, of King Henry the Seventh and Elizabeth, daughter to King Edward the Fourth; caried by Lord Cobham.

The twelfe, of Henry the Eight and Anne Bulleine; father and mother to our late deceased Queene; caried by the Lord Delaware.

Vivat JACOBUS, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, REX.

England's Cæsar. His Majesties most Royall Coronation.
Together with the Manner of the solemne Shewes prepared
for the Honour of his Entry into the Cittie of London.
Eliza, her Coronation in Heaven: and London's Sorrow for
her Visitation. By Henry Petowe.

London: Printed by John Windet for Mathew Law, and are to be sold at his
Shop at the Signe of the Fox in Paules Church-yarde. 1603.

[Quarto, sixteen Leaves.]

To the curteous and wise yong Gentlemen united in love, Master N. H. Master Ro. W.
Master J. H. Master L. K. Master H. A. and Master Tho. S. Henry Petowe wisheth
increase of vertue, and prosperous successe in all their affaires.

I HAVE adventured (curteous, vertuous, and wise,) with the strong wrastlers of Olympia, though not to winne yet to worke for the garland; I meane, the laurell wreath of your gentle favours. The judgement of my labours relyeth on your severall censures, whereof if your opinions relish but one small taste of content, I presume upon a generall liking of others: such is the sufficiencie I conceave of your discrete judgements. Therefore touch and taste, taste and disgest; but with such contentment, that you may ap-

plaud the fruitfull operation. How it will proove, I know not, but I hope pleasant in disgesture. For; however the fruits of my toyle now relish, after the long gathering, I dare protest, the tree from whence they were pluckt, came of a royall stocke. Make, therefore, your severall choyses of the best; and if you finde some more greene then others, impute it to their want of growth, in that they are but yong, and not come to their true perfection; or rather, blame my rashnes, that make sale of them for mellow fruite, when indeede they are not ripe. But in hope they will all prove delicious, according to your expectations, I present them, in all love, to your kinde acceptances; promising as much in affection, as any other can performe in perfection. Therefore, looke and like of such as you finde; and I promise you (under your favourable incouragements) to imploy all my best designes and studies, to your severall good likings.

Yours in all that he may,

H. P.

Ad Lectorem.

Go, princely writ, apparelled in love,
The poyson of all sorrowes to remoove:
Inrich thy selfe and me, by thy selfe-riches,
And strive to mount beyond our poets pitches.
And thou, kind reader, reading this my writ,
Applaud the invention of an infant wit:
Though yoong it be, it hath as good a hart
To merite well, as those of high desart.

Then blame it not, although for fame it strive,
For, after death, fame still remaines alive.

Thine in all love,

H. P.

THE INDUCTION.

NOW turne I wand'ring all my hopes againe,
And loose them from the prison of dispaire;
Ceasing my teares, that did bedew the plaine,
And clearing sighes which did eclipse the ayre.
My mourning weeds are off, and sigh I may not,
Joy stops my teares, and (joying) weepe I cannot.

Nor tongue, nor penne, nor witte can truly sing,
His wondrous worth and matchlesse dignitie;
I meane the glory of the English king,
Which wraps my muse in all felicitie.
Oh, were my penne so rich in poetrie,
As to pourtray his royal majestie!

But since she is not as I would she were,
And since I cannot as I wish I could;
No marvell, though her weakenes doe forbear,
To sing that royall song which all pennes should.
Yet what she can she will for love compile,
Not seeking glory for a stately stile.

Goe, joyfull truce-men, in your virgin weedes,
Under a royall patron I have past you;
Soake up the teares of every hart that bleeds,
And on the wings of Fame hence quickly hast you.

And from the silver mayne of calmy Thames,
Sound forth the worth of our heroicke *James*.

Into the eares of drooping London thunder,
The king of peace and plentie sallies by :
Bid her rejoyce in him, our English wonder,
Who mournes to see her in extremitie.
He mournes for her even at his coronation :
'Twill greive her soule to taste his royall passion.
Yet, London, thou art happie by his teares,
That weepes for thee, whom all the world else feares.

His Majesties most Royall Coronation.

WITHIN the table of æternitie,
In leaves out-waring brasse, shall Fame write downe
With quilles of steele, the lasting memory
Of *England's Cæsar*, and great Cæsar's crowne :
Give place, yee silent shadowes of blacke night,
And let the brightest lamp of heaven shine ;
Vanish, thou time of dreames! for, to delight
This jeme must be survei'd with angels' eyne :
Angels, as bright as is the brow of heaven,
When nere a clowd hangs lowring in the sky,
When foggy mists are from the sphere bereven,
And angels' bewtie mates with heaven's eye.
Such sunne-bright angels, with a smiling face,
Must England's Cæsar's coronation grace.

Mount high, my soule ; the harbinger of light
Plaies jocond musicke to the welcome day ;
Aurora blushes, and the sable night
Unto the ruddy morning gives faire way.
From forth th' easterne clyme, behold the sunne
Shines on the turrets of great Cæsar's towne,
And summons him to weare what he hath won,
By true succession. What brow dares to lowre,
Or contradict the will of mightie Jove :
He'le have it so, for England's future blisse ;
Our king is his anoynted dearest love,
And what we have, we farme it but as his.
Then, like true leigemen, let our voyces sing,
Glory to GOD! that HE may blesse our king.

This is the day ; yea, this the happie day
Makes Heaven smile, and Tellus weepe for joy ;
Even for her dry parcht womb a liquid sea
Of christall water issuing ore the bay
Of the orejoyed earth: my jocund soule,
Canst thou forbearre excesse, surfet and die,
My thoughts of joy are farre beyond controule,
My spirit in a blissfull extasie.

See, see the azure firmament is clere,
 Through which we may discern, as in a glasse,
 Faire troupes of angels that doe gild the spheres,
 Gaze, settled eyes! the like sight never was.
 Rejoyce, faire England; for thy soveraigne pray;
 Angels themselves grace this triumphant day.

But stay, my pen: my muse doth 'gin to slumber,
 And, slumbring, dreames a dreame of sacred blisse.
 Oh, happie vision! wake, and tell this wonder:
 Awake, my soule; my pen write what it is.
 Methought, faire Tryton, with his silver trump
 (As if he prograst to the parliament
 Of all the gods) sounds not a solemne dumpe,
 But, with a florish, wraps heaven in content.
 Next him the winged Mercury doth pace,
 (Clad in rich robes, by Vesta's virgins wrought,)
 Who on his shoulder beares a golden mace.
 Enchast with glorious pearle—oh! heavenly thought!
 What then succedes this object, after seene?
 Delia triumphant, which was late our queene!

On whose right hand attended Ganymed,
 Darling to heaven, and the pride of Jove;
 By t'other hand was she by Cupid led,
 Venus' faire issue, and the God of Love.
 Thus paced triumphant Delia to her throne,
 The chast Diana bearing up her traine:
 Then followed the sences, one by one,
 Touching their silver strings with sweetest streyne.
 Next them, dread Jove, with Juno in his hand;
 Apollo next, with Pallas arme in arme:
 Then Berecynthia, with a silver wand;
 Mars, Neptune, Vulcan; all the Elizian swarme
 Of nectar-sucking gods and goddesses,
 Measuring the silver pavement of the skies.

Oh, happie sight!—But what ensued then?
 Delia's instalment in the throne of blisse.
 Stay, busie thoughts: oh, stay my forward pen:
 At which rare triumph th' infernall soules of Dis
 Made stay of torment, and did feele no paine;
 Tantalus that time did taste the pleasant fruite,
 Which never till that houre he could attaine:
 The busie murmur of the dam'de was mute,
 Ixion's wheele, that ceaselesse ever tourn'd,
 Stay'd then, in spite of Fate: oh, time of wonder!
 The sulphure flames of hell, which ever burn'd,
 Were then extinct: what then could hell keepe under?
 Under subjection Pluto had no soule;
 So much the powers of heaven did hell controule.

Pore Sysiphus, whose toile was endlesse paine,
 When he perceav'd his tumbling stone lye still,
 And, when those triumphes ceast, to role againe
 From toppe to bottome of that tedious hill:

Petowe's England's Cæsar :

Then lamentation, drencht in teares of wo,
 Yells forth a horrid cry—" Why chaungeth time ?
 Why doe the powers of heaven deride us so ?
 Why mount our joyes, and at the high'st decline ?
 Oh, welcome minute of most sweete delighte ?
 Why left it us so soone ? come once againe,
 Shake hands with us once more, in hell's despight,
 That we may taste of joy in midst of paine."
 No, no, unhappie soules ! it cannot be :
 Yee now are ever sway'd by destinie.

Delia's in heaven ; there let ELIZA stay,
 Crown'd with the wreath of everlasting blisse.
 Descend, my Muse ; tread thou another way ;
 See that thy daring quill stray not amisse.
 Let thy sweete tunes harp on divinest song,
 Base not at all, but on a treble string
 Warble a high-streyn'd himne with silver tong,
 To lawd the coronation of a king :
 A king, whose vertues make the muses labor,
 Striving which most and best may sing his praise,
 Begging no pencion but the world's kind favor,
 For singing JAMES in their celestiall layes :
 JAMES ! England's King, Defender of the Faith ;
 Long may he be so ! so his England pray'th.

Gaze, London, gaze ; that surfet'st with a longing,
 To see thy soveraigne's coronation-day :
 The people jocond, in a dang'rous thronging,
 Lift up their voyces ; on their hart-strings play,
 Crying " Haile, Cæsar !" with a shrill-toung'd streyne :
 Cæsar, the princely author of their peace,
 Whose very name pierc't through the liver-veyne
 Of hot rebellion, weak'ned her increase
 Of long wish't streames of blood. The name of king
 Made forward insurrection start and die.
 Oh, wholesome North ! from forth whose wombe did spring
 The blessed sunne of our felicitie.
 Shine, sunne ! on us : but when our soules mount hie,
 Let thy bright beames gild our posteritie.

He comes, he comes ! see, London, where he comes,
 That claspeth peace and plenty in his armes :
 Embrace him kindly. Time's glasse, how quicke it runs ;
 Be thou as quicke : and with some heav'nly charmes
 Mixt with the milke of prayer, juice of zeale,
 Lie groveling in the dust in the mid-way ;
 And let not passe the solace of thy weale,
 Before he heare thy harmeles orphans pray.
 Pray, London, pray, with hands heav'd to the skies ;
 And let each able infant smyling sing
 Hymnes from their harts (for such to heaven flies)
 In honour of King JAMES, our lawfull king !
 Holde fast his fore-locke, and make stay of Time,
 'Till he doth heare our harts, how true they chime.

Heaven stand at gaze: yee blessed angels see;
 Looke through the windowes of the firmament
 Upon the phoenix of all soveraignty:
 Bid heav'n's ELIZA, from that continent
 Where she sits crown'd in blisse; bid her looke downe
 On princely JAMES, her deere succeeding brother,
 To see him goe tryumphant to his crowne,
 Belov'd of those that whilome call'd her mother:
 Bid her but looke, if that her princely will
 Be not perform'd, even to our utmost duty;
 In all obedience our true harts fulfill
 Her dread command; late Earth's, now Heaven's, beauty.
 She will'd us love him, and in love persever;
 And we do vow to love King JAMES for ever!

So long as life in him, or breath in us,
 So long we vow, in sight of GOD and heaven:
 Oh! might our prayers be propitious,
 That our dread king may never hence be reaven!
 Then should Belphebe know her subjects' love;
 What care they have in trayning up their yong,
 That to her great successor they may proove
 Loyall in duty, that from virtue sprong.
 When she shall see from her cœlestiall sphere,
 And he on earth perceive his subjects' zeale,
 How in their harts they do affect him deare,
 And he in peace maintaine the common-weale;
 Both heaven and earth will then rejoyce and sing—
 A happie people, and a blessed king!

Ope wide, yee oryent gates of Cæsar's tower!
 Cæsar himseffe, with a most royall trayne,
 Must grace your golden leaves; this is the hower,
 Fly open then, for Cæsar's entertayne;
 Usher his way, my muse; say that he comes,
 At whose uprise Phœbus doth stand at gaze,
 Thinking the heavens had ordeyn'd two sunnes,
 One for the earth, which made heaven's sunne amaze.
 Such is the glory of his reflecting gleames,
 Compos'd of sacred mettall, made by Jove,
 That night turnes day, when as he darts his beames;
 Frownes into smyles; such is his princely love.
 Then London smyle; let no brow dare to frowne
 When royall JAMES rides to his regall crowne.

Thus should the flynty pavements of the streete
 Be clad in greene, th' apparell of the spring,
 As if their joy were young, and therefore sweet;
 And being sweet, a present for a king:
 The houses mantled all in tapestry,
 The high piramides of the churches thunder;
 Eyes never saw such glorious royaltie,
 The pride of London and the English wonder,
 The synowes of the cittye Troynovant,
 Clad in their richest robes in comely sort,

Whose faire demeanour drawes, like adamant,
Spectators hearts, bearing so rich a part:
Thus should they sit, rayld in on either side,
Of every streete, twixt whome our king should ryde.

Suppose this done; what glory hath been seene
Within the compasse of the earth like this,
At coronation of a king or queene?
No marvell, he's elected king of blisse.
Roome, greedy multitude; let th' ayre of heaven
Breathe everlasting life into his soule,
To make him all immortall. Jove make even
The yeares of JAMES with Nestor's, and controule
The vile pretences and inventions¹
Of trayterous thoughts: if any slave there be
Repining at his state, and by inventions
Of privie treason, seek our miserie.
Thou, most of Might! if any such there be,
Confound him in his thought of treachery.

He shines like Phœbus in the welkin's brest:
So may he shine for-ever on this ile,
Darting his crimson rayes from his bright crest,
And from his gladsome face a gracious smile!
And see that sunne, whose bewtie's of such power
As dazleth all spectator's eyes; (oh, wonder!)
The eye of day lookes pale at this blest hower,
As if his glory had brought Phœbus under.
Oh blessed sunne! keepe thy dyurnal course;
May never be extinct thy radiant light:
But as thy glory glisters on the sourse
Of silver Thamesis, (water-nymphes delight)
So London in her bosome hopes to see
Tryumphant JAMES in all his royaltie.

Oh, Thou that only canst, forbear thy rod
Of fell correction: wee will sinne no more.
Oh, thou eternall essence, onely GOD,
Now London feeles thy scourge; she doth deplore
Her masse of sinne. Oh! she doth weepe at hart:
Thy visitation² doeth inforce her weepe;
She wants her sov'raigne, which procures her smart;
His sight would lull her in her joyes asleepe:
But thou say'st no: for, by thy mighty hand,
What she and hers intended to performe
In JAMES his honour, thou dost countermand;
And mak'st her know that she is but a worme;
A worme, that hath her being from thy power;
And must not dare but stoop, when Jove doth lower
And now thou frown'st: oh! she doth quake for feare;
Her hands are daily heaved to the skies,

¹ [Qu. misprint for *intentions*?]

² [Of the plague: which carried off a fourth part of the inhabitants of London, in 1603.]

With impetrations that thou would'st forbear;
 See how trill teares distill from her moyst eyes!
 How can a mother choose, but ever weepe,
 When as her children loath their native bed?
 Her yong ones in her bosome will not sleepe,
 But to a forrayne fosterer are fled.
 Yet, like a mother, she doth daily pray
 Thou would'st not note such disobedience;
 But to be mercifull to them that stray,
 And in their losse to give her patience.
 She weepes for losse of them which now are gone,
 Thinking thereby to shunne correction.

But who knowes not Thy power is every where;
 In cittie, country, both on land and sea:
 Then do we think thou canst not touch us there?
 Yes, yes; 'tis too apparant every day.
 But stay, great glory of æternitie!
 Wee doe confesse thy might, Almighty force!
 Be mercifull to us in miserie,
 And, for thy deare anoynted, take remorse:
 Smooth thy deepe furrowed front, shriv'led with ire;
 Open thine eares unto our sad complaints;
 Let us at last rejoyce in our desire,
 And helpe weake London, that now helples faints.
 For while Thou frown'st, alas! she feares to die:
 And but to Thee she knowes not where to flie.

Thou mad'st the sore; but who can give the cure?
 Thou gav'st the blowe; but who can salve the wound?
 Thou prick'st the hart; but who can helpe procure?
 Thou mad'st the bruise; but who can make it sound?
 Thou all in all can'st salve, make sound, and cure
 The sore, the blow, the wound: yea, more than this,
 Thy ministring is present helpe, 'tis sure;
 And he that prayes to Thee, prayes not amisse.
 Deigne, then, dread Lord! from thy high throne of grace,
 Where angels praise Thee with divinest song,
 To looke on London with a smyling face;
 And breake thy rod, which she hath felt too long.
 Then will her friends draw neere; and she shall see
 Her long-wisht soveraigne, in his royaltie.³

For him she weepes, for JAMES his want she mournes;
 Want of his presence, that should gild her streetes:
 For want of him, in passion she burnes,
 And from her residence all comfort fleetes.
 Thousands of treasure hath her bounty wasted
 In honour of her king, to welcome him:
 But woe is she, that honour is not tasted;
 For royal JAMES on silver Thames doth swim.
 The water hath that glory, for he glides
 Upon the pearly maine unto his crowne;

³ [King James, on account of the plague, had retired to the Earl of Pembroke's at Wilton.]

And lookes with pittie on London as he rydes,
 Saying—"Alas! thou should'st have this renowne."
 So well he knew that wofull London lov'd him,
 That her distresse unto compassion mov'd him.

And from his royall love thus doth he greete her;
 Before the glancy⁴ isacles of winter
 By heat of sunne be molten, he will meet her
 In all her pompe, till when of joy he'le stint her.
 Meane time, he wils her teach her yong to pray
 That Heaven's Almightye may surcease his hand:
 For when he heares of such an happie day,
 He'le glad the chamber of the fairy land,
 Then shall her showes and princely ornaments,
 Her famous pageants⁵ (London's solemne pride)
 Be at the full, and surfet with contents:
 Such joy shall mantle her on every side.
 Where JAMES shall ride, conduits shall flow with wine,
 In honour of his state and happie time.

This is the day that should have fam'd our city,
 But that the hand of GOD lyes heavy on it:
 All you that know it, crie—"Alas! 'tis pittie!"
 And pray Jehova may looke downe upon it;
 Whose joyes like shadowes tooke their sudden flight,
 Whose weale is fleeting, like deluding sleepe,
 That in an houre mixe sorrow with delight;
 Her path to joy is tedious, long, and steepe.
 Give period, All-Almighty! to her plaint:
 Unhappie London, wittie in selfe-grieving,
 Let her now joy; let grieve no longer taynt
 Her tender hart, that makes her woe her living.
 Let her now smyle; and, as she smyleth, sing
 Glory to GOD! and GOD preserve the king!

FINIS.

⁴ [A misprint, probably for *glassy*.]

⁵ [See a very curious and comprehensive account of the London pageants, in Mr. Stephen Jones's late edition of the *Biographia Dramatica*. Dekker furnished that on King James's entry.]

The Device of the Pageant borne before Woolstone Dixi,¹
Lord Maior of the Citie of London. An. 1585. October 29.

Imprinted at London by Edward Allde. 1585.

The copy from which the following transcript was made, is now in a volume of Pageants and Triumphs bequeathed by Mr. Gough to the Bodleian Library. It had formerly been in the possession of the learned Dr. Farmer, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and keeper of the public library in that university, who has written the following note within the cover :

"This is probably the only copy remaining. It was given up to me as a favour, at Mr. West's auction, for eight shillings.

"I have seen a fine wooden print of Sir Wlostan at Christ's Hospital,

"See Stowe by Strype.

"R. FARMER."

To this note we may add, that it was sold at Dr. Farmer's sale for one pound eleven shillings and sixpence. See Bibl. Farmer, 8vo. 1798, p. 333, no. 7240. For a transcript of the present rarity, and for the notes which accompany it, the Editor is indebted to the ingenuity and kindness of Mr. Philip Bliss and Mr. Haslewood.

A Speech spoken by him that rid on a Luzarne² before the Pageant, apparelled like a Moore.

FROM where the sun dooth settle in his wayn
And yoakes his horses to his fiery carte,
And in his way gives life to Ceres corne,
Even from the parching zone, behold, I come,
A straunger, straungely mounted, as you see,
Seated upon a lusty luzern's back;

¹ [Sir Wolstane Dixie (as Stowe writes the name) belonged to the Skinner's company, and appears to have been a merchant of great eminence and fortune. In Stowe's list of the "worthy acts of citizens," may be seen an enumeration of his various benefactions to public charities, among which are,

A free school at Bosworth, founded by himself, and endowed with twenty pounds yearly.

Forty-two pounds annually to Christ's Hospital.

For a lecture in St. Michael Bassing's Hall, yearly ten pounds.

To Emanuel College, Cambridge, to buy lands for the maintenance of two fellows, and two scholars, six hundred pounds, as well as fifty pounds towards building the college.

Stowe's Survey of London, by Strype, edit. folio, Lond. 1720, book i. p. 273.

A descendant from Sir Wolstane, and an inheritant of his benevolence, is living in the present day. The Times newspaper of March 3, 1812, no. 8541, notices a benefaction of a hundred pounds to Bethlem Hospital by "Mrs. R. Kynnesley, late R. Dixie, the immediate descendant of Sir W. Dixie, lord mayor of London, 1586."]

² [Luzarne, or lozarde, a lynx. Minshew derives it from the French *loup cervier*, and explains it "*lupus cervarius, vel quod cervos infestet, vel quod cervorum hinnulos maculis suis imitetur.*" Ductor in Linguas, edit. folio, Lond. 1617, p. 284.]

The Device of the Pageant

And offer to your honour (good my lord,)
 This emblem thus in shewe significant.
 Loe, lovely London riche and fortunate,
 Famed through the worlde for peace and happinesse,
 Is heer advaunc't, and set in highest seat;
 Beawtified throughly as her state requires.
 First, over her a princely trophie standes
 Of beaten golde: a riche and royall armes;
 Wher-too this London ever more bequeathes,
 Service of honour and of loyaltie.
 Her props are well advised majestates,
 That carefully attend her person still.
 The honest franklin³ and the husband-man,
 Layes downe his sakes of corne at London's feet,
 And bringes such presents as the countrie yeeldes.
 The pleasaunt Thames, a sweet and daintye nymphe,
 For London's good convayes with gentle streame,
 And safe and easie passage what shee can,
 And keepes her leaping fishes in her lappe.
 The souldier and the sayler franckly bothe,
 For London's ayde are all in readines,
 To venture and to fight by land and sea.
 And this thrise reverend honorable dame
 Science the sap of every common wealth,
 Surnamed mechanicall or liberall,
 Is vowed to honour London with her skill;
 And London, by these freendes so happy made,
 First thanks her God, the author of her peace,
 And next, with humble gesture, as becomes,
 In meeke and lowly manner, dooth she yeeld
 Her selfe, her welthe, with hart and willingnes,
 Unto the person of her gracious queene,—
 Elizabeth, renowned through the world;
 Stall'd and annointed by the highest powre,
 The God of kings; that, with his holy hand,
 Hath long defended her, and her England.
 This now remaines, right honourable lord,
 That carefully you doo attend and keep
 This lovely lady, rich and beautifull,
 The juel wherwithall your soveraigne queene,
 Hath put your honor lovingly in trust,
 That you may adde to London's dignity,
 And London's dignity may adde to yours,
 That woorthely you may be counted one,
 Among the number of a many moe
 Carefull leestenaunts, carefull majestates,
 For London's welfare and her worthines.

DIXI.

³ [A franklain seems to have been the holder of considerable lands in his own right, either by purchase or descent, and was classed, says Tyrwhitt, after the *miles* and *armiger*. See notes to the *Canterbury Tales*, v. 333, vol. ii. p. 402, edit. 4to. Oxford, 1798. It is used by Robert of Gloucester, and described by Hearne, in his glossary, as "*libertus, libertinus, municeps*, franklin, a free man."]

Spoken by the Children in the Pageant, viz.

LONDON.

New Troye I hight,⁴ whome Lud my lord surnam'd ;
 London the glory of the western side :—
 Throughout the world is lonely London fam'd,
 So farre as any sea comes in with tide.
 Whose peace and calme, under her royall queene,
 Hath long bin such as like was never scene.

Then let me live to caroll⁵ of her name,
 that she may ever live and never dye :
 Her sacred shrine set in the house of fame,
 consecrate to eternall memorie.
 My peerles mistresse soveraigne of my peace :
 Long may she joy with honours great increase.

MAGNANIMITY.

The cuntry and the Thames affoord their aide,
 and carefull majestates their care attend :
 All English harts are glad, and well appaide,⁶
 in readines their London to defend.
 Defend them, Lord, and these faire nimphs likewise ;
 that ever they may doo this sacrifice.

LOYALTIE.

The greatest treasure that a prince can have,
 dooth lovely London offer to her queene,
 Such loyaltie as like was never scene,
 and such as any English hart can crave.

⁴ [*Hight*, very commonly used by old writers for "am called." Hearne, in his glossary to Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, says "it signifies *called* in the north to this day." P. 659, edit. 1724. The word is evidently derived from the Anglo-Saxon *hatan*, *vocare*, and, although a verb active, is always taken with a passive signification. See Tyrwhitt's Chaucer, vol. ii. p. 412. edit. 4to. Oxford, 1798.]

⁵ [To *caroll*, "to sing in praise of;" it is sometimes used for "to dance"—thus in Robert of Gloucester, 'After mete, as ryght was, the menstres geode aboute,
 'And knyghtes and ladyes in *carole* [mid] gret route.' i. 53.

This extract differs from Hearne's edition. It is taken from the collated copy by Dr. Waterland, now in the Bodleian Library, p. 53.]

⁶ [*Appaid*, "satisfied." So in Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, by Hearne, page 117.

'Mid al he was wel *apayed*, and bi levede atte mete.'

And in Tom Tyler and his Wife, edit. 4to. 1661, sign. C, 1.

"Alas I am so sore,
 I can neither stand nor sit,
 But am beside my wit;
 And never *well apaid*,
 Till that I may be laid
 To ease me on my bed."

In the old romance of 'Syr Tryamour,' printed by Copland, 4to. without date, we find it used in a sense directly the reverse of that in the text:

"He went foorth and held him stil
 And thought he could not have his wil
 Therefore he was *evil apayd*." Sig. A iii.]

THE CUNTRY.

For London's aide the cuntry gives supplie,
 of needfull things, and store of every graine :
 London give thanks to him that sits on hie,
 had never towne lesse cause for to complaine.
 And love and serve the soveraigne of thy peace,
 Under whose raigne thou hast this rich encrease.

THE THAMES.

With silver glide my pleasant streames doo runne,
 where leaping fishes play betwixt the shores :
 This gracious good hath God and kinde begun,
 for London's use with help of sailes and ores.
 London, rejoyce, and give thy God the praise ;
 For her whose highnes lengths thy happy daies.

THE SOULDIER.

Armour of safe defence the souldier hath ;—
 So lovely London carefully attends,
 To keep her sacred soveraigne from skathe,⁷
 That all this English land so well defends.
 And so farre London bids her souldiers goe,
 As well may serve to sheeld this land from woe.

THE SAYLER.

The sayler that in colde and quaking tide,
 the wrathfull stormes of winter's rage dooth bide,
 With streamers strecht, prepares his mery bark,
 for cuntrie's welth to set his men awark.
 That queene and cuntry eazely may see,
 The sea-man serves his prince in his degree.

SCIENCE.

For London's safety and her happines,
 the souldier and the sayler may you see :
 All well prepar'd and put in redines,
 to doo such service as may fitting be ;
 and arte, with them doo joyne, and they with me.

⁷ [Scathe, *nocere, lædere, incommodare*. Ang.-Sax. *ŕcaðan, ŕceaðan*. Junii Etymologicum.
 So Spencer,

“ Thus is my sommer worne away and wasted
 Thus is my harvest hastened all to rathe,
 The eare that budded fayre is burnt and blasted,
 And all my hoped gaine is turn'd to *scathe*.”

Shepherd's Calendar, December, line 100.

And Gawin Douglas,

“ Ha, how grete harme, and *skaith* for evermare
 That child has caught, throw lesing of his moder.”

See also Shakspeare, by Reed, 8vo. Lond. 1803, x. 373 ; xiv. 319 ; xx. 69 ; xxi. 11. Virgil, p. 79, 23, ed. 1710.

London, then joy, and let all ages knowe,
What duty to thy soveraigne thou doost owe:

THE FIRST NYMPHE.

Thus with the morning sun and evening starre,
these holy lights shall burne, the cheerfull flame,
With sweetest odour shall perfume as farre
as India stands, in honor of her name
Whose trophie we adore with sacred rights,
With sweetest incense, and with endles lights.

THE SECOND NYMPH.

So long as sunne dooth lend the world his light,
or any grasse dooth growe upon the ground ;
With holy flame, our torches shall burne bright,
and fame shall brute^s with golden trumpet's sound
The honor of her sacred regiment,
That claimes this honorable monument.

THE THIRD NYMPH.

Our holy lights shall burne continually,
to signifie our duties to her state
Whose excellent and princely majestye.
approoves it selfe to be moste fortunate.

THE FOURT NYMPHE.

Vertue shall witnes of her woorthines,
and fame shall register her princely deeds:
The world shall still pray for her happines,
from whome our peace and quietnes proceeds.

Verses written under the Armes of Englande.

*Gallia victa dedit flores invicta Leones,
Anglia, jus belli in flore, Leone suum :
O sic, o semper ferat Anglia leta triumphos,
Inclita gallorum Flore, Leone suo.*

Donne by GEORGE PEELE, Maister of artes in Oxford.

^s [*Bruit*, resound, extoll. So in Cambises, as a substantive,
“ — whose manly acts do fly
By *bruit* of Fame.”]

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A

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No. I.

1. **THE** passage of our most drad soveraigne lady quene Elyzabeth, through the citie of London, to Westminster, the daye before her coronation. Imprinted, &c. by Rich. Tottill, the xxiii day of January, cum privilegio. 1558. (Quarto, in five sheets, black letter.)

It contains also an account of all the pageants erected to adorn the procession, with the verses and orations, in Latin and English, wherewith her majesty was saluted in her passage through the said city. [This account has been reprinted in vol. i. of *The progresses and public processions of Q. Elizabeth.*]

2. A briefe treatise concerning the burnynge of Bucer and Phagius, at Cambridge, in the tyme of quene Mary, with theyr restitution in the tyme of our moste gracious Soverayne lady that now is: wherein is expressed the fantastick and tyrannous dealynges of the Romishe church, together with the godly and modest regiment of the true christian church, most slaundersously diffamed in those dayes of heresye. Translated into Englyshe, by Arthur Goldyng. Read and judge indifferently accordinge to the rule of God's word. Imprinted

VOL. X.

by Tho. Marshe, nere to saynct Dunston's church. 1562. (Octavo, in eleven sheets and a half, black letter.)

This is indeed an ample narrative of the disputes occasioned by burning the dead bodies of those two learned men, and contains many historical particulars of the principal persons, in that university, concerned therein.

3. The ende and confession of Tho. Norton of Yorkeshire, the Popish rebell, and Chr. Norton, his nephew; which suffered at Tiburn for treason, the 27 of May. Imprinted by W. How. 1570. (Octavo, seven leaves.)

This piece is written in verse; contains seven leaves; is printed in the black letter; and at the end, the author's name appears to be Sampson Davie.

4. A copie of a letter lately sent by a gentleman, student in the lawes of the realme, to a frende of his, concernyng D. Story. 1671. (Octavo, in eleven leaves, black letter.)

It treats of the treasons, confession, and execution of the said Dr. John Story. (Printed in vol. viii. p. 608.)

3 A

5. A commemoration of the most prosperous and peaceable raigne of our gracious and deere soveraigne lady Elizabeth, &c. Now newly set forth, this 17th day of November, being the first day of the eighteenth yeere of her majesties sayd raygne. By Edward Hake, gent. 1575. Imprinted by W. How. (Octavo, three sheets and a half.)

After the epistle to the author's cousin, Edw. Elliotte, esq. (surveyor of the queen's lands, &c. in the county of Essex) subscribed from Barnard's Inne, follows the said 'commemoration' in verse, and then 'a poem to the queen's council,' and concludes with a 'meditation' in prose. (Printed in vol. ix. p. 123.)

6. An advertisement and defence for Trueth against her backbiters, and specially against the whispering favourers and colourers of Campion's, and the rest of his confederats treasons. 1581. (One sheet, quarto, black letter.)

7. A particular declaration, or testimony of the undutifull and traitorous affection, borne against her Majestie by Edmond Campion, jesuite, and other condemned priestes, witnessed by their own confessions; in reproofe of those slanderous bookes and libels delivered out to the contrary, by such as are maliciously affected towards her Majestie and the State. Published by authoritie. Imprinted by Christopher Barker, printer to her majestie. 1582. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves, black letter.)

Camden, and other writers on queen Elizabeth's reign, have borrowed light from this pamphlet; and, if some ecclesiastical historians also, of those times, had more copiously extracted it, they might have given more satisfaction to their readers. [This book is very scarce, and is reckoned the best vindication of the proceedings against Campion.]

8. A wonderfull and straunge Newes which happened in the countye of Suffolke and Essex, the first of February, beeing Fryday, where it rayned wheat, the space of vi or vii miles compas, a notable example to put us in remembrance of the judgments of God, and a preparative sent to move us to a speedy repentance. Written by William Averell, student in divinitie. Imprinted at London, for Edward White. 1583. (Octavo, in fourteen leaves, black letter.)

The author says not that he saw this wonderful shower himself, but reports from many witnesses (four of whose names are subscribed at the end) that about Ipswich, Storknayland, and Hadley, in Suffolk, especially, such grain did fall, in a drizzling snow, at the time and to the compass aforesaid; but that it was of a softer substance, greener colour without, whiter within, and of a mealier taste than common wheat.

9. A breefe discourse, declaring and approving the necessarie and inviolable maintenance of the laudable customs of London. Namely of that one,

whereby a reasonable partition of the goods of husbands among their wives and children is provided; with an answer to objections, &c. Printed by Henry Middleton, &c. 1584. (Octavo, in forty-eight pages, black letter.)

10. Monardo: the tritameron of love; wherein certain pleasant conceits, uttered by divers worthy personages, are perfectly dyscoursed; and three doubtfull questions of love most pithely and pleasantly discussed; shewing, to the wise, how to use love; and to the fond, how to eschew lust; and yielding to all both pleasure and profit. By Rob. Greene, master of arts, in Cambridge. Printed by J. Kingston, &c. 1584. (Quarto, in twenty-three leaves, black letter.)

This tract is dedicated to Philip, earl of Arundel. The author was a noted town-writer of his time; and published many pamphlets of entertainment in prose and verse. He was reputed master of a clear and elegant style, and numbered among the improvers of our language in those days. He could shew a variety of reading upon any subject, by his allusions, comparisons, &c. which he had ready upon all occasions; but at last fell into irregular courses of life, which brought him to want, misery, and repentance. He died of a surfeit upon pickled herrings and rhenish wine, on the third of September, in the year 1592. Many of his pamphlets were reprinted after his death, to the good profit of their publishers. [See Nos. 47 and 522, also Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, ii. 168. *Censura Liter.* viii. 380.]

11. A packe of Spanish lyes, sent abroad in the World; first printed in Spaine, in the Spanish tongue, and translated out of the originall; now ripped up, unfolded, and, by just examination, condemned; as conteyning false, corrupt, and detestable wares, worthy to be damned and burned. Imprinted at London, by the deputies of Chr. Barker, printer to the queen's most excellent majestie. 1588. (Quarto, in thirteen pages.)

This work is printed in two columns---the 'Pack of Spanish lyes' in the old English character (or black letter, as it is commonly called) and the 'Condemnation,' collaterally, in the Roman character; and rectifies, in every particular, the said Spanish misrepresentation of the renowned defeat of their invincible Armada. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 385.)

12. A discovery of discontented minds; wherein their several sortes and purposes are described; especially such as go beyond the seas. At Oxford, printed by Joseph Barnes, printer to the university. 1596. (Quarto, in thirty-four pages.)

The author, James Perrott, as he signs himself at the end of his dedication to Robert, earl of Essex, was the natural son of sir John Perrot, lord deputy of Ireland. He was afterwards knighted, and a frequent member of parliament. This was the author's first publication (unknown to A. Wood.) It is discreetly and learnedly handled, for a young man of twenty-five years of age; and founded upon a solid and loyal view

of restraining those dangerous malecontents, whether scholars, or soldiers, who did, many of them, in his time, turn fugitives, and renegades; settling themselves in foreign countries, especially under the umbrage of Spain, to negotiate conspiracies, invasions, &c. with their traitorous correspondents in England. The author died in 1636, having printed some other pieces; but his 'Life of Sir Philip Sidney' (never published) is most desirable; and would in all probability set forth that gallant and accomplished gentleman's virtues and actions, in a more conspicuous light than does appear in the faint and inexpressive draught that has been left us by his great friend, sir Fulke Greville. [Dr. Zouch, in his memoirs of sir P. Sidney, describes his most diligent inquiry after Perrot's life of that hero to have been ineffectual.]

13. Saint George for England, allegorically described. By Gerard de Malynes, merchant. *Veritas Temporis Filia*. Imprinted at London, by Richard Field. 1601. (Octavo, in eighty pages.)

This author dedicates his work to the lord keeper Egerton; 'from an affectionate desire to his honour's service; whereunto, before all men, he acknowledges himself bounden.' And, in his said epistle to him, has also these words: 'Whereas under the person of the noble champion, St. George, our saviour Christ was prefigured, delivering the Virgin (which did signify the sinfull souls of Christians) from the dragon or divel's power; so her most excellent majesty, by advancing the pure doctrine of Christ Jesus, in all truth and sincerity, hath been used to perform the part of a valiant champion, delivering an infinite number out of the devil's power, whereunto they were tied by the forcible chains of darkness. In which sense, retaining St. George for England, not only as the patron for the noble order of the garter, but as the head and patron of our eternal glory; both those that be knights of that noble order, and all other, of what degree or calling soever, have just cause to rejoyce, &c.' See more of St. George, under this consideration, in sir T. Brown's 'Vulgar Errors.' As for the author Malynes, he was a commissioner of trade, fourteen years before his publishing of this tract, and was alive twenty-two years after it; as may be seen, with a further account of him, and more of his publications, in the British Librarian, p. 96.

14. Epicedium: a funeral oration upon the death of the late deceased princesse of famous memorye, Elizabeth, by the grace of God, queen of England, France, and Ireland. Written by *Infelice Academico Ignoto*: whereunto is added the true order of her highness' imperial funeral. 1603. (Quarto, in eleven leaves.)

After the oration, in three leaves, follows a poem, entituled 'A Subject's Sorrow,' &c. In both which there are some elegant thoughts and expressions. And then comes the time, order, and formal proceeding at the funeral, from Whitehall to Westminster, the twenty-eighth day of April, 1603; introduced and interspersed with some verses.

15. England's Mourning Garment, worne here

by plain Shepheardes, in memorie of their sacred mistress Elizabeth; queen of vertue, while she lived, and theame of sorrow, being dead. To which is added, the true manner of her emperiall funerall. With the shepheard's spring song, for entertainment of king James, &c. No date. (Quarto, in twenty-five leaves.)

This piece is a kind of pastoral dialogue, between some shepherds, in verse and prose, containing a character of that renowned queen, which has several particulars in it, worthy of being preserved; and, about the middle, two pages and an half of poetry, in reprehension of those able poets, who did, or could praise her, when alive, for being silent at her death; among whom, though none are named, a reader well versed in their works may discern, he points at Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Marston, Shakespeare, Drayton, and three or four more. As to the order of the funeral, there are in this some variations from that in the former pamphlet; and some curious herald may, perhaps, one time or other, take the pains to rectify that which is erroneous. At the end of this part is an advertisement, signed Hen. Chettle, who appears to have been the author of the whole. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 524.)

16. An oration congratulatory to the high and mighty James, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, king, &c. on the 12th day of Febr. last presented; when his majesty entered the Tower of London, to perform the residue of the solemnities of his coronation, through the citie of London, deferred by reason of the plague; and published by his highnesse speciall allowance: wherein, both the description of the tower of London, and the union of the kingdoms, are compendiously touched. By William Hubbocke. At Oxford: printed by Joseph Barnes, &c. 1604. (Quarto, in two sheets.)

This oration is here printed both in Latin and English.

17. A relation of such things as were observed to happen in the journey of the right honourable Charles, earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral of England, his highnesse ambassador to the king of Spain. Being sent thither, to take the oath of the said king for the maintenance of peace, betweene the two famous kings of Great Britain and Spain; according to the several articles formerly concluded on by the constable of Castilla in England, in the month of August, 1604, set forth by authoritie. Printed by Melchisedeck Bradwood, &c. 1605. (Quarto, in forty-two pages.)

It appears in the preface, that the author's motives for publishing this relation were, first, the knowledge his friends had of his being specially appointed an attendant upon his lordship in this expedition; and his having made some observation of the particulars in the same. Secondly, because some false reports had been made of their entertainment in Spain, and of their proceedings there. But, lastly, and more especially, because, since their return, a pamphlet had been pub-

lished, with many erroneous observations thereon. And, at the end of the preface, the author appears to be Robert Tresswell, aliàs Somerset Herald. It is a scarce piece, and has not, perhaps, been sufficiently made use of, to set forth the history of this part of king James his reign, in its due colours. That lord admiral Howard had certainly, under his late glorious queen, beaten the Spaniards notably in war; but whether they were not victorious over him, at least over his country, in the conclusion of this peace, the registers of following times will declare. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 424.)

18. Trayterous Percy's and Catesbye's Prosopeia. Written by Edward Hawes, scholar at Westminster, a youth of sixteene yeeres old. Imprinted at London, by Simon Stafford, dwelling in the Cloth-fayre, at the signe of the three crowns. 1606. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

This is a poem in eighty stanzas of six lines each; addressed to Toby Matthews, bishop of Durham, in a Latin dedication; and has a wooden print in the frontispiece, of one of those malefactors lying on a hurdle, and the executioner standing by him. [In this puerile production a conference is carried on between the ghosts of Percy and Catesby (two of the gunpowder-plot conspirators) and their respective heads, after being severed from their bodies by the hangman. Percy's ghost is ushered in,

' with lightnings from the southerne pole,
' And thunderclaps heaven's axel-tree 'gan crack,
' And blustering Æolus with his breath did role
' The massy clouds, all masking them with black :
' Earthquakes and whirlwinds, snow with hayle compact,
' Was the best musike that brought on the act.

The whole may have furnished a prototype to Niccols, in his poetical vision of sir Thomas Overbury. See vol. vii. p. 178.]

19. God's warning to his people of England : by the great overflowing of the waters, or floudes, lately hapned in South Wales, and many other places. Wherein is described the great losses and wonderfull damages that happened thereby, by the drowning of many towns and villages, to the utter undoing of many thousands of people. 1607. (Quarto, in eight leaves, black letter.)

This was a most extraordinary, extensive, and destructive deluge or inundation of the sea, as well in Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, as sundry parts of South Wales; which began on the twentieth of January before. It is described in a very lively and affecting manner, in many of the disastrous particulars. Dr. Fuller, in his Worthies of England, at the end of his account of Somersetshire, has made use of one circumstance, shewing how fear will banish fierceness, in the example of the wild animals, which were now driven together with the tame ones; and, though enemies by nature, never offered to satisfy nature upon them; so much greater regard they had to avoid the present danger, and seek for self-preservation.

20. A lamentable discourse upon the parricide and bloody assassination, committed on the per-

son of Henry the Fourth (of famous memorie) king of France and Navarre. Translated out of the French copy, printed at Rouen, by Peter Courant; and the copy of Paris, printed by Francis Huby; with permission. 1610. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

It is subscribed at the end, 'Pelletier.' This horrid story is too well known to need any remarks here; besides there were other pamphlets then published upon the same subject, which may stand more in need of them.

21. The Lieutenant of the Tower, his speech and repentance at the time of his death; who was executed upon Tower-hill, on the twentieth day of November, 1615. Printed by G. Eld. No date. (Quarto, in four sheets and an half.)

From the time above-mentioned, when this lieutenant of the Tower, sir Gervis Ellwes, suffered, for knowing, consenting to, and concealing the poisoning of sir Thomas Overbury, in the Tower (which if he had revealed, would have saved many lives) it may be concluded, the said speech was published soon after, and in the same year. (Printed in vol. v. p. 546.)

22. Essayes of certain Paradoxes. At London, printed for Th. Thorp. 1616. (Quarto, in twenty-eight leaves.)

These paradoxes are written upon 'The Prayse of king Richard the Third;' which takes up about half the tract. 'The Prayse of the French Pockes.' 'The Praise of Nothing;' in verse; from Johannes Passeratius, in Theodore Beza's epigrams; and, lastly, 'That it is good to be in debt.' I think it is somewhere said, that these paradoxes were written by sir C. Cornwaleys.

23. The strangling and death of the Great Turk and his two Sonnes: with the strange preservation and deliverance of his uncle Mustapha from perishing in prison, with hunger and thirst; the young Emperor not three days before having so commanded. A wonderful story, and the like never heard of in our modern times; and yet all to manifest the glory and providence of God in the preservation of Christendome, in these troublesome times. Printed this fifteenth of July, by J. D. &c. 1622. (Quarto, in eleven leaves.)

This is the famous story of the young emperor Osmin, clearly and compendiously related; which has furnished such matter for tragic writers, &c. This account has, on the back of the title-page, a quotation of eight verses, out of Boetius. Sir Thomas Roe, then ambassador in Turkey, wrote a narrative upon the same subject, but it was printed with a different title; as, when it comes to hand, will appear in some succeeding number. (See another edition, printed in vol. iv. p. 33.)

24. Honor's true Arbor: or, the princely nobilitie of the Howards; wherein the true source and original of their mighty name, with all their several alliances with the high and potent families of divers countries, since the first man that

was known in England by the name of Howard, is described, &c. &c. by Abraham De Ville Adre-cie, *alias* Darcie. 1625. (Folio, in fourteen leaves.)

This forward adventurer upon the characters and writings of our noble and learned men, Abraham Darcie, was a Frenchman; and has most glaringly bedecked this work with dedications, and marginal notes, and poetry, and prose, and French, and English, &c. He not long before published two 'Elegies upon the death of Lodowick, duke of Richmond and Lennox,' of five thousand verses, in French and English; besides a funeral 'Consolation to the duchess dowager,' of seven hundred verses more. Dr. Fuller, in his 'Church History,' informs us, how he was imprisoned for fathering upon Isaac Casaubon a book he translated from the French, intitled the 'Original of Idolatry,' printed 4to. 1624. And the character of his translation of the first part of Camden's annals of queen Elizabeth, from a French translation, to the end of the year 1588, printed 4to. 1625 (which has a frontispiece bespangled with the arms of our nobility, and the margins of his dedications also studded with their names, &c.) may be seen in the said author's 'Worthies of England,' p. 94; and in Deg. Wheare's method of reading Histories, 8vo. 1710, p. 161.

25. A continued journall of all the proceedings of the duke of Buckingham his grace, in the isle of Ree, a part of France; from the beginning, untill this seventeenth of August, &c. Published by authority. Printed by T. Walkley, &c. 1627. (Quarto, in eleven leaves.)

This journal begins at the twenty-fourth of June, in the year aforesaid, when the duke set out to his fleet; and three days after weighed anchor, with an hundred sail. Herein mention is made of the jesuited messenger, sent by the governor of St. Martin's, to assassinate the duke; and that a poisoned knife was found in the sleeve of his doublet for that purpose.

26. A continued journal of all the proceedings of the duke of Buckingham his grace, in the isle of Ree, since the last of July. With the names of those noblemen as were drowned and taken in going to releve the fleet. As also the portraiture of the knife, with which his Excellence should have beene murdered: which very knife was brought over by captain Buckestone, and delivered unto the dutchess of Buckingham her grace, one Monday night last. Published by authority. Printed for T. Walkley. 1627. (Quarto, in five leaves, besides the portraiture aforesaid, on a half sheet.)

This journal was received, the twenty-seventh of August; though it is dated the 'thirtieth' on the top of the title page, which might be the day it was printed. In that portraiture, cut in wood, the poisoned knife or poniard is represented, in its exact length and breadth, the whole not longer than one's hand; and the blade, about an inch broad towards the haft; but what appears singular in it, is, that it is formed with four edges, as if intended only for the purpose monsieur De Thorax,

the governor aforesaid, is here reported to have designed it, in the hand of that messenger.

27. A continued journal of all the proceedings of the duke of Buckingham his grace, in the isle of Ree, since the last of August. Printed by A. M. for T. Walkley. 1627. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This journal was received the eighteenth of September. If any further continuation of it was printed, and is preserved among the vast treasure of such curiosities in this library, we shall give intelligence thereof, when it comes to hand; as what may moderate the triumphs which our French enemies have made, upon our ill success, under that duke, in this expedition.

28. Cygnea Cantio: or learned decisions, and most prudent and pious directions, for students in divinity; delivered by our late Sovereign of happy memory, king James, at Whitehall, a few weeks before his death. 1629. (Quarto, in forty-one pages, besides the dedication to king Charles.)

This pamphlet is written by the learned and ingenious Dr. Dan. Featly, upon occasion of the objections made to him by K. James, for licensing Mr. Elton's exposition upon the commandments, entitled 'God's holy Mind' (above eight hundred copies whereof were burnt at Paul's Cross, 13 Febr. 1624) and Mr. Crompton's answer to Mr. Brearly, intitled, 'St. Augustine's Summes.' There was an emblematical sculpture published, on the burning of Mr. Elton's book, with some mottos wittily applied, out of Ovid; as this: the author, casting his books into the flame, and crying:

Sancte, nec invideo, sine me Liber ibis in Ignem:

And a Popish priest answering, in the next verse:

Hei mihi, quod Domino non licet ire tuo.

29. A true and certaine relation of a strange birth, which was borne at Stonehouse, in the parish of Plimouth, the 20th of Oct. 1635; together with the notes of a sermon preached, Oct. 23d, in the church of Plimouth, at the intering of the said birth. By Th. B. B. D. Pr. Pl. 1635. (Quarto, in twenty-two pages.)

On the back of the title-page is a wooden print of two boys, after some sort in one; being two complete bodies, but concorporate, and united together, from the breast to the belly. They were still-born; and the issue of the wife of John Persons, a fisherman in the village aforesaid. This pamphlet might serve to illustrate any discourse upon extraordinary births in general, or the natural history of Devonshire in particular.

30. A true relation of those sad and lamentable accidents, which happened in and about the parish church of Withycombe, in the Dartmoores, in Devonshire, on Sunday the twenty-first of October last, 1638. (Quarto, in fifteen pages.)

This was occasioned by a most dreadful tempest of thunder and lightning, which tore thorow, and demolished great part of the church; blasted, burnt, and

bruised to death many of the congregation. There was, soon after, published a further account, including the substance of this; as will be observed in another number.

31. A description of the Sect called, the familie of love, with their common place of residence. Being discovered by one Mrs. Susanna Snow of Pirford, near Chersey, in the county of Surrey; who was vainly led away for a time, through their base allurements, and at length fell mad; till by a great miracle, shewn from God, she was delivered. 1641. (Quarto, in a sheet.)

There was then about an hundred of that sect, which gathered from London, &c. about Bagshot and in Birch Wood, near that village, where they dedicated certain days to their saints, Ovid, Cupid, Priapus, &c. and here they poetised, in these woods, and performed their ceremonies, both spiritual and carnal; and one of their poets thus dubbed pious Mrs. Snow, 'a sister of their holy order;' till after a week she returned home and run mad: but was restored by such a miracle as Fox relates of Mrs. Honywood. [Printed in vol. iii. p. 508.]

32. The Friers last Farewell: or, saint Francis must pack for France: shewing how the mass-monging fathers were, by order of parliament, brought from Somerset-house in the Strand, by many officers, watchmen, and others; and by them put into safe custody, till the next fair wind shall blow for Paris, on Saturday the twenty-sixth of February, A.D. 1642. Being a dolefull dialogue between Pere Robert and Pere Cyprian, two lamenting fathers. God send them good shipping. 1642. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

33. A Purge for Pluralities: shewing the unlawfullness of men to have two livings; or, the downfall of double benefices. Being in the cly-mactericall and fatall year of the proud prelates; but the year of jubilee to all poor hunger-pinched scholars. 1642. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This is a dialogue between Dr. Lazy and Dr. Simony. It has a wooden print of a pluralist, in the front, holding one church in his hand, and two upon his shoulders.

34. The Pope's Brief: or, Rome's inquiry after the death of their Catholicks here in England, during these times of warre; discovered by two commissions: the one sent from the Pope that now is, the other from the bishop and duke of Cambray, to several commissioners in England; whereby the death of such Catholicks may be returned to the see of Rome, to be determined of (as may be fit for the glory of God) together with a catalogue of the vicars-general, and archdeacons, under the bishop of Calcedon, (Ric. Smith) for the setting of the Popish hierarchy in England, &c. also several letters and papers of the lord Inchiquines, in Ireland, intercepted by the earl of Warwick, &c. 1643. (Quarto, in thirty-seven pages.)

35. The arraignment and acquittal of Sir Edward Mosely, Baronet, indited at the King's-bench bar for a rape, upon the body of Mrs. Anne Swinnerton. Taken by a reporter there present, who heard all the circumstances thereof; whereof this is a true copy. 1647. (Quarto, in twelve pages.)

It seems Sir Edward having a good estate, three thousand pounds a year, she and her husband expected a composition of two thousand pounds; and it was attested, she also confessed, she had received three hundred pounds before, of a rev. divine, Dr. Belcanquell, some years deceased, for the like composition. She seems to have been very learned in the doctrine of rapes: for James Winstanly deposed, that, wondering how Sir Edward, so little a man, should ravish so lusty a woman, she shewed him, saying, 'Now, in this posture, as you see me, I myself could ravish any woman whatsoever.' Sir Edward had chambers near Swinnerton's, and the scene of this action seems to have been in Gray's Inn; but after the jury had pronounced, 'Not guilty,' the court very gravely advised him, to take heed what company he kept hereafter, seeing the danger of keeping ill company. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 499.)

36. The manifold practises and attempts of the Hamiltons; and particularly of the present duke of Hamilton, now general of the Scottish army; to get the crown of Scotland: discovered in an intercepted letter, written from a malignant here in London, to his friend in Scotland. 1648. (Quarto, in twenty-three pages.)

37. The declaration of the most christian king of France and Navarre, against the most horrid proceedings of a rebellious party of parliament men and soldiers in England, against their king and country. Translated out of French, by P. B. published at Paris, the second day of January, *stylo novo*. 1649. (In one sheet, broad side.)

38. The process and pleadings in the court of Spain, upon the death of Anthonie Ascham, resident for the parliament of England, and of John Baptista Riva, his interpreter; who were killed by John Guillim, W. Spark, Val. Progers, Jo. Halsal, W. Arnet, and H. Progers: who are all in close prison in Madrid, for the said fact, except H. Progers, who fled to the Venetian ambassador's house, and so escaped. Sent from Madrid, from a person of quality, and made English. Printed by W. Du-gard, printer to the council of state. 1651. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

This accusation or charge against the murderers of Mr. Ascham, and the indemnity pleaded by the ecclesiastical power, was drawn up by Dr. Don Augustin de Hierro, knight of the order of Calatrava, and Fiscal (or attorney general) of the council royal; and it was sent from Madrid, by R. W. to Sir W. Butler, to whom he dedicates it. [In Peck's *Desid. Curios.* vol. ii. lib. xii.]

See much of Ant. Ascham's murder from Dr. Nalson's MS.

'Letter concerning his death read, and referred to the council of state. Journ. of Com. vi. 428. Report. Order for letter to the king of Spain to demand justice upon the murderers.' lb. 434.] (Printed in vol. iv. p. 280.)

39. News from France: or, a description of the library of Cardinal Mazarini, before it was utterly ruined. Sent in a letter from Monsieur G. Naudæus, keeper of the public library. 1652. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This letter is addressed to the parliament of Paris; intreating, in a pathetic manner, that they would preserve that famous library intire, and not suffer it to be dispersed, having been gathered with so much industry and expence, besides the bounty of so many princely benefactors, and the considerable additions made to it, for ten years together, by the learned author himself, of the said letter. And yet all to no effect; as appears in the title of it. It was composed, it seems, of more than forty thousand volumes, the manuscripts included; and contained in seven chambers, whereof one was a gallery, twelve fathom high. And yet seems that library not to have been more extraordinary for number, variety, scarcity, magnificence, and expence, than this library, a part whereof we are here now describing. It is well known to have filled thirteen handsome chambers, besides two large galleries, both long and high; and had so many printed books alone in it (the manuscripts excluded, which would fill such another gallery) that even setting forty thousand aside, the remainder alone would make a library sufficient for any cardinal in Europe. Not to mention the infinite number of prints, and even pamphlets, which have been computed at little less than four hundred thousand. Had the parliament of England been addressed to preserve the Harleian library, what emulation would this have shewn? what advantage would this have taken over that of Paris, in exemplifying to posterity their superior love and liberality to this wealthy treasury of the muses, these venerable monuments of knowledge and instruction! (Printed in vol. iii. p. 496.)

40. A Rod for the Lawyers; who are hereby declared to be the grand robbers, and deceivers of the nation; greedily devouring, yearly, many millions of the people's money. To which is added, a word to the parliament; and a word to the army. By Will. Cole, a lover of his country. 1659. (Quarto, in twenty pages.)

This author, who seems to have been a different person from W. Coles, the herbalist, his cotemporary, computes, from the nearest inquiry he could make, that there were then above thirty thousand lawyers of all kinds and degrees in England and Wales; and that they got seven millions and an half of money yearly out of the people; and offers some proposals for a surer, speedier, less expensive, and less grievous determination of right and property. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 319.)

No. II.

41. A brief declaration of the notable victory given of God to our soveraygne lady, quene

Marye; made in the church of Luton, by Iohn Gwineth, vicar there; the 22d Iulye, in the first yere of her gracious reign. Imprinted at London, in Powles church yarde, at the sygne of the Holye Goste, by Iohn Cawoode, prynter to the quene's hyghness. No date. (Octavo, in thirty-two leaves, black letter.)

This discourse was spoken three days after queen Mary was proclaimed, in 1553, and printed the same year. The author, who might be a Welsh-man born, appears to have been a man of excellent natural parts, (as A. Wood justly observes,) and master of a good clear style, for its antiquity. He seems to have been deprived of that vicarage (in Bedfordshire) in the preceding reign; and was now returned to his church, upon the return of popery. But he appears not to have been a doctor at this time, much less of musick; as that author would incline us to believe, by surmising him to be the same person with another of his name.

42. The copie of a letter written by one in London, to his frend; concernyng the credit of the late-published 'Detection of the Doyinges' of the Ladie Marie of Scotland.' No date. (Octavo, in eight leaves.)

At the end of this letter, is published the Scottish act of Parliament, for the restraint of the queen of Scots, while she was in Scotland; from the copy of that act, printed at Edinburgh by R. Lekpreuk, printer there to the young king James, anno 1568. Soon after which, either upon the first imprisonment of the Duke of Norfolk in 1569, or upon his last in 1571, and before he was beheaded in June next year, this tract was printed at London. In that foremost year before-mentioned, George Buchanan came over with, or, as one of the commissioners deputed by the king's council in Scotland, to justify the exclusion of the Scots queen, now in England, from her crown. And Buchanan's 'Detection of her Intrigues with Bothwell,' &c. which ended in the murder of her husband, and her marriage with his said murderer, was produced by Earl Murray, &c. and insisted on, as matter of fact against the said queen before the English commissioners appointed on her part. If Camden's 'Annals of Queen Elizabeth,' (which were not published till after King James came to the throne of England, nor before they were inspected, and altered according to his pleasure,) are to be credited, in this part which concerns his mother; the said detection found small credit with the greatest part of the commissioners. But in this letter we are informed, that there were 'Subscriptions, and assents made, to confirm the book, and the matters in it: that the author was privie to the proceedyngs of the lordes of the kynge's secret counsell there; well able to understand and disclose the truth; havynge easie accesse also to all the recordes of that countrey that might help hym: that it was written not as of hymself, nor in hys own name, but according to the instructions to hym given by common conference of the lordes of the privie counsell of Scotland; by him onely for his learyng penned, but by them the matter ministered; the book overseen, allowed, and exhibited by them, as matter that they have offered, and do

'continue in offering to stand to, and justifie, before
'our sovereigne ladie, or her highnesses commis-
'sioners in that behalf appointed. And what profe
'they have made of it already, when they were here
'for that purpose, and the said author of the said book,
'one among them, &c. all good subjects may easily
'gather by our sayd sovereigne ladyes proceeding, sins
'the said hearing of the cause,' &c. 'Tis also asserted,
that the sonnets, letters, &c. published in the said
detection, as what passed between Queen Mary, Earl
Bothwell, &c. were produced here, in their originals,
and proved to be such. [See Mr. Geo. Chalmers's *Life*
of Ruddiman, and Dr. Irving's *Memoirs of Buchanan*.
Pro et contra.] (Printed in vol. iii. p. 561.)

43. Ane Admonitioun direct to the trew Lordis
Maintenaris of Justice and Obedience to the
Kingis Grace's Authoritie. M. G. B. Imprintit
at Striviling, be Robert Lekpreuik. 1571. (Oc-
tavo, in sixteen leaves.)

This is a very zealous exhortation to the council
of the young King James; that they would sup-
port his government (now his mother, the Queen
of Scots, was fled to England) also that they
would establish the reformed religion; punish the
murderers of the late king, and of the regent Murray,
and suppress the faction of the Hamiltons; whose con-
spiracies, for fifty years past, to usurp the crown, are
here displayed; as are also those of the Duke of Nor-
folk, &c. This scarce and curious tract was written
by the famous George Buchanan, and is printed in his
own Scottish dialect. It was never heard of by Mon-
sieur Bayle, nor many other pieces he should have
used, in his article of this author, instead of so many
falsities, which he only quotes, for the parade of con-
futing them; and other particulars, from authors as
unhappily overruled, by fear, or interest, to pervert
the truth. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 413.)

44. A Declaration of the favourable Dealing
of her Majesties Commissioners appointed for the
Examination of certain Traitors; and of tortures
unjustly reported to be done upon them, for mat-
ters of religion. 1583. (Quarto, in one sheet,
black letter.)

This is an authentick piece, gravely and discreetly
written, probably by one of the ministers of state;
declaring, against some late libellers, how mildly the
rack was used upon Campion; and how falsely it was
pretended, that Alexander Briant was compelled to eat
clay out of the walls, and drink the droppings of water
from the houses; when the great hardship was, that,
being required only to give a specimen of his writing,
upon what subject he would, (to compare his hand)
he disloyally refused it; and rather chose wilfully to
fast, than ask, by pen and ink, as he was thereupon
conditioned to do, for any meat and drink he might
have had. But, not stomaching his own obstinacy
two days, he was plentifully supplied with all neces-
saries, as soon as he could prevail upon himself to
write for them. It is here further attested, the rack
was never used, in this reign, to extort answers re-
lating to the doctrine or faith of supposed catholicks;
but only for their attempts on her majesty's person, or

state; by treason or force. Nor yet were they put to
the rack even for treason, but where it was known the
parties were guilty: nor, but where they said direct-
ly, or indirectly, that they would not tell the truth:
nor otherwise, than so slowly, unwillingly, and hu-
manely, as gave the malefactors sufficient opportunity
to spare themselves, and her Majesty's ministry the
character of imitating her own gracious disposition.
(Printed in vol. iii. p. 565.)

45. A true and plaine Declaration of the hor-
rible Treasons practised by William Parry the
Traitor, against the Queene's Majestie: the man-
ner of his arraignment, conviction and execution,
together with the copies of sundry letters, of his
and others; tending to divers purposes for the
proofes of his treasons. Also an addition, not
impertinent thereunto; contayning a short col-
lection of his birth, education, and course of life;
moreover a few observations gathered of his own
words and writings, &c. At London, by C. B.
(that is, printed there, by Christ. Barker) with
some prayers at the end, by Jo. Th. &c. No
date. (Quarto, in thirty-two leaves.)

But apparently was printed in the year 1584. It was
published by authority; and is the original source, from
whence the best accounts of that traitor, and his trea-
sons, have been extracted into the histories of that
time. There is, besides, a pretty poem, of 'Parry's
'Life and Death,' preserved in Hollingshed, founded
partly upon the collection thereof abovementioned.

46. A Report of the Truth of the Fight about
the Isles of Açores, this last Sommer; betwixt
the Revenge, one of her Majestie's Shippes, and
an Armada of the King of Spaine. Printed for
W. Ponsonbie. 1591. (Quarto, in 14 leaves.)

This is the most perfect account that has been given
of that desperate engagement, which is so famous in fo-
reign, as well as domestic history; and, it may be said,
in poetry too; Gervais Markham having published an
elaborate poem thereon, of near ninety pages in 12mo,
about four years after the time it happened. The com-
mander of that ship was the gallant Sir Richard Grin-
vile; a man of a most invincible soul, to the last gasp;
and whose body, to the admiration of his enemies, sub-
mitted not to death, after many wounds, till he had en-
dured, for fifteen hours together, the volleys, boardings,
entries, of fifteen several ships of war, and repulsed them
all: nor till he had sunk three of them, and destroyed
near a thousand Spaniards (the storm destroying many
thousands more) nor till he had seen, of his own, not
above one hundred effective men, all either dead, or
wounded; and his ship, by above eight hundred great
shot, razed in a manner to the surface of the sea, and in-
capable of all management or motion, but what the bil-
lows gave her. Yet made she her triumphant descent to
the bottom, with two hundred Spaniards in her bowels:
so verified her name upon them to the very last. This
tract was reprinted by Mr. Hackluyt in the second vo-
lume of his voyages, fol. 1599, p. 169, where it is said
to be 'penned by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh.'

47. The Repentance of Robert Greene, Master

of Artes: wherein, by himself is laid open his loose life; with the manner of his death. Printed for Cuthbert Burbie. 1592. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves, black letter.)

Had Winstanley, Langbaine, or A. Wood, ever seen this pamphlet, they might have given a better account, than they have, of its author. Many other tracts of those times, besides some of his own, would also much contribute to his personal history; some written against him, by Dr. Gabriel Harvey, &c. others for him, by Thomas Nash, &c. In one of whose pieces, there is this comical menace of that doctor, for the inhumanity of disturbing Greene's ashes in the grave.— 'Had he lived, Gabriel, and thou shouldest so unartificially, and odiously libelled against him, as thou hast done, he would have made thee an example of ignomy to all ages that are to come; and driven thee to eat thy own book buttered; as I saw him, make an Apparator, once in a tavern, eat his citation, wax, and all, very handsomely served up betwixt two dishes.' Something has been said of this author Greene, in the tenth pamphlet of this catalogue, and more will be said, in some ensuing numbers.

48. A Letter written out of England to an English gentleman remaining at Padua; containing a true report of a strange conspiracie, contrived between Edward Squire, lately executed for the same treason, as actor, and Richard Wallpoole, a jesuite, as deviser and suborner against the person of the Queene's Majestie. Imprinted by the deputies of C. Barker. 1599. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

The treason of this Squire, in poisoning the pummel of the Queen's saddle, and the arms of the Earl of Essex's chair, with intention to kill them, is to be found in Camden, and other historians of that reign, chiefly extracted from this pamphlet.

49. The late Commotion of certain Papists, in Herefordshire; occasioned by the death of one Alice Wellington, a recusant, who was buried after the popish maner in the town of Allens-Moore, near Hereford, upon Tuesday, in Whitsun week last past, 1605, &c. 1605. (Quarto, in twenty-three leaves, black letter.)

This narrative is set forth in some letters between Thomas Hamond, the editor, and Mr. E. R. in Hereford.

50. The Countess of Lincolne's Nurserie. At Oxford, printed by John Lichfield and James Short, printers to the famous universities. 1622. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

The dedication of this pamphlet to Briget, countess of Lincolne, is subscribed Elizabeth Lincoln. Then follows an epistle to the reader, with six verses at the end, written by Dr. Thomas Lodge; who says of this pamphlet, 'the pay, assure thyself, will be larger than the promise.' The purport of it is, to exhort all mothers, especially those of quality, enabled with a good constitution of body, and temper of mind, to that affectionate and most natural duty of nursing and suck-

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ling their own children. Her ladyship's motives for publishing this tract were, partly, to atone for her own neglect of this motherly office she recommends to others; not that she wanted will, but was over-ruled by another's authority, and deceived by ill counsel; and partly, to shew double love to her own children, as well as her endeavour to prevent in many Christian mothers the like neglect: and more especially the grievous experience she had of other nurses; to whose defaults she attributes the death of one or two of her children; and says, that, 'of all those nurses she had for eighteen children, she had but two which were thoroughly willing and careful.' (Printed in vol. iv. p. 27.)

51. The Great Plantagenet: or a continued succession of that royal name; from Henry the Second, to our sacred Sovereign King Charles. By Geo. Buck, Gent. 1635. (Quarto, in twenty-leaves.)

This work is dedicated by the author to the Lord Chief Justice Finch, and has some verses printed before it, by O. Rourke. Rob. Codrington, and Geo. Bradley. The preface contains the derivation of the genealogy, and some characters of that King Henry, from several ancient historians. With the reasons why he was surnamed Plantagenet, from *planta-genista*, the 'broom-plant;' for wearing a stalk thereof in his hat or cap; or going to the holy sepulchre, in the humble and despised habit of a broom-man; or from his scourging himself with rods thereof, which grew near the holy city. After this preface, follows an eclogue in verses of eight stanzas, which begins with a copious description of all kinds of garlands; ending with that gentle and pliant plant aforesaid; so traces down the succession of worthies who did, or were intitled to wear it.

52. A brief Relation of certain speciall and most materiall passages and speeches in the Starre-Chamber; occasioned and delivered June 14, 1637, at the censure of those three worthy gentlemen, Dr. Bastwick, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne; as it hath been truly and faithfully gathered from their own mouths, by one present at the censure. 1638. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.) (See vol. iv. p. 12.)

This is a more particular account of their heavy treatment, for their exclamations against the prelates' usurpation of authority, than is to be met with in most of the general histories of these times. Their censure, pronounced by the lord Cottington, was, 'to lose their ears; be fined five thousand pounds each; suffer perpetual imprisonment;' and Mr. Prynne besides was sentenced by the Lord Finch to be 'burnt on the cheeks with S. L.' for a seditious libeller. And they all suffered with invincible and astonishing resolution. See Clarendon, Whitelock, Rushworth, Nalson, Sanderson, Heath, &c.

53. Articles of Impeachment of the Commons assembled in Parliament, &c. against Matthew Wren, D. D. late Bishop of Norwich, and now Bishop of Ely, for several crimes and misde-

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meanors committed by him when he was Bishop of Norwich. 1641. (Quarto, in two sheets.)

54. Wren's Anatomy: discovering his notorious pranks and shamefull wickedness; with some of his most lewd facts and infamous deeds; both in his government of Peter-house colledge, and domineering in three bishopricks, to his perpetuall shame and infamy. Printed in the year, that Wren ceased to domineer. 1641. (Quarto, in two sheets.)

This is a narrative of his life; divided into chapters: among which, some are, concerning his bringing the Latin service into college; also altars, and bowing to them. (Wren's articles.) His harrowing the diocese of Hereford; silencing and depriving fifty or sixty ministers; and substituting Arminian ministers, &c.

55. A Narrative of the Disease and Death of that noble Gentleman, John Pym, Esq. late a Member of the Honourable House of Commons. Attested under the hands of his physicians, chyrurgions, and apothecary. 1643. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

It seems this famous member, Mr. Pym, had been reported to be poisoned, by some; and by others to have died of the *phthiriasis*, or lowsy disease: but Stephen Marshall, who preached his funeral sermon, affirms that he did not die lowsy. And this authentic narrative shews it was an abscess or imposthume in the mesentry, which, upon breaking, occasioned his death. It is attested by seven physicians, &c. among whom the foremost was Sir Theodore Mayern.

56. A Declaration of the right honourable James, marquisse and earl of Montrosse, lord Greem, and Mugdock; captain general of all his majestie's forces raised and to be raised for his service in his kingdomes of Great Britain: concerning his excellencies resolution to settle his majestie, Charles the Second, in all his dominions, &c. 1649. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This is a strong and vehement declaration; protesting his lordship's resolution, if possible, to treat all the late king's enemies, as vagabonds, rogues, and regicides; and to extirpate their wives, children, and families; and invites all his majesty's friends to meet him at Enderness in Scotland, for that purpose. Mark here, that the villain, who was permitted to spit in the late king's face, is named Unjeckt; and that it is affirmed, his royal head was chopt off by the hands of the common hangman. Which might end some disputes which have been made upon the question, Who did that bloody deed? But that, as we remember, besides the different accounts in print, there are some writings by the then earl of Leicester, not yet published, in which it is said, the common hangman was not the king's executioner. This declaration is dated from Haffnia in Denmark. July 9, 1649. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 559.)

57. The unhappy Marksman: or, a perfect and impartial discovery of that late barbarous and un-

paralleled murther committed by Mr. George Strangwayes, formerly a major in the king's army, on his brother-in-law, Mr. John Fussell, an attorney, on Friday the eleventh of February (1658.) Together with a full discovery of the fatal cause of those unhappy differences which first occasioned the suits of law between them. Also the behaviour of Mr. Strangwayes at his tryal: the dreadfull sentence pronounced against him. His letter to his brother-in-law, a member of parliament: the words delivered by him at his death; and his stout, but christian-like manner of dying. 1659. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

It seems, Fussell was a litigious man; and the major a subtle, high-spirited, revengeful, and covetous man. After they had had disputes enough to provoke him; he borrowed a gun, and shot his brother, as he sat writing one night at his chamber window, in his lodgings near Temple Bar. It is wonderful to consider, how, by the very simplicity of man, God brought the discovery about. The major, though he had spun out the former part of his life without twisting in the band of matrimony, and had no relations who craved a subsistence from what he left behind; yet, with a most composed obstinacy, refused to plead; so was pressed to death. The sentence of which, and the execution, are very affectingly set forth, and the whole narrative, though immethodically displayed, and with too much profusion of words, is yet written with labour, by a man of sense and learning, and is well worthy, for the illustration of God's wisdom, and the prevention of man's wickedness, to be transmitted to future ages. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 1.)

58. Offices and places of trust not to be bought or sold; or given to insufficient persons: discovered in a sober and peaceable letter. 1660. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

This is a learned discourse, upon an important topic; supported, all along, by the authority of law, history, &c. The latter part is a resolution of the question, 'In whose disposal the clerkship of the peace in every county is?'

59. A Discourse upon prodigious Abstinence: occasioned by the twelve moneths fasting of Martha Taylor, the famed Darbyshire damosell. Proving that, without any miracle, the texture of human bodies may be so altered, that life may be long continued without the supplies of meat and drink. With an account of the heart, and how far it is interested in the business of fermentation. By John Reynolds; humbly offered to the Royal Society. 1669. (Quarto, in thirty-seven pages, besides the dedication to Dr. Walter Needham.) (Printed in vol. iv. p. 43.)

60. News from the Channel: or the discovery and perfect description of the isle of Serke; appertaining to the English crown; and never before publicly discoursed of. Truly setting forth the notable stratagem whereby it was first taken: the nature of the place and people: their

government, customs, and manufactures: and other particulars no less necessary than pleasant to be known. In a letter from a gentleman, now inhabiting there, to his friend and kinsman now in London. 1673. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This island, lying about four leagues to the south-west of Guernsey, has been so little discoursed of, as this author observes, (who signs himself F. W.) that scarce one Englishman of a thousand hath heard, or can give any good account of it. This short account might contribute to one more copious. As for that stratagem, of gaining the island from the French, by the tragedy of a funeral, in which the coffin was filled with arms, instead of a corps; whereby the mourners became conquerors; our author, taking it from tradition, differs, in time, and some circumstances, from more ancient, and seemingly authentic narrations. See sir Walter Raleigh's 'History of the World,' and Mr. Fall's 'Account of this Isle of Jersey.' (Printed in vol. iii. p. 503.)

61. A true and perfect account of the examination, confession, tryal, condemnation, and execution of Joan Perry, and her two sons, John and Richard Perry, for the supposed murder of William Harrison, gent. being one of the most remarkable occurrences which hath happened in the memory of man. Sent in a letter, by sir T. O. (Overbury) of Burton in the county of Gloucester, knight, and one of his majesties justices of the peace, to T. S. Dr. of physick in London. Likewise Mr. Harrison's own account, 'How he was conveyed into Turkey, and there made a slave for above two years;' and then his master, which bought him there, dying, 'How he made his escape, and what hardships he endured; who at last, (through the providence of God,) returned into England, while he was supposed to be murdered;' here having been his man-servant arraigned, who falsely impeaching his own mother and brother as guilty of the murder of his master, they were all three arraigned, convicted, and executed on Broadway Hills, in Gloucestershire. 1676. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves.)

This almost incredible story may be a warning-piece to judges and juries, in cases of life and death. That man-servant, John, seems to have been crazed; so hung himself, with his mother and brother; who both denied the murder to the last. And the transportation of old Mr. Harrison to Turkey, by the ruffians, seems to have been effected by the procurement of his eldest son; who might expect they had left him dead; as by their barbarous treatment they very nearly had; so might persecute the innocent to death, to prevent discovery of the guilty. And this may rather be thought the case, in that, besides what effects his father left behind, he obtained his stewardship under the lady Campden, and was the more suspected for his misbehaviour in it. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 547.)

62. The Trial of the Lord Audley, Earl of Castlehaven, for inhumanely causing his own wife to be

ravished; and for b——y. 1679. (Folio, in four sheets.)

The said Melvin Touchett, lord Audley, &c. suffered death, for those odious and unnatural crimes, in May, 1631. This account has been reprinted (besides in lesser forms) in the late 'Collection of State Trials,' in folio.

63. A Letter to a Person of Honour, concerning the king's disavowing the having been married to the D. of M.'s mother. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

There is a date to this letter, at the end, but a very erroneous one, 1610: for it may be gathered, from the argument itself, that it should be 1681. The drift of it is, to prove that king Charles was married to Mrs. Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother; and that, consequently, he was his majesty's legitimate son and heir. It is written against the king's late declaration, published at the importunity of his brother, the duke of York; whereby his majesty renounces her as his wife. When it is here asserted, that Mrs. Walters, on her dying-bed, affirmed her marriage with the king to her last; that Dr. Fuller, late bishop of Lincoln, declared he married them; that the inn-keeper at Liege used to assure his guests, that the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house: and that even the lord chancellor Hyde, who married his daughter to the duke of York, when in danger of an impeachment, for advising the king's marriage with queen Katharine, excused himself from all sinister ends therein, by affirming, that his majesty had a lawful son already, by a former marriage, to succeed to the crown; naming the duke of Monmouth. The sum of the whole is, to desire a fair hearing: whether the duke of York on that account, should not submit to an exclusion, and Monmouth had not the true right of succession? And that the duke of York should be brought to a legal tryal, for his manifold treasons and conspiracies (here enumerated) against the king and kingdom. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 165.)

64. The Horsemanship of England; most particularly relating to the breeding and training of the running-horse; a poem. Dedicated to his grace the duke of Monmouth. 1682. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

This subject, of the running and the menaged horse, has been so little touched upon, by those who have been trained to the menage of Pegasus, that this poem is the first of this nature, our author knows of, in any language. He also says, "No nation has produced so many eminent persons knowing in the art of horsemanship, as ours:" And of these, "Your grace (adds he) may deservedly claim the most superlative renown; since what others can pretend to, either by way of theory or practice, is not a little exceeded by your perfection in both."

65. The Great Bastard, protector of the Little One. Done out of French. Printed at Cologne (as pretended.) 1689. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

It is also added, in the title-page of this pamphlet: 'For which, a proclamation, with a reward of 5000 lewedores, to discover the author, was published.' (Printed in vol. iv. p. 232.)

66. A true Relation of the Manner of deposing of King Edward the Second. Together with the articles which were exhibited against him in parliament. As also an exact account of the proceedings and articles against king Richard the Second, and the manner of his deposition and resignation, according to the parliament roll itself, where they are recorded at large. 1689. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

The reader easily perceives this antient piece of history was at this time revived, to shew that revolutions were not unprecedented among us.

67. A Proposal for an equal Land Tax; humbly submitted to consideration. 1691. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

It appears in this pamphlet, that the land-tax, in those times, amounted to about seventeen hundred thousand pounds: and there are some considerations offered in it, which might perhaps conduce to render the said tax more equal and proportionable in these times.

68. The Pretences of the French Invasion examined; for the information of the people of England. 1692. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

The *Imprimatur* is in these words; 'Let this be printed; Nottingham.' One of the French pretences for the restoration of K. James by arms, is, 'The decay of our trade, since his departure;' which is thus answered: 'As for trade, the decay of it began in the late king's time; and it is the war, which he and France have engaged us in, that still keeps it at a low ebb; so that for the late king's friends to expose the present government, for this, is like a conjuror's complaining of the storm he raises. That ingenious history of bishop King's, of 'The State of the Protestants in Ireland, under king James,' makes it out, that the late king feared and hated the increase of trade, which made him use all means to hinder it; and all the world sees that no absolute monarch (as he affects to be) likes that his subjects should grow rich by trade: but our present king, so soon as he can have peace, will make it his first care to promote trade here, as he did in the country he came from.' Page 7, 8.

69. A Discourse of Sea-Ports; principally of the port and haven of Dover: written by sir Walter Raleigh, and addressed to queen Elizabeth. With useful remarks, &c. on that subject; by the command of his late majesty, king Charles the Second. Never before made publick. 1700. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

The editor dedicates this memorial to the earl of Romney, lord warden of the Cinque Ports; and tells him that, 'by this needful and magnificent work, (of restoring the decayed harbour of Dover) &c. you may consign your name to posterity by a monument more durable, and of greater dignity, than the records and patents of your ancestors, or the statues of antiquity.' It is the same pamphlet, with that published the year following under this title: 'An Essay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety

'of England,' &c. And there, the editor's name is published, sir Henry Shears. He informs us, page 9, (for the part ascribed to sir Walter Raleigh goes no further,) that 'he found this memorial drawn up by sir Walter Raleigh, or sir Dudley Digges, among the rubbish of old papers, while he served in the Office of Ordnance.' But it has been thought that it could not be writ by sir D. Digges; because the author, directing himself to queen Elizabeth, speaks familiarly of things he had seen (relating to these naval accommodations) in the Low Countries, in her time; when sir Dudley Digges had not left the university. See the life of sir Walter Raleigh, before the last edition of his 'History of the World;' fol. 143, and 176. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 305.)

70. A Step to Oxford; or, a mad essay on the reverend Mr. Thomas Creech's hanging himself, as it is said, for love: with the character of his mistress. In a letter to a person of quality. 1700. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

Had this pamphlet been seen by some of the writers on the lives and works of our poets, it might have prevented several mistakes. Some have insinuated as if, 'Mr. Dryden, envying so growing a rival in poetry, put Mr. Creech upon translating Horace, to lessen him by so impracticable an attempt.' See Dr. Coward's *Licentia Poetica*, &c. 8vo. 1708. p. 16: which appears to be an unjust suggestion; from the good understanding there always was between them; the amicable dedication Mr. Creech himself made of that very translation to Mr. Dryden; and the laudable characters Mr. Dryden himself has published of him; testifying how 'learned and judicious' a man he thought him to be. Yet others have carried that notion so far, as to intimate, that innocent Horace, truly, was guilty of Mr. Creech's death. For, losing that reputation, by translating *him*, which he had gained, by his translation of *Lucretius*, he hanged himself. Whereas, there was sixteen years between his translation of Horace, and his death; in which interval, he sufficiently retrieved his reputation, by many other learned and well-received publications. Mr. Giles Jacob has offered another erroneous cause of his death; as if, his 'heats and disputes' proved in the end fatal to him: yet adds, 'the cause of his death was unknown.' He also is mistaken in the time; and sets it down, a year later than it was. Monsieur Bernard, a foreigner, who knew more of the matter, in his 'Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres,' for Sept. 1701, says, 'Mr. Creech brought himself to this unfortunate period, about the end of June, 1700.' But it appears in the 'Post Boy' for June the 18th, of this year, that it must have been in the middle of this month at latest, that Mr. Creech committed that rash and presumptuous violence upon himself: and in this pamphlet, as well as in the pastoral, published upon the same occasion, it does appear that, being of an amorous constitution, he fell in love with a beautiful but disdainful coquet; which drove him into a kind of amorous frenzy, and fury at last, to pay her this undeserved compliment: for he was observed to be melancholy some days before he did it. Accordingly, the jury brought him in, 'distracted.' He was found hanging at a beam, in a garret of the apothecary's house where he lodged at Oxford, by the servant maid; after he had been five days missing: and, as it has been fur-

ther affirmed, with a bible, or other pious book, before him; also, his hands fixed in a praying posture: and he was then, as near as may be computed, in the forty-first year of his age. [See vols. viii. and xii. in the edition of Dryden's works, by Mr. Walter Scott, who thinks that no adequate cause has been assigned for the rash action committed by poor Creech.]

71. A lamentable and piteous Treatise, verie necessarye for everie Christen Manne to reade: wherein is containd, not onely the high enterprise and valeauñtiness of th' emperour Charles the V. and his army; in his voyage, made to the towne of Argier in Affrique, agaynst the Turckes, the enemyes of the christen fayth, th' inhabitours of the same; but also the myserable chaunces of wynde and wether: with dyverse other adversites, liable to move even a stonye heart to bewayle the same; and to praye to God for his ayde and succoure. Which was written and sent unto the lorde of Langest. Truly and dylygently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into Englishe. 1542. Ricardus Grafton excudebat. (Octavo, in fourteen leaves, black letter.)

On the back of this title-page, is a wooden print, representing the said emperor, Charles, at the head of his army, with one hand resting on a hammer; as if he had *mauld* off his enemies: also, a representation of some ships at bottom, sailing to Algiers, &c. But, according to this account, it was a lamentable expedition indeed. By sea, the storms drowned thirty of their ships, with much of their victuals, ammunition, clothes, &c. By land, famine, and the enemy seem to have destroyed a great part of thirty-six thousand Spaniards, Italians, Germans, &c. Our author could not go to inform himself of the exact numbers, he was so sorely wounded in this invasion. He is here, in his epistle 'to syr Wylliam of Bellay, vyceroy of Pymont,' named syr Nycholas Vyllagon. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 532.)

72. A Message sent by the Kynges Majestie, to certain of his people assembled in Devonshire. Imprinted by Richard Grafton, printer to the kynges majestie. *Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* 1549. (Twelves, in sixteen leaves, black letter.)

This is a mild expostulation, thus published, and directed, by king Edward's authority, to his said seditious subjects, in the west; and shews what discretion there was in the council about him. It is a rational exhortation of them, to consider those points in the reformed system, whereat they had been seduced to murmur, by Popish malecontents; and to return to their obedience. To which end, his majesty descends to send them instruction, as to subjects; rather than distruction, as to rebels. But if they delay to comply with this favourable admonition; then, as the conclusion is, 'Where ye shall now heare of mercie, mercie and life, ye shall then heare of justice, justice and death.' The consequence is to be found in the historians of his reign; Holinsbed; Stowe, Speed, Godwin's Annals, sir John Hayward, in his Life. &c. of King Edward VI.

73. The Appellation of John Knoxe from the cruell and most unjust sentence pronounced against him, by the false bishops of Scotland: with his supplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, estates and communaltie of the same realme. Printed at Geneva. 1558. (Twelves, in fifty-nine leaves.)

This champion of the Scotch reformation, having charged the Popish bishops with superstition and idolatry, was driven by their persecutions into exile. Yet did they summon him to appear before them; and upon his delay, through ignorance thereof, they damned him, and his doctrines, as heretical, and pronounced sentence of death against him; in justification whereof, they burnt his picture, or effigies. Whereupon he appeals, in this tract, to a lawfull and generall council; and, till his case shall be equitably decided, intreats that the states of Scotland would receive him into their protection. But the next year, upon the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne, he was called home, and made preacher of Edinburgh. From the number of leaves before-mentioned to No. 77, there is joined another treatise, entitled, 'An Admonition to England and Scotland, to call them to repentance,' written by Antoni Gilby, then also in exile, with Knox. Therein, he does, in a most lively and sharp manner, set forth the iniquitous motives to the reformation in king Henry VIII. (that monstrous boar, as he calls him, in this vineyard :) the imperfect state of it under king Edward VI. and its sufferings under queen Mary. This piece is followed by Knox's 'Postscript to the Reader;' and concludes with the '94 psalme of David, turned into metre, by W. Kethe:' the whole ending at fol. 80.

74. The Benefit of the auncient Bathes at Buckstones, which cureth most greivous Sickneses: never before published. Compiled by John Jones, phisition: at the King's-Mede, nigh Darby. Seene and allowed, according to the order appointed. Imprinted at London, by T. East and H. Myddleton, &c. 1572. (Quarto, in thirty-two leaves, black letter.)

There are verses before this tract to the reader, by Christopher Carlile, in Latin; and Tho. Lupton, in English: and the author dedicates it to George, earl of Shrewsbury; whose goodly house and building, upon this Bathe's sides he communicated for the entertainment of the better sort; and was designing other lodgings and conveniencies for all other degrees, even the poorest, who should repair thither for relief of their health. And for the maintenance of those poor, as also of an able physician, there was a register intended now to be opened, to note the day of every person's coming and departure; their infirmities, or cause of coming; and the success; every entry whereof was to be four-pence; and a contribution besides, to be divided between the said poor and physician, according to every person's rank; a yeoman, one shilling; a gentleman, 3s.; esq. 3s. 4 pence; knight, 6s. 8 pence; lord, 10s., &c. duke, 3l. 10 shillings, &c. and so of the women, in proportion. The author treats of the antiquity of these waters; their virtues; and in what diseases to be used; with the diet, exercises, and medicines proper: as he had before discoursed upon,

'The Bathes of Bath.' But mentions not the repair of Mary queen of Scots to, or abode at Buckstone [Buxton]; and the Latin verses she wrote in a window there; preserved in Camden's *Britannia*, and Fuller's *Church History*; because, probably, such her resort was after the publication of this tract. A. Wood might have hence added one more treatise of this author's writing, to the list of his works; entitled, 'The Diall of Agues,' mentioned fol. 8.

75. A view of certain wonderful Effects, of late Dayes come to passe; and now newly conferred with the presignification, of the comete, or blasing star, which appeared in the south-west, upon the 10 day of November, the yere last past, 1577. Written by T. T. This 28 of November, 1578. Printed by Ric. Jhones, &c. 1578. (Quarto, in twelve leaves, black letter.)

There is a wooden print of a comet, at the bottom of the title-page; and the tract is dedicated 'to the worshipful master Giles Lambert.' This comet disappeared about the end of January following. The author mentions about nine treatises, in several languages, which had been written of it; and he drew the substance of this, from one in English, entitled, 'The blazoning of a Comet,' &c. To which he adds the consequences, which he thinks have been thereby foreshown. There were indeed above twice as many more authors who also wrote of this comet; and it is besides mentioned in most of the histories of these times. But surely 'tis amusing to consider, how fond men are of predictions and presignifications; and that so many authors should follow one another in monopolising of causes, or ascribing the ordinary and particular events, which happened in their own narrow spots of earth, to such distant, natural, general, and wide-compassing appearances in the heavens.

76. A true discourse of the assault committed upon the person of the most noble prince, William, Prince of Orange, countie of Nassau, marquess de la Vere, &c. by John Jauregui, Spaniard. With the true copies of the writings, examinations, depositions, and letters of sundrie offenders in that vile and divelish attempte. Faithfullye translated out of the Frenche copie, printed at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin. Imprinted at London, for T. Charde and W. Broome. 1582. (Twelves, in forty-seven leaves, black letter.)

In this discourse, examination, &c. it appears, that the king of Spain and his council had dealt with Gasper de Annastro, a Spanish merchant at Antwerp, to procure the death of this Prince of Orange, who had shaken off the Spanish yoke of tyranny, and was the first founder of the republick of Holland: for which wicked work Annastro was to have 80,000 ducats in silver. This merchant, and the priests he employed, deluded that raw young fellow Jauregui, (a copying clerk in his compting house,) to undertake the deed; and they persuaded him into an enthusiastical belief, that he might effect the same, in the face of day, unmolestedly. He was so ignorant, that he knew not how to discharge a pistol; but, having learnt the art, he went

into the prince's drawing-room, in the castle at Antwerp; and, as with some noblemen, &c. the prince was looking on a piece of tapestry, he shot his highness under the right ear, through the left cheek, on Sunday the 18th of March, 1582. The prince's company and his guards stabbed, and hacked to death the assassin on the spot: and, by the papers found in his pocket, others were seized, and executed; but Annastro made his escape. The prince was stunned, but fell not at the blow; wrote letters, &c. after it; and was in a fair way of recovery, about a fortnight after, when this discourse was written. They were more successful two years after, by a French hand, as may in time appear.

77. A true discourse of the armie which the king of Spaine caused to be assembled in the haven of Lisbon, in the kingdom of Portugall, in the year 1588, against England. The which began to go out of the said haven on the 29th and 30th of May. Translated out of French into English, by Daniel Archdeacon. Whereunto is added, the verses that were printed in the first page of the Dutch copy, printed at Colen; with answeres to them, and to don Bernardin de Mendoza. Imprinted by John Wolfe. 1588. (Octavo, in seventy pages, black letter, besides one leaf of the verses aforesaid, in Latin.)

This is the ostentatious detail of the Invincible Armada! set forth by the Spaniards themselves; as the trumpet of terror, and harbinger of destruction, to the English nation. This catalogue of their gallions, ships, pinnaces, pataches, zabres, gallies, galeaces, and other vessels; under the command of their chief general the duke of Medina Sidonia: with the burden of them, names of commanders, soldiers, number of mariners, quantity of munition, weapons, artillery, powder, and other formidable furniture of war, was published in several languages; but the success of their invasion therewith, is also fixed in several histories. Page 35, it appears, the said fleet consisted of 130 ships, of 57868 tons; 19295 soldiers; 8450 mariners; 2088 slaves; and 2630 great pieces of brass cannon of all sorts: besides 20 caravals, and ten salves; as in page 36: and 80 sail of ships more, which set out afterwards in June, with a further supply of an army, to join the said fleet; as appears in the last page.

78. A true report of sundry horrible conspiracies, of late time detected, to have, by barbarous murders, taken away the life of the queen's most excellent majestie; whom Almighty God hath miraculously conserved, against the treacheries of her rebelles, and the violences of her most puissant enemies. November: at London; printed by Charles Yetsweirt, esq. 1594. (Quarto, in thirty-one pages.)

Here it may be seen, after the king of Spain's invincible armada had failed of dethroning the queen of England, and conquering her realm by force, that he attempted, in a most unprincely manner, to destroy her person by treachery, more base and cowardly, than thieves and ruffians would, who hazard their own lives. For he did it by offering (through his tools, or agents) Dr. Roderic Lopez, her majesty's physician, 50,000

crowns to poison her; but the money being delayed, and the matter detected, by one of her privy counsellors; Dr. Lopez, and his accomplices, Stephano Ferrara, and Manuel Lewis, were, after due trial and conviction, executed; about the month of June that year. Camden says, that Lopez, at Tyburn, declared, 'he loved the queen as well as he did Jesus Christ.' But the doctor being a Portuguese Jew, the very credibility of his assertion, moved derision. The Spaniard, thus failing of success by these creatures, tried how he could succeed by Englishmen; and engaged Edm. York, Ric. Williams, and Young, to murder her majesty, and some of her council; who, with their accomplices, and others engaged in the like attempts, by cardinal Allen and W. Stanley, being also detected, were some now in prison, some hanged, &c. as the annals and chronicles also relate. The conclusion of this pamphlet contains the confessions, and letters, of two of the above-named Portuguesees.

79. The true history of the late and lamentable adventures of Don Sebastian, king of Portugall, after his imprisonment in Naples, untill this present day, being now in Spain, at Saint Lucar de Barrameda. 1602. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves.) (Printed in vol. iv. p. 423.)

80. A continuation of the lamentable and admirable adventures of Don Sebastian, king of Portugall: with a declaration of all his time employed since the battle in Affricke against the infidels untill this present year, 1603. 1603. (Quarto, in thirty-four leaves.)

This strange story of that king's wandering up and down the world in so many climates, shapes or disguises, and conditions of life; sometimes a general, sometimes a hermit, sometimes a prisoner, &c. for above twenty years together, after he had been so currently asserted in the histories of all nations to have been slain at the famous but fatal battle of Alcazar; whence it was never effectually believed that he was don Sebastian; but that this king was personated by a Calabrian pretender; is chiefly written by Fr. Joseph Texere, a Portuguese counsellor and almoner to the king. He seriously labours to prove him the real person; not only from bearing all the wounds the king had, and having his right arm and leg in all their proportions bigger than the left, but many other circumstances least subject to counterfeit. However sparing historians may be in their credit of these adventures, they have made work enough for novels and romances, poems and plays. (Printed in vol. v. p. 461.)

81. Aphorismes: or certain selected points of the doctrine of the Jesuites. With a treatise concerning their secret practises and close studies: all taken out of the writings, sayings, and publick acts of the Jesuites, and other Popish doctors. London, printed by permission of the superiors. 1609. (Quarto, in twenty-eight leaves.)

The author was not only well read in the works of these doctors, as appears in the first part, but well acquainted with the courses of their lives, as he shews in the last. In the first part, he gives us sixteen apho-

risms; and proves them all out of their own books. The Englishmen quoted to maintain the said doctrines are, cardinal Pole, Stapleton, Cresswell, Campion, and Garnet. The last part is said to be written by a friend, and dated from Ausburgh. The whole concludes with a chapter of historical examples of several kings and princes who have been stabbed, poisoned, and dethroned, by the Jesuites, and their doctrines.

82. An extract out of the historie of the last French king, Henry IV. of famous memorie; according to the autentique copie written in his life time. To which is added, his being murdered with a knife in his coach in Paris, the 14 of May last, 1610. Styl. Rom. With an appreciation for the safeguard and happiness of our most gracious sovereign James I., &c. Imprinted by Ro. Barker. 1610. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

This tract is dedicated to William, viscount Cranborne, (son and heir of the earl of Salisbury) who was then in France, and sent the first account of the said murder to England. The author subscribes himself Edmond Skory; who was then, or rather afterwards, I think, a knight. He speaks nothing of the causes of this assassination, nor of the consequences, sufficiently, in relation to the assassin; whom he names Francis Rouillart; which, if right, may correct the spelling of his name in all our histories. See No. 20, of this catalogue.

83. A true relation of a most desperate murder, committed upon the body of sir John Tindall, knight; one of the masters of the chancery: who, with a pistoll, charged with three bullets was slaine, going into his chamber within Lincolne's Inne, the 12 day of November, by one John Barterham, gent. Which Barterham afterwards hanged himselfe in the Kinges Bench in Southwarke, on Sunday, being the 17 day following, 1616. 1617. (Quarto, in eleven leaves.)

By the method, style, and reflections, in this relation, it should seem to be written by no common hand. There is a wooden print in the front, &c. of sir John opening his chamber door, and old Barterham shooting him. He was a headstrong litigious man, and had suits in chancery depending thirty or forty years; which had wasted his estate: and now having a sum of money awarded him, far short of his expectation, he was resolved, and did give the master, according to the manner above related, one report for another; and then, hung himself, to avoid a hanging.

84. A relation sent from Rome, of the processe, sentence, and execution, done upon the body, picture, and bookes of Marcus Antonius de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, after his death. Published by command. Printed by John Bill, printer to the king. 1624. (Quarto, in eight leaves; on the first whereof, is the print of a skeleton.)

This archbishop, having obtained a pardon of the

Pope, for his offences against Holy Church, left England, went to Rome, and also pretended to return to the Romish religion. But, at length, his conversion appearing insincere, he was put into the inquisition, and charged, in a process, with many heretical tenets; which ended in a sentence, depriving him of honour, dignity, and goods; and giving him up to the secular powers; by whom, after his death, his corps, picture, and the books he had printed, were burnt in Campo di Fiori. Most of our historians in the reign of king James the First, general and particular, ecclesiastical and civil, have spoken of him. See Sir Richard Baker.

85. A briefe description of the notorious life of John Lambe, otherwise called Dr. Lambe: together with his ignominious death. Printed in Amsterdam. 1628. (Quarto, on twelve leaves.)

This man passed for a mighty conjuror, or magician, in those days, with the populace; but with men of understanding, for an ignorant and impudent impostor. He practised juggling, fortune-telling, recovering lost goods, and shewing young people, and some of quality, the faces of those who were to be their husbands and wives in his crystal-glass. But as for his indictment at Worcester, 5. Jac. 1. for his diabolical witchcrafts, enchantments upon Th. lord W. (q. Windsor?) And that other, at the assizes in the same county, next year, for his invocation and entertainment of evil spirits; it appears very proper, that judgment was suspended. For the rape he was convicted of, the 21 of Jac. upon the body of Joan Seager, in Southwark, a girl of 11 years old, he had interest to get the king's pardon. But as for the inhuman pelting, and beating of him to death, with stones and staves, by the licentious mob, all the way from the Fortune Play-house to the Old Jury, on the 13 of June 1628; whereby one of his eyes was beaten out, and his skull so fractured, that he died in the Poultry-Compter next morning; there was no law for that; and yet there was no body punished for it. It seems the rabble were possessed that the doctor dealt with the devil, and that he employed his skill to serve the dark deeds of the Duke of Buckingham and his mother; against which duke, for his misleading the king, and other mismanagement of affairs, the parliament were at that instant making remonstrance. See Rushworth.

86. The Answer of John Bastwick, Dr. of Phisick, to the Information of Sir John Bancks, Knight, Attorney Universall. In which there is a sufficient demonstration, that the prelates are invaders of the king's prerogative royal; contemners and dispisers of holy scripture; advancers of poperie, superstition, idolatry, and prophaness: also, that they abuse the king's authoritie, to the oppression of the loyallest subjects; and therein exercise great crueltie, tyrannie, and injustice; and, in the execution of these impious performances, they shew neither wit, honesty, nor temperance; nor, that they are either servants of God or of the king, (as they are not indeed) but of the devil; being enemies of God and the king, and of every living thing that is good. All which, the said Dr. Bastwick is

ready to maintain before king and counsell, against them all; with the hazard of otherwise being exposed to the extremest miserie. 1637. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

The author dedicates this tract to the king. It is printed in double columns; and it is rare to see one printed, intirely, upon so small a letter. It appears (page 10.) that in pleading his cause, as he was approaching more closely to the bishops, they commanded him to silence as a railer, which produced his '*Apologeticus ad Præsules Anglicanos*' (which was published in 8vo. the year before) wherein he wrote that to the view of the world, which he would have then spoke. Hereupon they now censured him only for his said book; and unanimously agreed, 'that the defendant should pay the costs of the suite; a thousand pounds to the king for a fine; be debarred of his practice; that his book should be burnt; and that the defendant should lye in prison till recantation; and in the mean time be delivered unto Satan.' See more of him, on number 52 of this catalogue.

87. The Arminian Nunnery: or a briefe description and relation of the late erected monasticall place, called the Arminian Nunnery, at Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire: humbly recommended to the wise consideration of this present parliament. The foundation is by a company of Farrars, at Gidding. 1641. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This religious family of the Farrars consisted of an old matron, two sons, one whereof had been at Rome, a daughter, and her husband; with about fifteen of her children; and three or four servants. They had a fair house and chapell; fine garden and walks; and an estate of about 500 pounds *per annum*. Thus declining any calling, or employment, that might render them serviceable in active life to their fellow creatures, they confined themselves to fasting, and watching, and praying; accounting these verbal exhalations, or lip-labour devotion, with some outward ceremonies in lighting of tapers, bowing and kneeling at their altar, &c. the most perfect and acceptable service of God. Mr. Hearne, in one of his volumes, has reprinted this tract; but, how exactly he has followed his copy, has not been observed. [See the publisher's appendix to his preface, before Peter Langtoft's chronicle, reprinted by Bagster.]

88. The Advice of that worthy Commander, Sir Edward Harwood, Colonell: written by King Charles his command, upon occasion of the French King's Preparation; and presented, in his life-time, by his own hand to his Majestie: hitherto being a private manuscript. Also a relation of his life and death. Whereunto is also annexed divers remarkable instructions; written by the late and ever-famous Earl of Essex. All tending to the securing and fortifying this kingdom, both by sea and land; and now seasonably published for the benefit of these times. 1642. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

There are verses in Latin and English, before this tract, in memory of the deceased, (who was killed at

Maestricht) by his nephew M. Draper. And it is dedicated to the lords and commons, by the Colonell's brother, George Harwood. The short recital of his life at the beginning, (not seven pages,) ending with six verses, was written by Hugh Peters. Then follow the colonell's advice, and the earl's instructions beforementioned. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 268.)

89. *Alter Britannia Heros: or, the life of the most honourable knight, Sir Henry Gage, late governour of Oxford, epitomiz'd.* Oxford, printed by Leonard Litchfield, printer to the University. 1645. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

It appears in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth pages of this pamphlet, that it was written by Edward Walsingham; who was a Roman catholic, and under-secretary to George Lord Digby, secretary of State to King Charles I. That Latin title implies another Work he had written of the like nature; which was, the 'Life of Major General Smith,' published by him the year before; as in some other number may be more particularly represented.

90. *The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley; the honourable founder of the publique library in the university of Oxford.* Written by himself. Oxford, printed by Henry Hall, Printer to the universitie. 1647. (Quarto, in sixteen pages.)

There are, besides, a preface of one leaf, and a post-script, by the editor; which have not been reprinted with the life, either by David Lloyd in his *State-worthies*, or Mr. T. Hearne in *Sir T. Bodley's Remains*. In *Sir Ralph Winwood's Memoirs*, (tom. 3. fol. 422,) there is one Mr. John Chamberlain, who writes to Sir Ralph, very disparagingly of Sir T. Bodley; takes notice of his sickness, and other infirmities of aged and dying men; which would appear very uncharitable, but that he seems not to have expected his letters would have been made publick. In page 429, he says, that Sir Thomas was so carried away with the vanity and vain-glory of his library, that he forgot all other respects and duties, almost of conscience, friendship, or good-nature. But, a little lower, plainly shews all this indignation to proceed from being disappointed, an old acquaintance as he was, of having any thing left him by Sir Thomas in his will. Hence may we account for the hard character he gives, in the next leaf, of this life; where he says, 'one argument of his vanity I will venture to communicate to you, though it were in a manner committed to me, *suh sigillo confessionis*; and so pray let it remain, till you hear more. He hath written his own life, in seven sheets of paper; not leaving out the least minutezze, nor omitting any thing that may tend to his own glory or commendation. He hath not so much as made mention of his wife, or that he was married: whereby, you may see what a mind he carried, and what account he made of his best benefactors. This treatise is commended to the hands of the prime prelate, who I fear will suppress it; for he hath too much judgment to let it be published.'—Hence we may see, though it has been published, how much it has been curtailed, as for seven sheets to be reduced to two. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 314.)

91. *The Woodstock Scuffle: or, most dreadfull*
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Aparitions, that were lately seen in the Manor-house of Woodstock, near Oxford, to the great terror and wonderfull amazement of all there that did behold them. 1649. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This is a poem; written in ridicule of the contractors, or parliament commissioners, who went to sell the late king's lands, &c. at Woodstock, and might be frightened into the woeful pickle here described, by the notion of an apparition, which is said to heave up their beds, fly about the room, break the windows, &c. Till, in short, having by some accident burnt their rent-roll, they were unable to make any disposal of the lands; so departed, as wise as they came.

92. *A Discoverie for division or setting out of Land, as to the best form.* Published by Samuel Hartlib, Esquire, for direction, and more advantage and profit of the adventurers and planters in the fens, and other waste and undisposed places in England and Ireland: also other choice secrets, or experiments in husbandry. With a philosophical quere concerning the cause of fruitfulness. And an essay, to shew how all lands may be improved in a new way, to become the ground of the increase of trading, and revenue to this common-wealth. 1653. (Quarto, in 20 leaves.)

The first part, or letter in this work, to Mr. Hartlib, is written by Cressy Dymock, a knowing correspondent of his; as may appear also in his 'Legacy of Husbandry.' And here are two charts or plans, setting forth such improved division of lands, into farms, lordships, &c. The latter part, or essay, on a new medium of commerce, by raising of a bank-credit, only by, or upon lands, with the advantages thereof, is an illustration upon Mr. Potter's design, concerning a bank of lands to be erected throughout the commonwealth.

93. *A Mirror of Mercy and Judgment: or an exact true narrative of the life and death of Freeman Sonds, Esq. sonne of Sir George Sonds, of Lees court, in Shelwich, in Kent.* Who, being about the age of nineteen, for murdering his elder brother, on Tuesday the 7th of August, was arraigned and condemned at Maidstone, executed here on Tuesday the 21st of the said month, 1655. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

This is published by R. Boreman, B. D. and fellow of Trin. Col. Cambridge, who dedicated it to Sir George Sonds. There is joined, at p. 19, a Miscellany of divers remarkable passages and practises of master Freeman Sonds, &c. written by Mr. Theoph. Higgons, rector of Hunton, near Maidstone. (Printed in vol. x. p. 23.)

94. *A Model for the Education of Students of choice Abilities at the University; and principally in order to the ministry.* 1658. (Quarto, in one sheet.) [See No. 202, of this catalogue.]

95. *An Account of the last Hours of the late*
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renowned Oliver, Lord Protector: wherein you have his frame of spirit, expressed in his dying words, upon his death-bed: who died at Westminster, the third of September, 1658. Drawn up, and published, by one who was an eye and ear witness of the most part of it. 1659. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

96. *England's Joy*: or a relation of the most remarkable passages, from his Majesty's arrival at Dover, to his entrance at Whitehall. 1660. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

97. *Iter Carolinum*: being a succinct relation of the necessitated marches, retreats, and sufferings of his Majesty Charles I. from January 10, 1641, till the time of his death, 1648. Collected by a daily attendant upon his Sacred Majesty, during all the said time. 1660. (Quarto, in 18 leaves.)

It is composed in the manner of a short diary; pointing out his Majesty's travels from place to place, with their distances from each other; his abode therein, and entertainment; succinctly withall, yet mystically relating the most remarkable passages and battles occurring in that time; as the editor, Tho. Manley, informs us in his epistle to the reader; who adds, 'I know the author; my father, and self, were *testes oculati*; speaking only what we have sorrowfully seen and known.' This tract would be a great help to the readers of Lord Clarendon's History, and such other histories of this reign, whose authors had not the opportunity to be exact in the chronological parts of it.

98. A perfect Catalogue of all the Knights of the most noble order of the Garter: from the first institution of it until this present April 1661. Whereunto is prefixed a short discourse touching the institution of the order, the patron, habit, and solemnities of it; with many other particulars which concern the same. Collected and continued by J. N. 1661. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

99. A Dialogue between the two Giants in Guildhall, Colebrond and Brandamore; concerning the late election of citizens to serve in parliament for the city of London. 1661. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

100. A brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles: with the taking away of the lands and castle of Sherborn, in Dorset, from him and his heirs; being his indubitable inheritance. 1669. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This is a very scarce pamphlet, has a great deal of Sir Walter's private history in it, no where else to be met with; and may serve to rectify several erroneous accounts of him, in our common and general writers concerning him. It was written by his son, Carew

Raleigh, Esq. late governor of Jersey, and member of parliament. There is prefixed 'a petition of the said Carew Raleigh's to the house of commons, craving satisfaction for the said wrongful losses and oppressions.' This petition was preferred, about the time that the Earl of Bristol, who had Sir Walter's said estate given him by King James, fled to, or died in France: and Carew had some satisfaction made him of about six thousand pounds; so remained easy. But this tract seems not to have been published till three years after his death. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 60.)

101. Proposals moderately offered for the full Peopling and Inhabiting the City of London; and to restore the same to her ancient flourishing trade; which will suit with her splendid structure. 1672. (Quarto, in four leaves.)

102. A Letter to the Reverend Dr. White Kennet, D. D. in Defence of the 'Englysh Historical Library;' against the unmannerly and slanderous objections of Mr. Francis Atterbury, preacher at the rolls, in his new theory of the rights, powers, and priviledges of an English convocation. By William Nicholson, Archdeacon of Carlile. 1702. (Quarto in thirty-four pages.)

No. IV.

193. *The Praier and Complaynte of the Plowman unto Christe*: written not long after the yere of our Lord, a thousande and three hundred. No date. (Octavo, in forty-eight leaves, black letter.)

This tract must not be confounded with the 'Vision of Piers Plowman;' for that is in verse; this, in prose; though both are satires upon the corruptions of the Romish church. It is a scarce and curious piece. The editor, as appears in his preface, thus set forth this author on the last 'daye of February, 1531. In his awne 'old Englishe;' changing neither language nor orthography: and has added a table of such words as were then antiquated. The author was a reformer before Wyclife, if his work be so ancient as is expressed in the title; and it may be of use, not only to ecclesiastical readers, and antiquaries in our reformation, but in the English tongue; to explain several obsolete phrases in contemporary writers. (Printed in vol. vi. p. 92.)

104. *The valuacion of Golde and Silver*: made in the famous cite of Andwarpe; and newly translated into Englysshe, by me Laurens Andrewe, to the ease and profite of all Englysshe marchauntes occupyenge out of Englande the parties of beyond the See; and to their better understandynge; as hereafter followeth, by Godes ordenaunce. Emprentyd in the famous city of Andwarpe. Without date. (Octavo, in nineteen leaves, black letter.)

As L. Andrewe was a printer, it was probably also printed by him. Here is not only expressed the worth of the then current gold and silver coins, but the stamps of them in wooden cuts; in the legends where-

of, the latest date, which appears, is 1537. Not long after which, this translation seems to have been published.

105. The Copie of a Letter sent to the Ladye Mary Dowagire, Regent of Scotland, by John Knox, in the yeare 1556. Here is also a notable sermon, made by the sayde John Knox; wherein is evydentlye proved that the masse is, and alwayes hath ben abhominable before God, and idolatrye. *Scrutamini Scripturas*. (Twelves, in sixty-four leaves, black letter.)

After that letter to Queen Mary, exhorting her to reform her church and prelates, follows the said sermon, or confession, which Knox, on the 4th of April 1550, made before the council, &c. among whom was present the Bishop of Durham, and his doctors; wherein our said author maintained the mass to be idolatry. And the whole concludes with his declaration of the opinion we Christians have of the Lord's Supper.

106. The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva, as well concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline as Civil Regiment; with certain proclamations duly executed; whereby God's religion is most purelie maintained, and their commonwealth quietli governed. Translated out of Frenche into Englishe by Robert Fills. Printed at London, by Rouland Hall, &c. 1562. (Octavo, in ninety-five leaves, black letter.)

It is dedicated by the translator 'to Robert Dudley, master of the Queenes Majesties horse, and knight of the noble order of the garter, as a worthy patron of good and godly meanings.' Further shewing, how that place by these laws (a copy of which he obtained out of the register book of that city, when he was lately an exile there) may be a lantern to many others.

107. Surveyinge. Anno Domini, 1567. (Octavo, in sixty-seven leaves, besides the table, black letter.)

There was a famous lawyer, named Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, who was made King's Serjeant, in 1517, and a Justice of the Common Pleas, in 1523, according to Dugdale; and was the author of several law books; in great request among the profession. To this person, who died in 1538, does Ant. Wood, ascribe this little tract of Surveying; as also another, of Husbandry; though he mentions the author of it to have been a 'practitioner in husbandry forty years;' an employment surely somewhat incoherent with that of a judge. Besides, the same man could never be a knight in the former part of King Henry the Eighth's reign, and stiled plainly Master Fitzberbard, in the latter part, and now again in Queen Elizabeth's. There is a date of 1534, upon the wooden printed border of this edition, which might be the year in which it was first printed. And the preface by T. B. seems to be the printer, Tho. Berthelet; whose words are, 'when I had printed the booke longyng to a Justice of the peace, together with other small bookes very neces-

sarie, I bethought me uppon this booke of Surveyenge, compiled some time by Master Fitzherberde, how good and how profitable it is for all states that be Lordes and possessioners of landes, and for the holder and tenautes of the same landes, to have dayly in hande, to knowe, and beare away the contentes of the same booke; and also how well it agreeth with the argument of the other small bookes, as Court baron, Court hundred, and Chartuary; I went in hande and printed it, in the same volume that the other be; to bind them all together: and have amended it in many places.' Some have thought the book of husbandry was written by John Fitzherbert, brother to the judge.

108. To the Queene's Majesties poor deceived Subjectes of the North Countrey, drawn into Rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland. Written by Thomas Norton. Seen and allowed according to the Quenes injunctions. Imprinted by Hen. Bynneman. 1569. (Octavo, in twenty-eight leaves, black letter.)

This is a loyal exhortation of those rebels, to return to their duty and allegiance. The author was a lawyer of the Temple; and famous for his poetical, as well as his political publications. He joyned with T. Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, in writing the tragedy of 'Ferrex and Porrex;' in the last editions called, 'the tragedy of Gorboduc;' and wrote the greatest part of it. He also translated several of David's Psalms, &c.

109. Middleborow: a brief rehersall of the accord and agreement that the captaines, burgises and armie of Middleborow and Armew have made, in yielding themselves to the right high and excellent Prince, the Lord William Prince of Orrange, countie of Nassau, &c. With a lamentable discourse of the calamities, great hunger and extreame miseries that they sustayned before they yelded up the said townes. Translated out of the Dutche copy, printed at Dordrecht. Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones. 1574. (Octavo, in eight leaves, black letter.)

110. A true and summarie Report of the Declaration of some part of the Earl of Northumberland's Treasons, delivered publiquely, in the court at the Starchamber, by the Lord Chancellor, and others of her Majesties most honourable privy counsell, and counsell learned; by her majesties special commandment. Together with the examination and depositions of sundrie persons, touching the maner of his most wicked and violent murder, committed upon himself, with his own hand, in the Tower of London, the 20 day of June, 1585. Printed, in ædibus, C. Barker. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves.)

This was Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, (brother to Thomas, who was beheaded at York.) The said report is very accurately drawn up; and has been followed by the principal historians of that time,

as the most authentic account of this Earl's treasons, and, upon the discovery of them, his desperate murder of himself, with a pistol, in his bed; three balls where-with it had been charged being taken out of his body, and found to have broken three of his ribs, and torn his heart in pieces: whereof, after two long, and most grievous groans, he expired.

111. The whole true Discourse of the enterprises and secrete conspiracies that have bene made against the person of Henry de Valois, most Christian King of France and Poland. Whereupon followed his death, by the hand of a young Jacobin frier, the first day of August, 1589. Whereby, the enemies of the crown thought to have reduced and brought all France to their will and devotion. Together with the assembly that the King, before his death, made of the princes of the blood, lords and gentlemen, that were in the armie; with the heads of the strangers to whom he declared his last will. Englished out of the French copie, printed at Caan, in Normandie. Imprinted by Tho. Purfoote. 1589. (Octavo, in eight leaves, black letter.)

The name of this jacobin frier was James Clement. See Nic. De Montand, De Serres, Thuanus, Davilla, &c. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 240.)

112. A briefe Discovery of the Damages that happen to this realme, by disordered and unlawfull Diet: the benefites and commodities that otherwise might ensue. With a perswasion of the people, for a better maintenance to the navie. Briefly compiled by Edward Jeninges. Printed by Roger Warde. 1539. (Quarto, in thirty pages, black letter.)

It is dedicated by the author to Charles Howard, lord high admiral of England, &c. His drift is to shew, that by our expensive diet on flesh meats, we abate the navy, in proportion from five ships to two. That the fishery is our great nursery for mariners. What flesh may be spared in a yeare by one day's abstinence in a week: and why certain days should be appointed for consumption of fish. Here he computes, there were then threescore butchers, freemen of London: that foreigners, and country market-people, who served the said city, uttered there four times as much as the freemen: and that the beeves, or oxen, killed and vended in London, by them all, might amount in one year to 67,500, excluding the two customary fast-days: and that if one other fish day were allowed, there might be 13,500 oxen saved in a year, and 135,000 sheep; besides calves, hogs, lambs, &c. So concludes with answering the inconveniences that might be objected to attend such a regulation.

113. Royall Exchange: to such worshipfull citezins, marchants, gentlemen, and other occupiers of the contrey, as resorte thereunto. Try to retaine, or send back again. The contents ys after the preface. Sene and allowed here. At Harlem: printed with Gylis Romaen. 1597. (Quarto, in forty-eight pages, black letter.)

This is a collection of christian admonitions, addressed to the several degrees of persons who frequented the Royal Exchange: and it is dedicated to 'to that worshipfull and grave citizen of London, Mr. A. T. from Harlem, by the author, John Payne.'

114. The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal; divided into three parts: his aspiring, triumph, and death. By Thomas Storer, student of Christ Church, in Oxford. At London: printed by Tho. Dawson. 1599. (Quarto, in thirty-nine leaves.)

This life is a poem, written in stanzas of seven verses; much after the manner of those good old historical legends in the 'Mirror for Magistrates.' Ant. Wood inform us, the author, at this time, was had in great renown for his most excellent vein in poesy; quotes Dr. Alberic Gentilis in his praise; and adds, that he obtained, from the then academians, great credit for this work; as well as for his pastoral airs, and madrigals, afterwards remitted into 'England's Helicon.' There are nine pages of verses before this life in commendation thereof, and its author: by Edw. Michelborne; Charles Fitzgeofry, of Broadgates Hall; Thomas Michelborne, John Sprink, &c. And he dedicates it to the worthipfull M. John Howson, chaplain to her majestie. It is grown very scarce; and it is much, that it has never been reprinted; or, at least, in some parts extracted, to embellish such prose accounts of this magnificent prelate, as have been set forth in our time. The author has been beholden to Cavendish's account of Cardinal Wolsey; and Bishop Corbet, in his favourite poem called 'Iter Boreale,' has made free with these two lines of his:

Good priest, whose son soe'er thou art by kind,
Wolsey of Ipswich neer begat thy mind.

115. Honor's Fame in Triumph riding: or the life and death of the late honorable Earle of Essex. 1604. (Octavo, in seventeen leaves.)

This is a poem, in stanzas of eight lines. It is dedicated to the Earls of Southampton and Devonshire; and the Lord Knoules, Baron of Grayes; by R. P. [Robert Pricket.] who calls himself a soldier, and had been an officer under him. There are also verses at the end, upon the author and his subject, written by Ch. Best, *Armiger*.

116. A Discourse of the several Kinds and Causes of Lightnings: written by occasion of a fearful lightning which, on the 17 day of this instant November, Ann. Dom. 1606, did, in a very short time, burne up the spire-steeple of Blechingley, in Surrey; and in the same, melt into infinite fragments, a goodly ring of bells. By Simon Harward. Lond. printed by John Windet. 1607. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

117. England's Way to win Wealth, and to employ Ships and Mariners: or a plain description, what great profite it will bring unto the commonwealth of England, by the erecting, building, and adventuring of busses to sea, a

fishing. With a true relation of the inestimable wealth, that is yearely taken out of his majesties seas, by the Hollanders, by their great numbers of busses, pinkes, and line-boates. And also, a discourse of the sea-coast towns of England, and the most fit and commodious places and harbours that we have for busses, and of the small number of our fishermen; and also the true valuation and whole charge of building and furnishing to sea, busses and pinkes, after the Holland-manner. By Tobias Gentleman, fisherman, and mariner. 1614. (Quarto, in twenty-eight leaves.)

Roger Coke, in his 'Detection of the Court and State of England, during the four last reigns,' 8vo. 3d edit. 1697, speaking of this author and his work, says (pag. 83.) that he dedicated it to King James; but here, in the pamphlet itself, the dedication appears to be made to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton; who might prefer it to the view of the said king, as the author therein beseeches him. This discourse, being written by a man of knowledge and great experience in the subject, is much to be preferred before many others of finer language and learning: for, as he says, 'he was more skilfull in nets, lines, and hooks; than in rhetorick, logick, or learned books.' The occasion of his writing this treatise, arose from some conversation he had with maister John Keymar, a man very well deserving of his country; who shewed him some notes he had gathered upon this topic, from some other fishermen, being himself unexperienced therein, and received others from our author, which he so esteemed, that he proposed to shew them to the privy council; which put him upon writing this relation of his own experience.

118. The just Downefall of Ambition, Adultery, Murder: at the end of which are added Weston's and Mrs. Turner's last teares, shed for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, poysoned in the Tower; who, for the fact, suffered deserved execution at Tiburne, the 14 of November last, 1615. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

This is a kind of oration against those three vices, with an eye to Carr, Earl of Somerset, whose unlawful intrigues with Frances Countess of Essex, were the occasion of that wicked murder. There is a wooden print at the bottom of the title-page, representing Mrs. Turner and Weston kneeling and praying, with these words over their head: 'Mercy, sweet Jesus.' Mrs. Turner's tears, in this tract, are expressed in thirty-four stanzas of verses; which are followed with a prayer she used before her suffering: and the whole concludes with Master Weston's tears, in prose. Mrs. Turner was a physician's widow, and Sir Arthur Mainwaring's mistress. The Lord Chief Justice Coke, in his charge to the jury, called her 'a whore; baud, sorceress, papist, felon, and murderer.' But she moved compassion in her last speech: desiring them not to triumph in her fall, but to make her example of use; and lamented the extremity which her subserviency brought her under, in that fatal business; as knowing that the revealing of it threatened a more certain, though less shameful overthrow. It is

said she was hanged in a yellow starched ruff; which abolished that disagreeable fashion, which she had brought into use. See lord Bacon's Speeches. Sir Fulke Greville's Five Years of king James, 4to. 1643. Truth brought to light, &c. 4to. 1651. The Relation of the Poysoning of sir T. Overbury, 12mo. 1651. Wilson's History of Great Britain. Osborne's Memorials. Sir A. Weldon's Court and Character of king James. Sanderson's History of king James, and his Aulicus Coquinariæ. Frankland's Annals, &c. &c.

No. V.

119. Strange and wonderfull Witchcrafts: discovering the damnable practices of seven witches against the lives of certain noble personages, and others of this kingdom; as shall appear in this lamentable history. With an approved triall, how to find out either witch, or any apprentice to witchcraft. Imprinted by G. Eld. 1621. (Quarto, in twelve leaves, black letter.)

There is a wooden print, at the bottom of this title, of an old woman, and her cat behind her. This was looked upon as one of the most considerable examples of witchcraft in those days: and the author has, from it, with a great deal of gravity, endeavoured to establish the gross absurdities of that pernicious opinion. In his comprehension of many other professions under this of witchcraft, he is very ridiculous; nor is he less so, in the authorities he has chosen to confirm us therein; the chief whereof is king James's Dæmonologie! the weakness of whose arguments, in which pamphlet, surpasses that in this, or any of the others; but the wickedness of the doctrine, in having been instrumental to the murder of so many poor, ignorant, old women, is not to be sufficiently conceived, or condemned. Here, we have the story of an old chear-woman, named Joan Flower, in the family of the earl of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle; and her daughters Phillip and Margaret; which latter being turned out of service, the old woman got the glove of Hen. lord Rosse, the earl's eldest son; rubbed it on the back of her cat, or spirit; Rutterkin; dipped it in boiling water; pricked it, and buried it; and wished, "that lord might never thrive." He some time after died; and his brother Francis fell sick, and his sister Katherine had fits. Hereupon they were tried, convicted of murder, and condemned, by sir Henry Hobart and sir Edward Bromley: the old woman died, as she was carried to Lincoln jail; and the daughters were hanged about the 11 of March, 1618. Some of the confessions, and especially our author's trial of a witch, are too silly to mention. Dugdale intimates, as if the earl's two sons died by this means; and James Howel is also as credulous upon the subject, as most writers; but would never have said, "King James was loth to believe there were witches, till this example convinced him," if he had read his tract aforesaid, written against Wierus, and Reginald Scot; whose elaborate book, against the supernatural power of witches, may deserve to be often reprinted, and dispersed in the most publick manner; for the benefit, not only of all such malignants, but the unequal punishers of them, with death, &c. more especially such justices of assize, as are before-mentioned.

120. Articles of Agreement made between the French king, and those of Rochell, upon the rendition of the town, the thirtieth of October last, 1628. According to the French copies, printed at Rochell and Roan. Also a relation of a brave and resolute sea-fight, made by sir Kenelm Digby, on the Bay of Scandarone, the 16 of June last past, with certain galegasses and galeasses, belonging to the states of Venice; to his great commendation, and to the honour of our English nation. 1628. (Quarto, in two sheets.)

Those articles are here printed both in French and in English. And as for the letter at the end, consisting of four pages, written from aboard the admiral of sir K. Digby, relating his successful engagement of the Venetian fleet at Scanderoon; though it seems to have been seen, in this pamphlet, by A. Wood; yet he seems to have read no more than the date; whereby, endeavouring to accuse Ben Jonson of a mistake, he has committed one himself. For herein it plainly appears, that action was performed, on the eleventh of June, not the sixteenth; which is the day, on which this account of it was written. Then, whether the 11 of June was also sir Kenelm's birth-day, (as the said poets averr,) or the 11 of July, according to Dr. Napier, and John Gadbury; we leave those whom it may concern, to decide. Thus much further may be added, that the ingenious Mr. R. Ferrar, in his epitaph, on sir K. Digby, makes the 11 of June memorable in his story, not only for being his birth-day, and day of victory, but also the day of his death: in which last particular A. Wood agrees.

121. The beautie of the remarkable year of grace, 1638: the year of the great covenant of Scotland. By T. H. Printed at Edinburgh, by George Anderson. 1638. (Quarto, in eight leaves: a poem.)

122. A copy of a letter found in the privy lodgings at Whitehall. 1641. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

This loyal and ingenious letter was composed by sir John Suckling; and there is a note written into the title-page of this copy, attesting it to have been also printed the year before. It has several times been printed since, with his other epistolary writings, among his poems and plays.

123. News from Powles: or the new reformation of the army: with a true relation of a colt that was foaled in the cathedrall church of St. Paul, in London; and how it was publicly baptized by Paul Hobson's soldiers; one of them pissing in his helmet, and sprinkling it, in the name of the father, son, and holy ghost: and the name (because a bald colt) was called Baal-Rex. With a catalogue of the blasphemies, murders, cheats, lies, and juglings of some of the independent party. 1649. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

In this strange narrative, Hugh Peters is sharply lashed off; and here is a jirk also at the queen and

Harry Jermyn. But the impudence of the baptismal ceremony is very particularly related. This shameful prank, in those licentious times, was no novelty: for we may read in Edwards's *Gangræna*, (the third part, page 18,) that captain Beaumont, and his soldiers, christened his horse at the font of Yakesley church, in Huntingdonshire, in June 1644, just after the same manner; one acting the minister, others the god-fathers, another the godmother; and sprinkling him, &c. with the same kind of water, named him (because he was hairy) 'Ball Esau.' All which is attested by a certificate, in the author aforesaid.

124. The Trial of a Black Pudding: or the unlawfulness of eating blood proved by scriptures; before the law, under the law, and after the law. By a well-wisher to ancient truth. 1652. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

Though this may seem a ludicrous piece, by part of the title; it is indeed seriously handled, distinctly argued, and all objections regularly answered, throughout. It appears, by the introduction of the editor, to be an extract, or summary, drawn by him out of a larger work in MS. And seems to be a performance above the abilities of the ordinary Thraskites, and other Judaical sectaries of those times. See sir Thomas Brown, in his 'Vulgar Errors,' upon the subject.

125. The Englishe Hermite: or wonder of this age. Being a relation of the life of Roger Crab, living near Uxbridge, taken from his own mouth; shewing his strange, reserved, and unparallel'd kind of life; who counteth it a sin against his body and soule, to eate any sort of flesh, fish, or living creature; or to drink any wine, ale, or beere. He can live with three farthings a week. His constant food is roots and hearbs; as cabbage, turneps, carrots, dock leaves, and grass; also bread and bran, without butter or cheese: his cloathing is sackcloth. He left the army, and kept a shop at Chesham; and hath now left off that, and sold a considerable estate, to give to the poor; shewing his reason from the scripture, Mark x. 21. Jer. xxxv. 1655. (Quarto, in eleven leaves.) (Printed in vol. iv. p. 478.)

126. A true narrative and relation of his most sacred majesties miraculous escape from Worcester, on the third of September, 1651. Till his arrival at Paris. 1660. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This is a curious and particular history of the king's secret progress and hazardous adventures, during the whole month, that he was making his way to France, after that fatal overthrow at Worcester. The account here given of the Royal Oak near Boscobell, and his concealment in it with colonel Carelesse, might rectify theirs, who represented it 'so hollow a tree,' that he hid himself from his enemies in the cavity of its trunk; and theirs, who describe it 'so overgrown with ivy,' as to have canopied, or curtained him from their sight: when all that concealed him was, its thick, well spread branches, and the close shade of their numerous leaves. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 441.)

127. To the right honourable Edward, earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of England: the humble apology of Roger L'Estrange. 1661. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This piece contains much of sir Roger L'Estrange's personal history; which might be assistant to a better account of his life, than has been given. It points out his services and sufferings for the royal cause, from the beginning of the late civil wars; but was principally written, to disculpate himself from the aspersion of captain James Whitlock; who had given out, that 'L'Estrange was a traytor; and, to his knowledge, had received 600 pounds in gold from 'Cromwell.'

128. The way to be rich: according to the practice of the great Audley: who begun with two hundred pounds, in the year 1605, and dyed worth four hundred thousand pounds, this instant November 1662. 1662. (Quarto, in thirty-eight pages.)

This tract might be called the Miser's Magazine; it is so full of precepts and precedents in the great art and mystery of thriving. Though it cannot be denied but the author has sometimes pillaged other birds to dress out his crow. The whole account of him is comprised in eleven sections; ending with some verses of Mr. George Herbert; and some quotations from bishop Saunderson, upon usury; from Mr. G. Sandys, of rich Antonio; from Cromerus, of a rich Polonian; from archbishop Spotswood, of the rich bishop of Glasgow; from Strada, of the rich cardinal Glanvell; and from Mr. Latimer, and others, of other rich men; concluding with the legend of Evagrius, the philosopher's giving 300 pounds to the poor, and convincing bishop Synesius, by a certificate found in one of the hands of his corps, after his death, that he had received it again of the lord.

129. Wonders no Miracles: or Mr. Valentine Greatreake's gift of healing examined: upon occasion of a sad effect of his stroaking; March the 7th, 1665, at one Mr. Cresset's house in Charter-house Yard. In a letter to a reverend divine, living near that place. 1666. (Quarto, in 46 pages.)

The healing hand of this famous stroaker had been mightily cried up at this time; insomuch, that Henry Stubbes, a physician of Warwickshire, had now newly published his 'Miraculous Conformist, or account of 'Mr. Greatreake's marvellous cures,' &c. Which produced this pamphlet; to bridle that credulity in prodigies as well as prophesies, to which this nation is even to a proverb, so much addicted. Though the author's name is not published before the said tract, it appears elsewhere, to have been written by David Lloyd, of the Charter-house. The stroaker himself replied upon him, in his 'Brief Account of his strange Cures,' &c. Addressed to Mr. Boyle; as may more particularly, in some future number, appear. (See No. 211.)

130. The Royal Fishery revived. Wherein is demonstrated, from what causes the Dutch have

upon the matter engrossed the fishing trade in his majesties seas; wherein the principles of all the trades they drive in the world are chiefly founded: as also, from what causes the English have lost the fishing trade; to the endangering the small remainder of the trades they yet enjoy. Together with expedients by which the fishing trade may be redeemed by the English; and proposals for carrying on so great a work. Humbly offered to the consideration of the king and parliament. 1670. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

(A herring fishery had been a favourite project with many writers at an earlier period than this. See 'England's Way to win Wealth.' 1614. Vol. x. and the 'Trade's Increase.' 1615. Vol. iv.)

131. A treatise of taxes and contributions. Shewing the nature and measures of crown lands; assessments; customs; poll-moneys; lotteries; benevolence; penalties; monopolies: offices; tythes; raising of coins; hearth money; excise, &c. With several interspersed discourses and digressions, concerning wars; the church; universities; rents and purchases; usury and exchange; banks and lombards; registers for conveyances; beggars; ensurances; exportation of money and wool; free ports; coins, housing; liberty of conscience, &c. The same being frequently applied to the state and affairs of Ireland; and is now thought seasonable for the present affairs of England. 1679. (Quarto, in forty-four leaves.)

132. A philosophical account of this hard frost. From whence is rationally concluded, what effects it may probably have upon human bodies, as to health and sickness. Both in relation to the time of the frost's continuance, and to the time of thaw that shall succeed. With cautionary directions for the prevention of such distempers as are likely to be the natural consequence of both those seasons; which directions are not only calculated for this present season, but are designedly adapted to serve, upon the like occasion, for time to come, &c. By John Peter, physician. 1684. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

133. The indictment and arraignment of John Price, esq. late receiver-general in Ireland; with an hundred and one other protestants, at Wicklow; before John Keating, esq. chief justice of the Common Pleas, a protestant; and Henry Lynch, knt. baron of the Exchequer, a papist: with variety of arguments between the judges and council; and the lord chief justice Keating's charge to the jury. With a letter sent to the judges (by the lord deputy, Tyrconnel) for a loan for the Popish armies subsistence. With an account of the seizing and condemnation of sir Tho. Southwell, and two hundred protestant gentlemen at Galloway; sir Laurence Parsons, and

several others, at Birr and Maryborough, in the king and queen's country, in Ireland; and the barbarous execution of some of them. Collected by a person that was present, and took the same in writing. 1689. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

134. A short memorial to the nobility and gentry of England: demonstrating by undeniable arguments and clear proofs, that it has been the custom for the English nobility and gentry to attend their kings in their wars abroad. 1693. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

135. A letter out of Suffolk to a friend in London, giving some account of the last sickness and death of Dr. William Sancroft, late lord archbishop of Canterbury. 1694. (Quarto, in thirty-nine pages.)

It is to be found in a note written upon another copy of this letter in this library, that it was written by the archbishop's secretary.

136. Reasons humbly offered for a law to enact the castration of Popish ecclesiastics; as the best way to prevent the growth of Popery in England. 1700. (Quarto, in twenty-six pages.)

(Printed in vol. iv. p. 415.)

137. A letter from a clergyman in the country, to a dignified clergyman in London; vindicating the bill brought in the last sessions of parliament, for preventing the translation of bishops. 1702. (Quarto, in twenty-four pages.)

There is, in this pamphlet, much spoken to the praise of sir J. P. (Packington) who brought that bill into the House of Commons; and particularly it is said, also, of his grandmother, 'That she held uninterrupted correspondence with Dr. Morley, bishop of Winton, and Dr. Hammond; supporting the latter when deprived; and who is, by several eminent men, allowed to be the author of the best and most masculine religious book extant in the English tongue (the bible excepted) called, 'The Whole Duty of Man.' And, as vouchers of this book being written by that lady, it is said in the margin, 'archbishop Dolben, bishop Fell, and Dr. Allestry, declared this of their own knowledge, after her death; which she obliged them to keep private during her life.'

138. A proposal for putting a speedy end to the war; by ruining the commerce of the French and Spaniards, and securing our own; without any additional expence to the nation. 1703. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This pamphlet is dedicated to the prince (of Denmark) lord high admiral. And the author's plan for compassing this design is, first, what number, size, and strength, the fleet is to be of, that is proposed for this purpose. Secondly, of the expence. Thirdly, of defraying that expence, without taxes. Fourthly, of using and disposing this fleet. Fifthly, the advan-

tages to be reaped therefrom. Sixthly, an answer to some objections.

No. VI.

139. The chirche of the evyll men and woman, whereof lucyfer is the head; and the membres is all the players dyssolute, and synners reprov'd. 1511. (Quarto, in thirty-eight leaves, black letter.)

In the preface of this scarce pamphlet, it appears to be extracted from St. Bernardyn's booke, entytuled, 'The Crysten Relygyon;' which had been translated out of Latin, into French; revised by some doctors at Paris; and now translated into English, by Henry Watson. At the end, it is said, that it was caused to be printed by two doctors of divinity at Paris, named Tho. Varnet, curate of St. Nicholas of the Fields, and Nowell Beda, principal of the right-ruled college of Mountagu, in the year aforesaid. The printer's name is not mentioned, but it looks like Pynson's type. It is a severe invective against all kinds of gamesters; especially players at cards and dice. The author, after he has, with great particularity, constituted the devil's church, with all its members, utensils, &c. in opposition to that of its adversary; brings a charge of fifteen vices upon all professors of gaming. Then he brings in ten or a dozen sets of people, as the gamester's accessories; either concerned, or sharing in his pernicious practice, or who will be partakers of his punishment; among whom the very spectators are not exempted: and shews how, even the makers of cards and dice, are more destructive in a commonwealth, than harlots. But the most unpardonable, yet the most foolishly acquired damnation of all others, is here intimated to be merited, by such as shall be damned for the sins of others; by making themselves guilty of those which they have it in their power to prevent: those persons who have authority in church and state, in city and country, to suppress this capital vice, and all its train of evils. So concludes, first, with an extract, out of the constitutions of St. Lewis, the king, made at Paris, in 1254, against all gaming with cards and dice, or making any instruments for that purpose: and lastly, with the judgment and opinions of several learned and venerable men, upon this topic; as also with a vision of St. Cyril's, concerning the posthumous state of his nephew, who had been a gamester.

140. The lamentacion of a synner: made by the moste vertuous lady, quene Caterine; bewailynge the ignoraunce of her blind life. Set forth, and put in print, at the instant desire of the right gracious lady, Caterine, duchesse of Suffolke, and the earnest request of the right honourable lord William Parre, marquesse of Northampton. Imprinted at London, by Edw. Whitechurche. *Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum solum.* 1548. (Octavo, March 28.)

This little treatise was published by sir W. Cecill, afterwards lord treasurer of England; who has prefixed thereto a very godlie, learned, and eloquent epistle; as Tho. Bentley, of Graies-Inn, student, calls it, in his 'Monument for Matrones;' quarto, 1582:

wherein this, with some other rare and ancient religious pieces, written also by women of high rank, and distinction among us, is reprinted. The said royal compiler of this work, having acknowledged how she had been misled, by the blind guide of ignorance and superstition; and, in her progress, had regarded more the number of the company, than the directness of the way; forsaking the true God for the worship of visible idols; and even making an idol of herself; and how little able she had been, without his assistance, to wind herself out of this maze of iniquity, wherein she had been wandering, and entangled so long; also so acknowledges, that when 'the people were nigh famished, and hungred for lack of spiritual food; such the charity of the spiritual shepheards! our Moses, and most godlie, wise governour and king, hath delivered us out of the captivitie and bondage of Pharao. I meane by this Moses, king Henrie the VIII. my most soveraigne favourable lord, and husband. One, if Moses had figured anie mo than Christ, through the excellent grace of God, meete to be another expressed veritie of Moses conquest over Pharao: and I meane by this Pharao, the bishop of Rome; who hath beene, and is a greater persecutor of all true christians, than ever was Pharao of the children of Israel.' (Printed in vol. v. p. 293.)

141. A godly medytacyon of the christen sowle, concerninge a love towards God and his Chryste: compyled in Frenche, by lady Margarete, quene of Navarre, and aptlye translated into Englysh, by the ryghte vertuouse lady Elizabeth, daughter to our late soverayne kynge Henry the VIII. Imprinted, &c. in April. 1548. (Octavo.)

This little treatise, so dignified, by the hands of two such renowned princesses, may not frequently meet its parallel. It was committed to, and published by, John Bale, with an 'Epistle dedycatory' to the said lady Elizabeth (afterwards queen of England) and a conclusion; wherein it is said, 'I thynke she was not full oute 14 yeares of age, at the fynyshynge therof.' There are added, 'Four clauses, wrote with her own hand, in four noble languages; Latyne, Greke, Frenche, and Italyane; more fynely, than I coulde, with any prentyng letter, set them fourth.' These were sent by her to John Bale, and shewed by him to severall learned men, there named. This scarce tract was afterwards reprinted by Tho. Bentley, in his 'Monument of Matrons,' quarto, 1582: which laborious and pious collection he dedicated to the said Elizabeth, then queen of England, and, in the preface thereof, says 'the queen's meditation, is very exactlie and faithfullie translated, by our most gracious and learned ladie queene Elizabeth.' But he has omitted the epistle, &c. to be found in this first edition.

142. A New Yeares Gifte; dedicated to the Pope's holinesse, and all catholikes addicted to the sea of Rome: preferred the first day of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lord God, after the course and computation of the Romanists, one thousand, five hundreth, seventie and nine. By B. G. citizen of London. In recompence of divers singular and inestimable reliques, of late sent by the said Pope's holinesse into England; the true

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figures and representations whereof, are heereafter in their places dilated. Printed by Henry Bynne-man. 1579. (Quarto, in twelve sheets and three quarters; with a sheet of the reliques, in wooden prints, black letter.)

All this title does but faintly express the contents of this tract; the chief whereof, are, 1. A Letter, written by Cutbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, to Reginald Pole, in 1537, upon his trayterous denyal of the king's supremacy, and flight to Rome; where he was made a cardinal; advising him to restore the Pope his red hat again, and return home to his duty. 2. The Lives of Pope Alexander the Second, and Gregory the Seventh. 3. A Comparison between Christ and the Pope; with many Popish charms, &c. in verse and prose. 4. A Description of the Pope's Wares and Merchandize, lately sent into England: with a print of them (as above.) 5. The poysoning of King John; in verse and prose. 6. Of the Holy Maid of Kent (Elizabeth Barton) her pretended revelations, miracles, and accomplices; with their execution. Concluding with some letters, speeches, &c. shewing the behaviour of France, Scotland, &c. to some Popes, before the Reformation.

143. A very true report of the apprehension and taking of that arche-papist Edmond Campion, the Pope his right hand, with three other lewd jesuite priests, and divers other laie people, most seditious persons of like sort. Containing also a controulment of a most untrue former book, set out by A. M. alias Anthonie Munday, concerning the same; as is to be-proved and justified by George Ellyot, one of the ordinary yeoman of her majestie's chamber; author of this booke, and chieftest cause of the finding of the sayd lewde and seditious people; great enemies to God, their loving prince and countrie. Imprinted by T. Dawson, &c. 1581. (Octavo, in thirteen leaves, black letter.)

144. A discoverie of Edmund Campion and his confederates, their most horrible and traiterous practises, against her majesties most royal person, and the realm. Wherein may be seene how, thorowe the whole course of the arraignment, they were notably convicted of every cause. Whereunto is added, the execution of Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, and Alexander Brian, executed at Tiborne, the 1st of December. Published by A. M. [Anthony Munday] sometime the Pope's scholar; allowed in the seminarie at Rome among them. A discourse needefull to be read of every man, to beware how they deale with such secret seducers. Seen and allowed, 29 Jan. 1582. (Octavo, in fifty-five leaves, black letter.)

This tract is dedicated to sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor; William lord Burghley, treasurer; Robert earl of Leicester; with the rest of the queen's council; by the author Anthony Munday. It is a different work from that which George Ellyot, above, controuls.

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under the title of 'a former book of Munday's;' which said 'Controulment' seems to have been printed such a little while before this 'Discovery,' that Munday had not seen it; or he would probably, especially when he mentions Ellyot, have said somewhat in vindication or apology for himself, against him. The author may have been better informed in this treatise than he was in the former. There are several observable circumstances in it, which he had the advantage of knowing by having been in some of the Popish seminaries abroad, where he heard the famous father Parsons make a speech, which is here recorded, and perhaps no where else. The knowledge he there acquired, might also qualify him to write that book which he mentions in this, called 'The English Ro-mayne Life.' As for Campion, see more relating to him, in the 6th and 7th articles of this catalogue. [See also article 387.]

145. A mirror of treue honnour and christian nobilitie: exposing the life, death, and devine vertues of the most noble and godly lorde Francis earle of Bedford, baron Russell, lord chiefe justice, and justice in oier, of all the queene's forrests, &c. by South Trent; warden of the Staneries, in the west countries: high steward of the duchy of Cornwale: knight of the most noble order of the garter: lord lieutenant of the counties of Dorset, Devon, and Cornwale; and of her highnesse most honorable prevy counsell. Who deceased at Bedford House, the 28 of June, 1585, *Ætatis sue* 58. Whereunto is adjoyned, a report of the vertues of the right valiant and worthy knight S. Francis lord Russell, sonne and heire apparent of the honour and good giftes of the sayd right noble earle; who, upon a day of truce, was slaine by a treacherous strategeme of the Scots, the 27 day of the said month of June. The report of George Whetstone, gent. a faithfull servaunt of the sayd right honorable earle. Imprinted at London, by Richard Jones. 1585. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves, black letter.)

This very scarce life is written in verse, in ninety stanzas, of seven lines. The author, who published several other things, both in poetry and prose, dedicates the said biographical poem to Edward the young earl of Bedford, son of the aforesaid lord Russell, and informs him, 'That he has, in monuments extant, already registered the lives of many worthy personages deceased, since the continuance of this prudent and peaceable government.' Some former possessor of this copy, has, with a pen, erased the word June, in both places, where that month is mentioned in the title above, and written instead thereof July.

146. A discoverie of the unnaturall and traiterous conspiracie of Scottisch papistes; against God, his kirk, their native cuntry, the kingis majesties persone, and estate. Set downe as it was confessed and subscribed bee M. George Ker, yet remaining in prison, and David Graham of Fentrie, justly executed for his treason in Edinburgh, the 15 of Februarie, 1592. Whereunto is annexed,

certain intercepted letters, written by sundrie of that faction, to the same purpose. Printed and published at the speciall command of the kingis majestie. At Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the kingis majestie. Cum Privilegio Regali. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

That traiterous correspondence, between those malefactors above, and others. but chiefly William Chrichtoun, (a Scotch jesuite in Spain, who undertook to shew the king of Spain the best way to invade England, and alter the religion in Scotland,) is proved all along by depositions; in which it also appears, that the earls of Angus, Huntley, and Errol, were concerned; and Patrick Gordon, Robert Abercromby, Robert Bruce, &c. Here are also their letters to the duke of Parma, &c. exposed; with an interpretation of their fictitious names; all tending to the purposes aforesaid.

147. The true lamentable discourse of the burning of Teverton in Devonshire, the third of April last past, about the hower of one of the clocke in the afternoone, being market day, 1598. At which time there was consumed to ashes about the number of 400 houses, with all the money and goods that was therein: and fyftie persons burnt alive, through the vehemencie of the same fyre. At London, printed by Thomas Purfoot. (Quarto, in six leaves, black letter.)

In the sad destruction of this town, and chief market for cloth in the western parts, the fire was so outrageous and sudden, that it consumed, in the space of an hour and half, above four hundred houses and other buildings, and left not above twenty standing; among which were the church and court-house, belonging to the earl of Devonshire; to the damage of three or four hundred thousand pounds: and what was most dreadful, so many lives lost by that most cruel death. This accident began, by a poor woman's frying of pancakes over a fire made with straw. The late Mr. Thomas Rawlinson has written in a blank leaf before this copy, that it is 'a good tract.'

148. Observations in the art of English poesie: by Thomas Campion. Wherein it is demonstratively prooved, and by example confirmed, that the English toong will receive eight severall kinds of numbers, proper to itself; which are all in this booke set forth, and were never before this time by any man attempted. Printed by Ric. Field. 1602. (Twelves, in forty-three pages.)

It is dedicated by the author to the lord Buckhurst, lord high treasurer of England: 'as to the noblest judge of poesie, and the most honorable protector of all industrious learning.' The intent of this work is to introduce a form of versification into our language, correspondent to the poetry of the ancient Greeks and Romans; 'for the vulgar and unartificiall custome of riming, hath, I know, deterred many excellent wits from the exercise of English poesie.' The tract is divided into ten chapters. The 1st treats of numbers in general. 2d. Of the unaptnes of rime in poesie. 3d. Of our English numbers in general. 4th. Of

Iambick verse, 5th. Of the Iambick dimeter; or English march. 6th. Of the English trochaick verse. 7th. Of the English elegeick verse. 8th. Of ditties and odes. 9th. Of the anacreontick verse. 10th. Of the quantity of English sillables.

149. An apologie of the earle of Essex; against those which jealously and maliciously tax him to be the hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country. Penned by himself, in anno 1598. Imprinted at London, by Richard Bradocke. 1603. (Quarto, in twenty-three leaves.)

This apology is addressed by its noble author, to master Anthony, brother to sir Francis Bacon. A. Wood calls him sir Anth. Bacon; but he never was knighted: and adds, 'This piece had such esteem among men, that they thought nothing could be more honourably uttered, nor more to the writer's praise, so far as belongs to a noble orator, than it.' It was then published, after the author's death, upon the entrance of king James: who was now packing up a peace with Spain; to dissuade the state from consenting to any, but an honourable and advantageous peace; according to the sentiments of that earl.

150. His Majesties speech in this last session of parliament, as neere his very words as could be gathered at the instant. Together with a discourse of the manner of the discovery of this late intended treason, joyned with the examination of some of the prisoners. Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, printer to the king's most excellent majestie. 1605. (Quarto, in forty-six leaves.)

This speech and discourse, upon the discovery of the gunpowder plot, were published by authority; and have been made use of, to describe the same in the histories of those times. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 245.)

151. The speech of sir Dudley Carlton, lord ambassadour for the king of Great Britaine, made in the assembly of the lords the estates-generall of the United Provinces of the Low Countries: being assembled at the Haghe. Touching the discord and troubles of the church and policie, caused by the schismaticall doctrine of Arminius. Exhibited the 6 of October, 1617. Set forth by authoritie. 1618. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

See No. 189 of this catalogue.

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152. Articles containing his Majesties gracious offer to compound with his subjects, for the tenure of their lands and other profits growing by reason of their tenures, in certain cases, as followeth. Imprinted at London, by the deputies of Robert Barker, printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1608. (Quarto, in one sheet, black letter.)

153. The dolefull Even-song: or a true, particular, and impartiall narration of that fearefull

and sudden calamity which befell the preacher, Mr. Drury, a jesuite, and the greater part of his auditory; by the downefall of the floore, at an assembly in the Black Friars, on Sunday, the 26 of October last, in the afternoon. Together with the rehearsall of Mr. Drury his text, and the devision thereof: as also an exact catalogue of the names of such as perished by this lamentable accident; and a brief application thereof. 1623. (Quarto, in twenty-nine leaves.)

The author of this pamphlet, signs himself, at the end of his epistle, T. G. The persons who were bruised and crushed to death, by that fall, amount to above an hundred, in the catalogue here mentioned. There was another pamphlet written, and now also printed, upon this destructive downfall at Black Friars, entitled, 'The fatall Vesper;' as will be further taken notice of, when it comes in the way.

154. Miracles unmasked: a treatise proving that miracles are not infallible signes of the true and orthodox faith: that Popish miracles are either counterfeit or divellish. Evidently confirmed by authorities of holy scripture, of ancient doctors, of grave and learned Spanish authors; by weighty reasons, manifest examples, and most true histories; which have happened in Spaine, and appear in bookes there printed. By Ferdinando Texeda, batchelar in divinity. 1625. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves.)

This author, a Spaniard, bred at Salamanca, had been a friar of the order of Augustines; but, coming into England, was converted to the protestant religion, and published his pamphlet named 'Texada retextus,' two years before this above, which A. Wood never saw. He studied at Oxford; where he took his degree aforesaid, and met with support in his expences. This pamphlet he dedicates to John Egerton, lord Elsmere, earl of Bridgewater; and acknowledges, that he had received many benefits, and charitable favours at his liberal hands. Here are many historical instances related, of the forgeries of their miracle-mongers in Spain, of both sexes; extracted from near twenty Spanish authors, and preserved from traditions nowhere else recorded.

155. A discourse of the most illustrious prince Henry, late Prince of Wales. Written anno 1626, by sir Charles Cornwallis, knight, sometimes treasurer of his highnesse house. Printed for John Benson, &c. 1641. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

This discourse, published after the author's death, is dedicated by J. B. (perhaps the bookseller) to prince Charles, nephew of that hopeful prince, Henry. This is not an historical narrative, expressly deducing the actions and sayings of that prince in a regular series; but rather a character, or some detached observations upon certain parts of his conduct and comportment. For though the author's place gave him continual occasion to attend the prince; and the favour he was in, not only means to observe his actions, but to become particularly acquainted with most of his thoughts; (as he says, p. 5.) yet he is so polite, as to make use of

those advantages, rather as a courtier, than a biographer; because, according to that refined maxim he prescribes himself, (p. 13.) 'To publish particulars, agrees not with the rules of state.' [Another narrative was written by the same person, and has been confounded with this in a note to the reprint. See vol. iv. p. 333. Both of these are inserted in the Somers' tracts.]

156. Sir Thomas Roe his Speech in Parliament. Wherein he sheweth the cause of the decay of coyne and trade in this land; especially of merchant's trade: and also propoundeth a way to the house, how they may be increased. 1641. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This speech was made in the year 1640, and the expedients proposed to encrease the trade and coin of the nation, are; 1. To know, of the several companies of the merchants, their grievances in trade, which cause such decay thereof, and want of money; that having the state of their complaints severally, they may form some judgments of these relations one to another. 2. To procure the said companies offers of remedies for the same. 3. To choose out some disinterested persons, whose experience in those premises, particularly in monies, exchanges, &c. may assist their judgments, and enable them to prepare their result, to be, by the house, laid before his majesty. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 433.)

157. Certain orders meete to be observed upon any foraine Invasion; for those shires that lye upon the sea coastes. With a direction to the justices of the peace. 1642. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

It is well known, that, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, some officers of distinction and experience, wrote upon this important subject: and we take this piece, now revived, or first published, to have been written by one of them: which, that it may be better known, to whom it may be justly ascribed, it will not be improper to observe, it begins with these words:—"That, in every shire, be appointed one nobleman to take the chief charge for the ordering and governing of the same, &c." The said first chapter advises the invaded not to be over hasty in joining battle, till they see their advantage, as having more to lose than invaders; not only their lives, but their country. The second is a *caveat* for avoiding that dangerous course, in running down to the sea-side, at the firing of the beacons. Third, orders for the provision and guard of the beacons. Fourth, other necessary notes to be observed, as arms, amunition, &c.

158. A discourse touching the inconvenience of long-continued Parliaments; and the judgment of the law of the land in that behalf. By David Jenkins, now prisoner in the Tower of London. 1647. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

159. An impeachment of high treason against Oliver Cromwell, and his son-in-law, Henry Ireton, esquires; late members of the late forcibly dissolved House of Commons; presented to

the publick view, by lieutenant-colonel John Lilburne, close prisoner in the Tower of London, for his real, true, and zealous affections to the liberties of his native country. In which following discourse, or impeachment, he engageth, upon his life, either upon the principles of law (by way of indictment, the only, and alone legall way of all trials in England) or upon the principles of parliaments ancient proceedings, or upon the principles of reason (by pretence of which alone, they lately took away the king's life) before a legall magistracy, when there shall be one again in England (which now, in the least, there is not) 'to prove the said Oliver Cromwell guilty of the highest treason that ever was acted in England;' and more deserving punishment and death, than the 44 judges, hanged for injustice, by king Alfred, before the conquest; or than the lord chief justice Wayland, and his associates, tormented by Edward the First; or than judge Thorpe, condemned to dye for bribery, in Edw. III. his time; or than the two disthroned kings, Edw. II. and Rich. II.; or than the lord chief justice Tresillian (who had his throat cut at Tyburne, as a traitor, in Rich. II.'s time, for subverting the laws) and all his associates; or than those two grand traytorly subverters of the laws and liberties of England, Empson, and Dudley, who, therefore, as traitors, lost their heads upon Tower-hill, in the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign; or than trayterous cardinal Wolsey, who, after he was arrested of treason, poisoned himself; or than the late trayterous ship-money judges, who with one verdict, or judgment, destroyed all our property; or than the late trayterous bishop of Canterbury, earl of Strafford, lord-keeper Finch, secretary Windebank; or than sir George Ratcliffe, or all his associates; or than the two Hothams, who lost their heads for corresponding with the queen; or than the late king Charles; whom themselves have beheaded for a tyrant and a traytor. In which are also some hints of cautions to the lord Fairfax, for absolutely breaking his solemn engagement with his souldiers, &c. to take heed and to regain his lost credit, in acting honestly in time to come; in helping to settle the peace and liberties of the nation; which, truly, really, and lastingly, can never be done, but by establishing the principles of the agreement of the free people; that being really the people's interest, and all the rest, that went before, but particular and selfish. In which is also the author's late proposition, sent to Mr. Holland, June 26, 1649, to justify, and make good, at his utmost hazard (upon the principles of scripture, law, reason, and the parliaments and armies ancient declarations) his late actions or writings, in any or all of his books. 1649 (Quarto, in thirty-eight leaves.)

160. Former Ages never heard of, and after

Ages will admire : or a brief review of the most materiall parliamentary transactions ; beginning November 3, 1640. Wherein the remarkable passages both of their civill and martiall affaires are continued to this present year. Published as a breviary, leading all along successively, as they fell out in their several years : so that if any man will be informed of any remarkable passage, he may turn to the year, and so see in some measure, in what month thereof it was accomplished. For information of such as are altogether ignorant of the rise and progress of these times. A work worthy to be kept in record, and communicated to posterity. 1656. (Quarto, in sixty-one pages, adorned with little copper cuts.)

161. A Narrative of the late Parliament (so called) their election and appearing ; the seclusion of a great part of them ; the sitting of the rest. With an account of the places of profit, sallaries and advantages which they hold and receive, under the present power. With some queries thereupon : and upon the most materiall acts and proceedings passed by them. All humbly proposed to consideration ; and published for information of the people. By a friend to the commonwealth, and to its dear-bought rights and freedome. 1657. (Quarto, in thirty-two pages.)

There is, in this pamphlet, a ' Catalogue of 182 members of that late parliament, who were a-kin, or otherwise engaged to the protector ; and had places, offices, and sallaries, amounting to one million, sixteen thousand, three hundred, and seventeen pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight-pence, per annum.' It contains also a ' Catalogue of the kinglings ; or the names of those 70 persons, most of them the protector's kinsmen, salary men, &c. that voted for his kingship.' This pamphlet was so scarce, it could not be procured to be reprinted, when the ' Second Narrative' (here following) was, in the *Phoenix Britannicus*.

162. A second Narrative of the late Parliament (so called) wherein, after a brief reciting some remarkable passages in the former narrative, is given an account of their second meeting, and things transacted by them. As also how the protector (so called) came swearing ' by the living God,' and dissolved them, after two or three weeks sitting. With some queries sadly proposed thereupon. Together with an account of three and forty of their names, who were taken out of the house, and others, that sat in the other house, intended for a House of Lords ; but being so unexpectedly disappointed, could not take root : with a brief character and description of them. All humbly presented to publique view. By a friend to the good old cause of justice, righteousness, the freedom and liberties of the people ; which hath cost so much blood and treasure, to be carried on in the late wars, and are not yet

settled. Printed in the fifth year of England's slavery under its new monarchy. 1658. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves.)

163. London's Glory : or the riot and ruine of the fifth-monarchy men, and all their adherents. Being a true and perfect relation of their desperate and bloody attempts and practises in the city of London, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last, January the ninth, 1660. Wherein, by the loyal and valourous behaviour of the citizens, in defence of the king's majesty, their own rights and priviledges ; they gave a total defeat to those bloody traytors : together with a perfect list of the names of all those that are taken prisoners and secured in Newgate, the Poultry Counter, and other prisons. 1661. (Octavo, in sixteen pages.)

164. Experimented proposals, how the king may have money, to pay and maintain his fleets, with ease to his people : London may be rebuilt ; and all proprietors satisfied : money be lent, at six per cent. on pawns : and the fishing trade set up ; which alone is able and sure to enrich us all : and all this, without altering, straining, or thwarting, any of our laws, or customs now in use. By sir Edward Forde. 1666. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

(Printed in vol. iv. p. 195.)

165. Chatham News : or a brief relation of some strange bones there lately digged up, in some grounds of Mr. John Somner's, of Canterbury : written by his brother Mr. William Somner, late auditor of Christ-church, Canterbury, and register of the archbishop's court there, before his death. 1669. (Quarto, in seven leaves, with a print of two teeth, as big as one's fist.)

166. A discourse shewing the great advantages that new buildings, and the enlarging of towns and cities do bring to a nation. 1678. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

167. A brief enquiry into leagues and confederacies made betwixt princes and nations ; with the nature of their obligation. Composed in the year 1673, when England and France were confederates in a common war against Holland. And England made a separate peace with Holland, leaving France engaged in the war. By sir P. M. 1682. (Quarto, in twenty-eight pages.)

The author appears, by a note written in this copy, to be sir Philip Meadows.

168. A true relation of a horrid murder committed on the person of Thomas Kidderminster, of Tupsley, in the county of Hereford, gent. at the White-Horse inn, in Chelmsford, in the county of Essex, in the month of April, 1654. Together with a true account of the strange and

providential discovery of the same, nine years after: for which Moses Drayne, an hostler in the said inn, was executed at Brentwood in the same county, in the year 1667; being thirteen years after the commission of the said murder. Whose arraignment, conviction, and attainder, appears by the records of the circuit of that year. 1688. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

169. Murder will out: or the King's letter justifying the marquess of Antrim; and declaring that what he did, in the Irish rebellion, was by direction from his royal father and mother, and for the service of the crown. 1689. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

170. Encouragement for Seamen and Mariners: in two parts. Being a proposed method for the more speedy and effectual furnishing their Majesties royal navy with able seamen and mariners: and for saving those immense sums of money yearly expended in attending the sea press. In order to prevent those many mischiefs and abuses daily committed by disorderly pressmasters, both at sea and land; to the great prejudice of their majesties, and injury of the subject. By George Everett, shipwright. 1695. (Quarto, in twenty-four pages.) Printed in vol. iv. p. 392.

171. The Rights and Liberties of Englishmen asserted. With a collection of statutes and records of Parliament against foreigners. Shewing that by the constitution of England, no outlandish man, whether naturalized, or not, is capable of any office in England, or Ireland: that no man ought to be made a bishop, but he that is English born: that no outlandish man ought to work, or trade, but under the governance of Englishmen: that no outlandish broker ought to be employed here: with other useful observations. Humbly offered to the consideration of the honourable House of Commons. 1701. (Quarto, twenty-six pages.)

172. An exact Relation of the late dreadful Tempest: or a faithful account of the most remarkable disasters which happened on that occasion: the places where, and person's names who suffered by the same, in city and country; the number of ships, men, and guns, that were lost; the miraculous escapes of several persons from the dangers of that calamity, both by sea and land. Faithfully collected by an ingenious hand, to preserve the memory of so terrible a judgment. 1704. (Quarto, in twenty-four pages.)

This was the most violent storm in the memory of man, or that ever was, perhaps, in England. It began on Friday night, about eleven o'clock, (not on Saturday morning, as this pamphlet says) November 26, 1703, and continued till seven o'clock next morning. This tract is as full of particulars as its compass will admit;

but it is probable, the greatest part of the damages were never registered. This author thinks the fire of London was not so considerable a misfortune. Indeed, that was limited to a narrow space, in comparison of this; which extended over the sea, as well as all the land. Among the accidents, it was an odd one that befell Mr. Hempson; who was blown out of an upper room in the Bell-savage inn upon Ludgate-hill, asleep; and knew nothing of the storm, till he found himself lying on his bed in the open street. Among the eminent persons killed, were the learned bishop Kedder and his lady, in bed at Wells: admiral Beaumont, with almost all his men drowned: and the ingenious Mr. Henry Winstanly, not less lamented than the best, in his own useful lighthouse, on the Eddystone, near Plymouth, blown down, and swallowed up in the sea. He was then upon a project of employing two hundred thousand men in the fishery; and was so famous for his beneficial inventions, not to mention his waterworks, &c. that when taken prisoner by the French, and carried into their country; the king of France offered him 2000 *louis-d'ors* per annum to serve him: which he generously refused.

No. VIII.

173. A proper dyaloge betwene a Gentillman and an Husbandman; eche complaynenge to other theyr myserable calamyte, through the ambition of the clergie. No date. (Octavo, in twenty-four leaves, black letter.)

It is no wonder if it appears not, where, when, or by whom the shrewd dialogue against the pride, ambition, and monopolies of the clergy was set forth. It is written in verse; and very expressively declares how prosperous the people were, when they knew no spiritual jurisdiction; and to what bondage and impoverishment they were reduced, when they became priest-ridden; and the laity, overcome, by their deluding and superstitious infusions, suffered them to usurp civil, as well as ecclesiastical government; to thrust their sickle into every man's corn, and to clerk them out of their goods and lands, as well as their reason and understanding. Many of the author's arguments are confirmed by some choice and rare examples, or historical instances. And it appears, at the end, by those incidents of the clergy's 'burning the translation of the 'New Testament,' lest it should discover their impostures; and their late 'destroying of some chronicles,' under pretence of their reflecting on the king's ancestors, but indeed for exposing the exorbitant revenues which those holy hypocrites had engrossed, to support their own luxurious laziness and abominable excesses; that it was written about the middle of king Henry the Eighth's reign: and as much also may be computed from other parts of the tract. Towards the middle, there is inserted a fragment of an old MS. treatise, in prose; written, as the author says, 'above an hundred years since; and, about the time of king Richard the Second.' This he recommends to our

'Redyng, forthe to the end, seryously:
'For though old wrytynges apere to be rude;
'Yet notwithstandinge, they do include
'The pythe of a matter most fructuously.'

And so, in truth, does this old writing: laying the

axe to the root of those ecclesiastical enormities and usurpations, as vigorously, then, so long before, as most other treatises did at, or since the reformation. Shewing more especially, besides their tythes, offerings, and infinite other mercenary practices of fleecing the foolish flock, how unreasonably they were suffered to gripe in large manors, or estates by wholesale; and, through their specious promises of heaven, persuaded the laity to amortize or alienate their possessions on earth, to the church; and thereby to the ruin of their posterity. Urging further, that if bishops, or spiritual pastors, may not alienate their temporalities, nor restore to their very founders any thing given them; and must labour, even to death, till they recover what any of their predecessors might have carelessly or lavishly parted with thereof: 'How moche more than shuld not a seculer lorde, or a laye, aliene fro hym and hys issue, or fro the state of secular lordes, the seculer lordshyppes, the which God hath lymyted to that state; syth he is bounde, by the lawe of kynde, to ordeyne for his chyldren, &c.'

174. Certayne causes gathered together, wherein is shewed the decaye of England, onely by the great multytude of shepe; to the utter decay of housholde-keeping, mayntenaunce of men, dearth of corne, and other notable dyscommodities; approved by syxe olde proverbes. 'A kynge that sitteth in judgement, and loketh well about him, dryveth away all evyll.' Prov. xx. Imprinted at London, in Pouls churchyard at the sygne of saynte Austen; by Heugh Syngleton. Without date. (Octavo, in twelve leaves, black letter.)

By the dates of some other books printed by this H. Syngelton, this appears to have been set forth in the reign of King Edward VI. Those proverbs before mentioned, by which this author maintains the title of his tract, are, '1. The more shepe, the dearer is the wol. 2. The more shepe, the dearer is the motton. 3. The more shepe, the dearer is the beffe. 4. The more shepe, the dearer is the corne. 5. The more shepe, the skanter is the white meate. 6. The more shepe, the fewer eggs [for a peny.]' He likewise lays to the charge of having in this kingdom a superabundance of sheep; the greater expence, and thereby, decay of house-keeping, as also of the artillery; and concludes with reckoning that, for every town and village in England, being 50,000, there is one plough decayed, since the first year of King Henry VII. every of which ploughs would maintain six persons: so that three hundred thousand persons, who were wont to have meat, drink, raiment, and lodging; and paid scot and lot; now had nothing, but went about begging; and all by the neglect of tillage; or turning the land so much into pasture. Of which grievance, the author begs redress of the king and his lords; to whom this scarce tract is addressed.

175. A notable Example of God's Vengeance, upon a murdering King: written in Latine by Martine Cromer, the writer of the Historie of Polonia; and is to be found in the 37 page of the sayde historie, as it was printed at Basile, by Oporine, in the yeare of our lorde 1555: with Charles the emperour's priviledge. Truly trans-

lated according to the Latine. Imprinted at London, by John Day, over Aldersgate. No date. (Octavo, in seven leaves, black letter.)

This is the noted story of the wicked young king Popiel; who, at the instigation of his queen, poysoned his uncles; to revenge whose deaths, an army of overgrown rats are said to have arose out of their carcasses, and incessantly pursued him, through land, fire, water, guards, &c. till, having devoured his wife and children, he was himself at last consumed by them with the like painful and slow death, in the castle of Cruswik, in the year 823. Here is added, another narrative of this strange story, and more circumstantially related, out of Munster's Cosmography.

176. A true and plaine Report of the furious Outrages of Fraunce; and the horrid and shameful slaughter of Chastillion the admirall; and divers other noble and excellent men; and of the wicked and strange murder of godlie persons, committed in many cities of Fraunce; without any respect of sort, kind, age, or degree. By Ernest Varamund, of Freseland. At Striveling in Scotland. 1573. (Octavo, in a hundred and forty-three pages, besides the preface.)

This curious history of that bloody massacre of all the protestants in France, was written by an author who says, 'He was well enabled to have knowledge thereof; both by his own calamities, and by those, who, with their own eyes, beheld a great part of the said slaughters.' He has annexed to the said report, as authentic vouchers of the same, the French king's letters, edicts, &c. The Latin edition, intituled, '*De Furoribus Gallicis*,' &c. was published at London, the same year with this English one in Scotland. It has been thought that name above, as the author of it, is fictitious; and that it was composed by Theodore Beza, as some, or Hubert Languet, as others have reported.

177. A Looking-glass for the Court; composed in the Castilian tongue; by the Lord Anthony of Guevarra, Bishop of Mondovent, and Chronicler to the Emperour Charles: and out of Castilian, drawne into Frenche, by Anthony Alaygre: and out of Frenche tongue into Englishe, by Sir Francis Briant, knight, one of the privy chamber in the raygne of King Henry the Eight: and now newly printed, corrected, and set forth, with sundry apt notes in the margent, by T. Tymme, minister. Imprinted for Will. Norton. 1575. (Octavo, in seventy-six leaves, besides epistle, &c. black letter.)

This 'Dispraise of a Courtier's Life,' as it is stiled in the running-title, and commendation of a rural one, is dedicated, by the said editor, to John Lord Russell, son and heir of Francis Earl of Bedford; and the dedication is followed by a poem also of the editor's, in praise of the author, Ant. de Guevarra, and his English translator, Sir Francis Briant; who published his said translation of this 'Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier,' &c. as he intituled it, in 8vo. 1548; and dedicated it to W. Marquis of Northampton, &c. He was captain of the Light Horse, under Edward Duke of Somerset, lieute-

nant-general of the army against the Scots; and made banneret by the said protector after the battle of Musselborough, about a year before he published the said translation.

178. A short and pithie Discourse, concerning the engendering, tokens, and effects of all Earthquakes in generall: particularly applyed, and conferred with that most strange, and terrible worke of the Lord, in shaking the earth, not only within the city of London, but also in most partes of all England: which hapned upon Wensday in Easter week, last past; which was the sixt day of April, almost at six a'clock in the evening; in the year of our Lord 1580. Written by T. T. the 13 of April 1580. At London, printed by Richard Johnes. 1580. (Quarto, in eleven leaves, black letter.)

The ingenious author of this discourse dedicates it 'to his very good lord, Philip Howard, earl of Arundell.' And having made some curious remarks upon the phenomena which have been observed in the earth, waters, air, and heavens, to anticipate such fearful concussions; also describes, what appeared, as the forerunners of this. The progress it made, was from east to west; being felt in Kent, at Rochester and Gravesend, about five o'clock; at London, near six; about Windsor, half an hour after that; and so bent northerly, as the imprisoned exhalations could proceed. The motion was of a compound kind; both rocking and heaving up at one time, which favourably proved a check to one another: so that the shaking of furniture, cracking of walls, wainscots, and other such clattering noises were rather heard, than much damage seen (except some chimnies shortened, and stubborn stone works loosened) by the overthrow of houses, and other buildings; or much hurt felt, by people crushed thereby; there being, when this discourse was written, but one person heard of by the author, who was killed, and another dangerously bruised, by the fall of some stones from Christ's Hospital Church, in London. That there was no more mischief done, might be owing to this earthquake being of no longer continuance than about one minute; seeing there was one, here mentioned to have happened at Constantinople, which lasted a whole year; and drove all the inhabitants to dwell in the fields.

179. A true Report of the inditement, arraignment, conviction, condemnation, and execution of John Weldon, William Hartley, and Robert Sutton: who suffred for high treason, in several places about the city of London, on Saturday the 5 of October, Anno 1588. With the speeches which passed between a learned preacher and them. Faithfully collected, even in the same words, as neer as might be remembered, by one of credit, that was present at the same. Imprinted by Rich. Jones. 1588. (Quarto, in twelve leaves, black letter.)

There are three little wooden prints representing the heads of these traytors at the top of the title-page. The first a Yorkshireman, had been student of Caius College, Cambridge; was sent over from Flanders to

prison by the Earl of Leicester, for intending to murder him. The second, also a seminary priest, was to have assisted in securing the Tower, &c. if the Spanish invasion had succeeded; and the third, a school-master, who turning to the Romish perswasion, denied her Majesty's supremacy, &c. The two first, were hanged at Mile-end; and the last, at Clerkenwell; as Stowe in his Annals has also remembered.

180. A fig for the Spaniard, or Spanish Spirits: wherein are livelie portraited the damnable deeds, miserable murders, and monstrous massacres of the cursed Spaniard. With a true Reherisal of the late troubles and troublesome estate of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Portugall. Whereunto are annexed matter of much marveile, and causes of no less consequence. 1591. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves.)

181. Cornucopiæ, or divers Secrets: wherein is contained the rare secrets of man, beasts, foules, fishes, trees, plantes, stones, and such like; most pleasant and profitable; and not before committed to be printed in English. Newlie drawn out of divers Latine authors, into English; by Thomas Johnson. 1595. (Quarto, in twenty-two leaves, black letter.)

182. A sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits; and of father Parsons proceedings; under pretence of promoting the catholike faith in England. For a Caveat to all true catholikes, our very loving brethren and friends, how they embrace such very uncatholike, though jesuiticall deseignments. Newly imprinted. 1601. (Quarto, in forty-two leaves.)

The preface of this curious and scarce tract is subscribed, only with two letters, W. W. by which is to be understood, William Watson, the secular priest; who, with the other seminaries in England, conceived their credit to be weakened, and themselves to be the more rigourously treated, for the traitorous practices of the jesuits; especially the treasonable counsels of Father Parsons, in France, Spain, and Italy; and his libellous publications against his own country. This great contention between those two popish factions produced many literary rencounters; among which, none did more notably disclose the tyranny and treachery of the English jesuits than this now published, (the author being in prison;) and another treatise by the same hand, the year following, entitled his 'Quodibets concerning Religion and State.' The jesuits, in reward for these works, (the life and actions of Father Parson's especially, being no where set forth in livelier colours than in the tract above) cunningly and covertly, as he confessed himself, drew poor Watson into a plot for dethroning the new King James, the year after that; (as may be seen in J. Stowe.) And he, with William Clark, another secular priest, were hanged for the same, on the 29th of November, 1603.

183. An Elegie upon the Death of the high and renowned Princess, our late Sovereigne

Elizabeth. By J. L. 1603. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

There is *John Lane* written upon this pamphlet, against the initial letters of the author's name; who seems to be that 'fine old Queen Elizabeth's Gentleman,' reported by Edward Phillips, in his '*Theatrum Poetarum*,' to have been living within his remembrance. He is for ranking him in the class of poets next to Spenser; and thinks he would have acquired a name not inferior to that degree, had not his poems remained unpublished: but says, they were still to be produced in MSS. Namely, his 'Poetical Vision,' 'Twelve Months,' and 'Guy of Warwick;' which last, in a handsome volume, is among the Harleian Manuscripts. But the 'Alarm to the Poets,' by J. L. is printed; one edition, in quarto, 1648. And it is said his 'Supplement to Chaucer's Squire's Tale,' has also been made publick.

184. A Protestation of the King's Supremacy; made in the name of the afflicted ministers; and opposed to the shamefull calumination of the prelates. 1605. (Octavo, in twelve leaves.)

This dutiful protestation to the King, made by those nonconformists, seems to have been seen by few, if any, of our ecclesiastical historians of those times. They conclude it by attesting, that they envy not the prelacy their state and dignity; and can live as brethren, among those ministers who shall acknowledge spiritual homage unto their spiritual lordships; paying unto them all temporal duties, of tenths, &c. Yea, and joining with them in the service and worship of God, so far as they may do it without communicating with them in those human traditions and rites, which in their consciences they judge unlawful. But craving, as they are most malicious enemies to them; and thirst, either after their blood, or the shipwreck of their faith and consciences, that they may not be their judges in these causes; but both stand as parties at the bar of the civil magistrate: and that, when they shall publickly slander them, or their cause, it may be lawful, in a public manner, to justify themselves. 'And then, instead of that silly mock-service of wearing a linen rag upon our backs, or making a Christ's cross upon a babies face; we shall be ready to yield tripple homage, service, and tribute unto him; and shall think our lives, and all that we have, too vile to spend in the service of him, and the civil state under him.'

185. An Essay of the Meanes how to make our Travailes into forraine Countries the more profitable and honourable. 1606. (Quarto, in one hundred and thirty-one pages, besides dedication, preface, and four analytical tables, doubled in, before the first and second part.)

A. Wood mentions this tract, as if it was printed in octavo this year; which seems a mistake. It is dedicated to Prince Henry, by the author, Thomas Palmer; who thought it his duty, under the compass of his obligation and service to his highness, to make a present thereof. The snbject is gravely and methodically handled, under its various considerations. It was written and published, to reclaim those malecontents

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who turned fugitives, to disturb their own country; and the epistle is directed from Wingham in Kent.

No. IX.

186. The Great Frost. Cold doings in London, except it be at the lottery: with newes out of the country. A familiar talk between a countryman and a citizen, touching this terrible frost, and the great lottery, and the effect of them. The description of the Thames frozen over. Printed for H. Gosson. 1608. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves, black letter.)

The Lord Bacon, in one of his letters, takes notice of the sharp Muscovite weather, which occasioned the great frost in England at this time. In the front of this tract is a wooden print, representing the citizens at their sports, &c. upon the frozen Thames. And in the narrative, the description thereof, the dangers, and damages it had occasioned to several persons, &c. in London, as well as the miseries endured in the country thereby, are well set forth. It had now lasted about six weeks, to the end of January, and was still freezing. Here is also an account of the preceding frosts, which had happened in England from the time of King Rufus: and, after a brief Representation also of the Lotteries which had been drawn in the late Queen's reign, he describes, more particularly, that which was carrying on by some foreigners in London at this time. And describes, in a very lively manner, how greedily the poor adventurers strove to make themselves beggars in it. The prizes in that lottery were all of plate; and the highest worth a hundred and fifty, or threescore pounds; and though the tickets were but one shilling apiece, yet, we are afraid it will shame those times, or countenance such disadvantageous kind of gaming even in these, too much to let it appear, that to one prize there were no less than forty blanks. The manner of drawing seems to have been very expeditious, and very tumultuous. The doors ever crouded, the room continually filled with people; every mouth bauling out for lots, every hand stretched forth to snatch them. Both hands lifted up at once; the one, to deliver the condemned shillings; the other, to receive the papers of life and death. It was diverting, as so many comedies, to see their entrance into the place; but grievous to consider what tragical ends befell many of the poor housekeepers, servants, and others of the simpler flock; who in the end were stripped and plumed in such a manner, as to have no more feathers left on their backs than geese that had been newly plucked.

187. A Declaration of the Estate of Clothing now used within this Realme of England. 1. The royaltie and benefit of wooll and woollen cloth. 2. The condition of the makers; being two sorts. 3. The condition and power of the alneger. 4. The manner of search and searchers now used. 5. The several faults and abuses practised in cloth. 6. The inconvenience and hurt by the abuses. 7: The remedie to be made by the Alnegers provision. With an apology for the alneger shewing the necessarie use of his office. Written by John May, a deputy-alneger. Printed

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by Adam Islip. 1613. (Quarto, in twenty-nine leaves.)

This is a subject of general concern to this nation. Many frauds and deceits, which have been complained of in late years, appear to have been no novelty in those times; and had the means here also pointed out to redress the same, been as familiarly known, they might have as readily been put in practice, and a remedy the sooner procured. This work is the fruit of seven years' experience; and it is dedicated by the author to Lodowick Duke of Lenox, Earle of Darnely, &c. lord high admiral and chamberlain of Scotland; knight of the garter; of his Majesty's privy council: and his Highness's alneger-general for the realm of England, and dominion of Wales.

188. *The Trades Increase*. 1615. (Quarto, in thirty-one leaves.)

The author subscribes himself, at the end of his epistle, J. R. His motives to the writing of this treatise, he mentions at the beginning, to have sprung from his sight of T. Gentleman's tract, entitled 'England's Way to win wealth,' beforementioned, in the 117th article of this catalogue: with whose project our author was so affected, that he presently resolved to go a fishing: and as there is no fishing like to that in the sea; so there is no fish in the sea like to the herring: That the sea hath room enough for us all; and there are herrings enough to make us all rich. After he has transported us to all the coasts and countries, to which our merchants trade, he shews how, without peril, and charge of such long voyages abroad, the greatest part of our people may drive a more profitable trade and merchandise at home, by the fishery; in which we suffer the Hollanders to rob us of a million of gold in a year; and give our gold to them besides, for the worst part, the refuse, of their plunder, which we might have, with the best, of right for nothing; to the exposure of our loss, folly, and shameful pusillanimity to all the world. We shall not need to attempt a character of this pamphlet after that which Sir Walter Raleigh gave it at its publication, in these words—'For the Newcastle trade I refer the reader to the author of *'The Trades Increase:'* a gentleman to me unknown; but, so far as I can judge, he has many things very considerable in that short treatise of his; yea, both considerable and praise-worthy; and, amongst the rest, the advice which he hath given for the maintenance of our Hoyes and Carvills of Newcastle; which may serve us, besides the breeding of mariners, for good ships of war, and of exceeding advantage.' Sir Walter Raleigh's *'Discourse of the first Invention of shipping,'* in his *'Essays,'* p. 39. 1650. (8vo.) (Printed in vol. iv. p. 212.)

189. *The Speech of Sir Dudley Carleton, Lord Ambassador for the King of Great Britaine: made in the Assembly of the Lords the Estates Generall of the United Provinces of the Lowe Countries: being assembled at the Haghe. Touching the discord and troubles of the church and policie, caused by the schismaticall doctrine of Arminius. Exhibited the 6th of October, 1617.*

Set forth by authoritie. 1618. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

190. *An Oration made at the Hage, before the Prince of Orange and the Assembly of the High and mighty Lords, the States-Generall of the United Provinces: by the Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Landaff, one of the Commissioners sent by the King's most excellent Majesty to the Synod of Dort.* 1619. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

This speech was delivered by Dr. George Carleton, bishop of the said see, upon the same subject with that by Sir Dudley Carleton, mentioned above in the article foregoing. The further proceedings of this synod, and the commissioners upon that occasion sent out of England thither, may be read in the ecclesiastical histories of those times.

191. *Pope Joane: a dialogue between a protestant and a papist. Manifestly proving, that a woman, called Joane, was Pope of Rome: against the surmises and objections made to the contrarie, by Robert Bellarmine and Cæsar Baronius, Cardinals; Florimondus Ræmondus; N. D. and other popish writers, impudently denying the same.* By Alexander Cooke. Printed by John Haviland. 1625. (Quarto, in seventy leaves.)

The author of this most learned and elaborate tract upon the said subject, that ever had been written, appears (in the 43d page,) to have been composing of it in 1606. The first edition we have met with, was in quarto. 1610. And this edition here has several additions and improvements made to it. Langbaine says, 'it was a piece so much cried up, and admired in those times, that it was translated into French, by J. De la Montaigne;' and the same was printed at Sedan, in Octavo, 1633. The substance of this dialogue was drawn into a continued discourse; and printed under the title of *'A Present for a Papist: or, The Life and Death of Pope Joan,'* &c. in octavo, 1675: with a print of her, in procession, fallen asunder, &c. And she was brought upon the Theatre Royal, by Elkanah Settle, in his tragedy entitled *'The Female Prelate,'* printed in quarto, 1680. The said author, Alexander Cooke, was an Oxonian bred; and Vicar of Leeds, near Beeston, where he was born, in Yorkshire; and he died in 1632. This tract he dedicates to Tobias (Matthew) Archbishop of York. He has, throughout the same, most notably ferreted all the popish opposers of this story through all their subterfuges; and so intangled them in their own lime-twigs, that the more they struggle, the faster they stick. And this, not from any Lutheran, or modern protestant writers: not from the testimonies of Pantaleon, Functius, Sleidan, Illyricus, Constantinus Phrygio, John Bale, and Robert Barnes: but from the sons of their own mother; from the acknowledgments and concessions of adversaries; ancient and grave historians, &c. established in their own principles. From Marianus Scotus, Sigebert, Gotefridus Viterbiensis, and Johannes de Parisiis; from Martinus Polonus, Ranulphus Cestrensis, Alphonsus à Carthagina, and Theodoricus de Niem; from Chalcocondi-

las, Wernerus Rolenink, and Platina; from Palmerius, Naclerus, Sabellicus, Trithemius, Volateran, and Bergomensis; from Hartmannus Schedel, Laziardus, Fulgosus, and Textor: besides an epistle written by the universities of Paris, Oxford, and Prague, to all at Rome: and half a score other authorities, which he also names. All these he has critically examined; compared the editions; cleared the spurious accounts from their corruptions; and fortified his arguments all the way, by numberless other vouchers, fairly produced, throughout the margents of every page. The whole fully entitling him to the character of a person, most admirably well read in the controversies between the protestants and papists; and most effectually able to discover the frauds and fallacies therein. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 63.)

192. A Publication of Guiana's Plantation; newly undertaken by the Right Honourable the Earle of Barkshire, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and company; for that most famous river of the Amazonas in America.—Wherein is briefly shewed the lawfulness of plantations in forraigne countries; hope of the natives conversion; nature of the river; qualitie of the land, climate, and people of Guiana; with the provisions for man's sustenance; and commodities therein growing for the trade of merchandize; and manner of the adventure. With an answer to some objections touching fear of the enemy. 1632. (Quarto, in thirteen leaves.)

Much might be said of the many attempts to secure the glorious discoveries and conquests of this rich and spacious country, made by Sir Walter Raleigh, to the crown of England; for which his own country, corrupted by an Espaniolized ministry, most ingloriously took away his life. But now, after his death, it seems lawful here to plant, and take possession; which must be in right of him, who, alive, was not allowed to have right of his own. Whether this undertaking afterwards failed of its desired success, through any defect in the scheme of contribution towards the expence, or other cause, appears not: but it may be time enough to display the benefits of such plantation, when a spirit like his who once discovered, and twice drove the Spaniards out of that country, shall arise in this, more happily to recover and enjoy it.

193. A true description of his Majestie's Royall Ship, built this year 1637, at Woolwich, in Kent: to the great glory of our English nation; and not parallell'd in the whole Christian world: published by authoritie. 1637. (Quarto, in twenty-seven leaves.)

This pamphlet is dedicated to K. Charles, by the author, Thomas Heywood; a great writer for the stage, as may be seen in *Langbaine*; but he has omitted this, in the catalogue of his numerous publications. There is a copy of verses before it to the author, written by Shackerly Marmion, another poet noted in those times. The author was employed in contriving the emblematical devices or designs; and composing the mottoes, which were carved upon this royal ship, for its more elegant embellishment. And after a kind

of navigation through Noah's flood, and some naval curiosities of the ancients, he proceeds to explain those decorations; beginning with King Edgar, that great monarch of our ocean, who was one of the said carved figures; and is, upon that occasion, here historically commemorated; so concludes with the dimensions, &c. of the great ship aforesaid. No other colour was to be seen about her but black and gold. She was just so many tons in burden (besides her tunnage) as there were years of the Lord, 1637. In length, by the keel, 128 feet. In breadth, 48 feet. In length, from the fore-end of the beak-head, to the after-end of the stern, 232 feet; and in height, from the bottom of her keel, to the top of her lanthorn, 76 feet. Bore five lanthorns, the biggest of which would hold ten persons upright: had three flush decks, a fore-castle, half-deck, quarter-deck, and round-house. Her lower tyre had 30 ports. Middle tyre, 30 ports. Third tyre, 26 ports. Fore-castle, 12 ports. Half-deck, 14 ports. 13 or 14 ports more within board. Besides 10 pieces of chace-ordnance, forward, and 10 right aft; and many loop-holes in the cabins, for musket-shot. She had 11 anchors; one of 4,400 weight. Capt. Phineas Pett was overseer of the work, and one of the principal officers of the navy; as his father, grandfather, and great grandfather, for above 200 years, had before been. The master builder was master Peter Pett; who, before he was 25 years of age, made the model; and since perfected the work. The master carvers were John and Matthias Christmas, sons of that excellent workman, Master Gerard Christmas, some two years since that publication deceased.

194. A Record of some Worthie Proceedings in the honourable, wise, and faithfull House of Commons, in the parliament holden in the year 1611. 1641. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves.)

This pamphlet begins with a memorable speech, in that parliament, of the many grievances in the church and state, which called for redress: and is followed with the particulars of the great contract, in consideration of 200,000 pounds per annum to be paid his Majesty. A petition for liberty of debating in parliament, delivered by 20 of the lower house, 24 May 1610. Their petition in spiritual causes. With the particulars of their grievances in temporal matters: by new taxes, or impositions; the commission in causes ecclesiastical; frequent and unreasonable proclamations; stay of writs of prohibition; unwarrantable jurisdiction over four shires, by the president and council of Wales; unlawful patent of the Duke of Lenox, for searching and sealing the new drapery; licence of wines, and taxation of alehouses, by letters and instructions; and the imposition of a tax, upon sea-coal, only by the royal prerogative. For every of which hardships, redress is here intreated, by that parliament, in a very rational and dutiful manner.

195. Two Speeches, spoken by Sir Simonds D'ewes. The first touching the antiquity of Cambridge; lately published by John Thomas, with many ignorant and foolish mistakes, which are here rectified: the other, concerning the privi-

lege of parliament, in causes civil and criminal. 1642. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

The first of these speeches, which only we can have room here to take notice of, was occasioned by a bill, brought into the house, in which Cambridge was mentioned before Oxford; which raised some debates in January 1640, about placing one word before the other. Whereupon Sir Simonds D'Ewes undertook to prove, in this speech, that Cambridge was a renowned city, 500 years before there was an house standing in Oxford; and that (without regarding Twine's allegations, for the antiquity of Oxford; or those of Caius, for that of Cambridge; most part of which he accounts but *deliria senum*) from Gildas Albanus's British story, who died about the year 520. And from a Saxon anonymous story in Latin, whose author lived in the reign of Penda, King of the Mercians, about the year 620. And from Nennius's History of Britain, wrote in the year 880: who all call Cambridge, *Cair-grant*; which word Cair, in the old Celtique tongue, signifies a city. And cair-grant is not only expounded, by Alfred of Beverly, to signify Cambridge: but by William de Ramsey, Abbot of Croyland, in his life of Guthlac; who says further, it was so called *a Granta flumine*. And though it suffered great devastations by the Danish incursions, it is, in Domesdei Book, described as a place of considerable moment; having in it *decem custodias*, and a castle of great strength and extent. Thus much for the antiquity of the place. This author next lays it down, that Cambridge was a nursery for learning, before Oxford was known to have a grammar-school in it: but to prove it, begins no higher than King Alfred's time, for the gathering of persons to study arts and sciences there. He further observes, it was so famous a seminary of instruction in William the Norman's reign, that he sent his son Henry thither, afterwards the first of that name, King of England; who, for the uncommon knowledge he acquired, was surnamed *Beau-clerk*. He adds, that the most ancient and first endowed college of England, was Valence College, in Cambridge; which after the foundation, (as appears by a parliament roll in the Tower of London, anno 38 Hen. VI. Num. 31;) received the new appellation of Pembroke-hall: so, concludes Cambridge to be the elder sister; and advises, to avoid further division, that the present bill pass unaltered, as it was penned; leaving us to infer, it will be of more moment for the universities to exert their emulation in theory and practice, and exceed one another in learning and virtue, than in the antiquity or seniority of their foundation.

No. X.

196. King Charles his Speech, made upon the scaffold, at Whitehall Gate, immediately before his execution, on Tuesday the 30 of Jan. 1648. With a relation of the manner of his going to execution. Published by special authority. 1649. Printed by Peter Cole. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

197. A true relation of the title, government, and Cause of the Death of the late Charles Stuart, King of England: written for the satis-

faction of all those that are not wilfully obstinate for a regal government, and neglecters or contemners of their own just liberties. Published by authority. 1649. (Quarto, in eight pages.)

198. The Rebels Warning Piece: being certain rules and instructions left by Alderman Hoyle, a member of parliament, being a Burgess for Yorkshire, who hanged himself, January 30, within half an hour after that day twelvemonth, he, and his sectarian brethren had murdered their King. This seasonable *caveat*, being written by his own hand, was found lying by him, in the chamber where he hanged himself. Also the sudden madness of Sheriff Wilson, a perjured, relapsed, and apostate alderman of the city of London, who was carried mad from Guildhall, so soon as he had taken the new engagement, and now desperately seeketh to end his life. With a new epitaph on Alderman Hoyle, and a new ballad, on the loathed life and sudden death of Sir Philip, E. of Pembroke. 1650. (Quarto, in eight pages.)

199. A Declaration concerning the Government of the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by his Highness the Lord Protector Cromwell: and his speech to the Lord Commissioners of the broad seal of England, and the Judges in their scarlet gowns and robes; immediately before he took the chair of state, the city sword, and cap of maintenance: with the oath taken by his Highness; the subscribing of the instructions tendered unto him by the said Judges; the full particulars of this great and honourable solemnization; the manner how he was proclaimed throughout the city of London, and the proclamation of the council, to be published throughout all counties, cities, and market towns. Printed by R. Wood. 1653. (Quarto, in eight pages.)

That proclamation of the council is dated from Whitehall the 16 of December, 1653. Notwithstanding all this parade, and countenance of men in grave office, and high character, it appears, in this very pamphlet, how generally dissatisfied the people were with this new-fangled and usurped authority. 'Indeed (says this author) deplorable is it to many, to behold the bird-witted opiniators of this age; who, already, begin to breath forth a disowning and dislike to this great and unparallel'd change. Alas, how great a madness are these antinomies captivated with, who blindly endeavour the ruin of so prudent a governor, so excellent a protector!'

200. A Copy of a Letter concerning the Election of a Lord Protector: written to a member of parliament. Printed by Thomas Newcomb. 1654. (Quarto, in thirty-eight pages.)

The intention of this epistle is, now Oliver was made protector, to shew, by many arguments, how

preferable an hereditary, is to an elective government; in order to get it settled absolutely upon his posterity; against the murmurs of those, who found their leveling endeavours and expectations deceived; and that another sovereignty was insensibly erected out of the old one they had demolished, under the disguise of a new name.

201. *Vindiciæ Academicarum*; containing some brief Animadversions upon Mr. Webster's book, stiled, 'The Examination of Academies.' Together with an appendix, concerning what Mr. Hobbes and Mr. Dell have published on this argument. Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the University. 1654. (Quarto, in sixty-five pages.)

There are, at the end of the epistle, before this tract, the letters N. N. subscribed; which are the last letters of the names of John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester: and the two other parts are subscribed H. D. the last letters of the names of Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; who are reputed the authors of the said pamphlet. The answer, made to Mr. Hobbes, is to what he has written upon the universities in his 'Leviathan'; and the answer to Mr. Dell, in his 'Postscript to his Trial of Spirits:' as for John Webster's 'Examination,' &c. aforesaid (reputed to be much beholden to Bacon, Helmont, and Gassendus) there has been an abstract given of it in the 'British Librarian.'

202. A Model for the maintaining of Students of choice abilities at the University; and principally in order to the Ministry. Together with a preface before it; and after it, a recommendation from the university; and two serious exhortations recommended to all the unfeigned lovers of piety and learning; and more particularly to those rich men who desire to honour the Lord with their substance. 1658. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves.) [See No. 94.]

This tract was written, as appears at the end of the preface, by Matthew Poole, that learned nonconformist, who was afterwards author of the elaborate '*Synopsis Criticorum Bibliorum*,' &c. The said project for the education of choice and promising youths, was to be supported by subscription; and it was now so far begun, that many persons had subscribed, from forty shillings to twenty pounds a year, for eight years to come. Here is a testimonial in approbation of this scheme, signed by some heads of houses at Cambridge, and an epistle of exhortation to the rich, written by Mr. Baxter.

203. Margery Good-Cow, that gave a gallon of milk, and kicked down the pail, and bewrai'd the milkmaid; what did she merit? speak, gentlemen: or, a short discourse, shewing, that there is not a farthing due from this nation to old Oliver for all his pretended services; and, if any thing be given his son, it must be in respect of his own personal virtues, and modest behaviours, during his being protector, and not out of any

respect to his ill-deserving father. 1659. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This author having declared, how Oliver's late ambition shewed, over-plainly, the hypocrisy of his first actings: how the parliament had thrust him into temptations he was not able to bear; which might render his memory the more excusable, and the interruption of their authority the less to be pitied: also, how pernicious it may be to reward his posterity, upon his account; then makes a digression upon the happiness of a commonwealth, in allowing the liberty of the press: and concludes, as he had begun, upon Oliver, in these words. 'If the old Protector had not been so much a fox, he might, in all probability, have lived now a man in great favour and power; and general of the armies of the commonwealth of England: whereas, craftily, but not wisely, catching at a shadow, and enamour'd of those baubles he sometimes scorned, viz. the mace, &c. he lost his peace, tranquillity, health, comfort, applause of his own conscience, of God and angels, and sincere men; to find the empty blandishments of servile parasites, vain pageantry, trouble of mind, and untimely death, in great disquiet of soul and spirit.'

206. The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's book, entitled, 'The ready and easie Way to establish a free Commonwealth.—Die Lunæ 26 Martis, 1660. Ordered by the rota, that Mr. Harrington be desired to draw up a narrative of this day's proceeding upon Mr. Milton's book, called, 'the ready and easy way,' &c. and to cause the same to be forthwith printed and published; and a copy thereof to be sent to Mr. Milton. Signed, Trundle Wheeler, clerk to the rota. 1660. (Quarto, in sixteen pages.)

The writer of this pamphlet, Mr. James Harrington, the well-known author of *Oceana*, &c. and one of the members of that ingenious convention, has borne very hard upon Milton; sharply censuring not only the subject, but the manner of his compositions; nay falls aboard of his inaccuracy and improprieties in their very titles. Where he tells him, that a gentleman of his own acquaintance in that society, wished, 'you had given your book no name, like an anabaptist's child, until it had come to years of discretion: or else, that you had got some friend to be a gossip, that has a luckier hand at giving titles to books than you have: for it is observed you have always been very unfortunate that way; as if it were fatal to you to prefix bulls and nonsense to the very front of your learned works. As when you call Salmasius, *Claudius Anonymus*, in the very title of that admired piece, which you write to confute his wife and his maid. As also in that other learned labour of yours, which you stile *Tetrachordon*, that is to say, 'a fiddle with four strings;' but as you render it, 'a four-fold cord;' with which you undertake, worse than Captain Otter, and Cuthbert the barber, not to bind, but most ridiculously, to untie matrimony. But in this book, he said, you were more insufferable; for you do not only stile your declamation, 'the ready and easy way,' as if it were the best or only way; to the disparagement of this most ingenious assembly; who

'are confident, they have proposed others much more considerable; but do very indiscreetly profess in the same place, to compare the excellencies of a commonwealth, with the inconveniences and dangers of kingship. This, he said, was foul play, and worse logick: for, as all conveniencies in this world carry their inconveniencies with them; to compare the best of one thing, with the worst of another, is a very unequal way of comparison. To this, another added, he wondered you did not give over writing; since you have always done it to little or no purpose; for, though you have scribbled your eyes out, your works have never been printed, but for the company of chandlers and tobacco-men, who are your stationers, and the only men that vend your labours. He said, that he himself reprieved the whole 'Defence of the people of England' for a groat, that was sentenced to vile mundungus, and had suffered inevitably, but for him; though it cost you much oil and labour, and the rump, three hundred pounds a year; to whose service it was more properly intended; although, in the close, you pronounce them to be as very rascals, as Salmasius, and all the Christian world calls them, if ever they suffered any of their fellow-members to invade the government; as Oliver Cromwell, and others have since done; and confess yourself fooled and mistaken, and all you have written to be false; howsoever you give yourself the second lye, in writing for them again,' &c. (Thus far, page 4, 5.) A little further he says:—'You have done your feeble endeavour to rob the church of the little, which the rapine of the most sacrilegious persons hath left, in your learned work against tithes. You have slandered the dead, worse than envy itself; and thrown your dirty outrage on the memory of a murdered prince, as if the hangman were but your usher. These have been the attempts of your stiff, formal eloquence; which you arm accordingly, with any thing that lies in the way, right or wrong.' &c. So page 8, 9.) Again — 'A worthy knight of this assembly stood up, and said, that, if we meant to examine all the particular fallacies and flaws in your writing, we should never have done; he would therefore, with leave, deliver his judgment, upon the whole; which in brief was thus: that it is all windy foppery, from the beginning to the end; written to the elevation of the rabble, and meant to cheat the ignorant. That you fight always with the flat of your hand, like a rhetorician, and never contract the logical fist. That you trade altogether in universals, the region of deceits and fallacy; but never come so near particulars, as to let us know, which among divers things of the same kind you would be at. For you admire commonwealths in general, and cry down kingship as much at large, without any regard to the particular constitutions which only make either the one or the other good or bad; vainly supposing all slavery to be in the government of a single person, and nothing but liberty in that of many; which is so false, that some kingdoms have had the most perfect form of commonwealths, as ours had; and some republicks have proved the greatest tyrannies, as all have done at one time or other: for many, if they combine, have more latitude to abuse power than a single person, and less sense of shame, conscience, or honour to restrain them; for what is wickedly

'done by many, is owned by none, where no man knows, upon whom in particular to fix it.' So gives an instance in Milton's own Patriots, &c. (page 13.) Lastly, the author gives his own judgment of this work; especially that part where Milton would have no change of ministry, in these words: 'That which I disliked most in your treatise was; that there is not one word of the balance of property, nor the agrarian, nor rotation in it, from the beginning to the end; without which, together with a Lord Archon, I thought I had sufficiently demonstrated, not only in my writings, but publick exercises in the coffee-house, that there is no possible foundation of a free-commonwealth. To the first and second of these, that is, the balance, and agrarian, you made no objection; and therefore I should not need to make an answer: but for the third, I mean rotation, which you implicitly reject, in your design to perpetuate the present members, I shall only add this, to what I have already said and written on that subject: that a commonwealth is like a great top, that must be kept up by being whipped round, and held in perpetual circulation, for, if you discontinue the rotation, and suffer the senate to settle, and stand still, down it falls immediately. And, if you had studied this point, as carefully as I have done, you could not but know, there is no such way under heaven of disposing the vicissitudes of command and obedience, and of distributing equal right and liberty among all men, as this of wheeling; by which, as Chaucer writes, a single fart hath been divided among a whole convent of friars, and every one hath had his just share of the savour,' &c. page 14, 15. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 188.)

207. Bradshaw's Ultimatum Vale: being the last words that are ever intended to be spoke of him: as they were delivered in a sermon, preached at his interrment. By J. O. D.D. Time-server general of England. Oxon. 1660. (Quarto, in sixteen pages.)

This is a comical mock-sermon. By those initial letters, it is thought Dr. John Owen the independant, sometime Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, was intended to be exposed, as the author. In the first page, there is a wooden print of the dial, and motto about it, at Pancridge church: 'speed well thy time; fly swift from sin.' The ridiculous vein, affected in this sermon, is intended to deride such stuff as Bradshaw used to hear from his chaplain Foxley. In the author's enumeration of the various kinds of death, he shews that Bradshaw was shaken out of the world by an ague; and he makes this droll apology for Bradshaw's sentencing King Charles to death.—'Now if this be true, that a man may be killed for six or seven duc-kets, or for such a slight thing as an apple; then, certainly, might our president judge a man to death, for my Lord Cottington's estate. Our president was like necessity, for he had no law; if then he had no law, could yee blame him for not doing that which was agreeable to law? Thus, my beloved, you see it proved, out of the labours of the most authentic divines, that he was not so bad as the world took him to be,' &c. This John Bradshaw died

October 31, 1659: was buried the twenty-second of November, at Westminster, with great pomp; and his carcase, with Cromwell's and Ireton's, taken up, and hanged, on the thirtieth of January, 1660, at Tyburn.

208. Sir Arthur Haselrig's last Will and Testament; with a brief survey of his life and death. 1661. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This is rather a kind of penitential farewell to the world, fathered upon him at his death in the Tower, on the eighth of January 1660: having been there imprisoned, and deprived of his ill-gotten possessions, upon the restoration. At the end, are some verses, both in Latin and English, upon the taking up of the carcasses of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, and hanging them upon a high gallows at Tyburn, by Dunn, the executioner; where, as it is here said, the wench, or mistress of Jack Cutts, was struck to the heart, or poisoned, by the pestilent stench of them.

No. XI.

209. The Petition of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common-council-men of the city of London, in common-council assembled, to the Parliament; for the reducing of all foreign trade under Government: as also the petition, together with the proposals of several merchants of London, on the behalf of themselves and the merchants of England. Humbly tendered to the grand committee of parliament for trade: containing the desired manner and method for such regulation. 1662. (Quarto, in ten pages.)

210. *Digitus Dei*: or an horrid murder strangely detected. Declaring the suspicion, apprehension, arraignment, tryal, confession, and execution of Richard Rogers, late of Havitre, in the county of Devon, for murdering one Ruth Auton, his sweetheart; having first begotten her with child of two children. Published for satisfaction of some, and admonition of others, by Abraham Jenings, physician, and foreman of the inquest, upon view of the body, before the coroner; with the dedication to Sir John Archer, one of the justices in the common-pleas. 1664. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

211. *The Miraculous Conformist*: or an account of several marvillous cures performed by the stroaking of the hands of Mr. Valentine Greatarick: with a physical discourse thereupon. In a letter to the hon. Robert Boyle, Esq.; with a letter, relating some other of his miraculous cures; attested by E. Foxcroft, M. A. and fellow of King's college, in Cambridge. By Henry Stubbe, physician at Stratford upon Avon, in the county of Warwick. Oxford, Printed by H. Hall, printer to the university, for Ric. Davis. 1666. (Quarto, in forty-four pages, besides the dedication to Dr. T. Willis.)

This stroaker had been an Irish officer, clerk of the peace, &c. but after the restoration, being removed, he grew discontented; and, about the year 1662, felt, or pretended to feel, that impulse, and we know not what inward voice (audible to none else) which, however his wife condemned as reveries, informed him first of this supernatural gift; by the token that, his right hand should be dead, and that the stroaking of his left arm should recover it; which it did, three nights together, as this author asserts: and that his fame in Ireland, moved the Lord Conway to send for him, by the means of Dr. Rust, into England. That he was mightily run after, and cried up, at first, for curing the King's evil only, afterwards, cancers in womens' breasts; and, as believers increased, the lame, deaf, blind, and who not? But not with constant success; it being owned, he could never relieve the Lady Conway's head-ach. Here are several cases produced, to testify, however, the extraordinary effects of this healing hand; several arguments offered to bribe our belief; and the fame of it now rung over England, as loud as the story of the Silesian boy with his golden tooth, did, about seventy years before, in Germany. This stroaker might have better continued to shelter this efficacious property behind the impenetrable shield of God's grace, as he first set out to do, than by seeking to strengthen the credit of it through a further pretension to corporal singularities; as the fragrant odour of his hands and body sometimes, and the smelling even of his urine like violets; which, being subject to art, only strengthened the suspicion of his impostures, and, with many other circumstances, produced, in the end, a detection of them; as may in great measure appear, in the answer made to this pamphlet, before specified; in the 129th article of this catalogue. Which answer, and other like discourses, to the same purpose, can never be too frequently or publickly dispersed; as antidotes against the poison of false miracles; wherewith the wily will ever delude the minds, and drain the means of the weak. Though they have been often admonished, that the miracles of God are universal, indisputable, and lasting as his works; visible to all, and obliging all to an harmonious veneration: and as the support of them is miraculous, his miracles never cease. The miracles of men are particular, controvertible, and transient; beholden to opportunity, occasion, advantage; of times, persons, places; founded upon pride and fraud, supported by covetousness and controversy. Yet here, among men too, it may be said in some sense, their miracles never cease; so long as there is the ground of interest and vain glory for them to root in, and they can meet with any body of credulity to climb and cling by. [See the *Philosoph. Transact.* vol. xxi. p. 322.]

212. *The Cloud opened*: or the English heroe. By a loyal and impartial pen. 1670. (Quarto, in forty-eight pages.)

By this English hero, is meant General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who died the foregoing year. And had the cloud been opened, as is here promised, by which some might think to be intended the mystery of the restoration; wherein that general appeared the leading figure, we might have had a very satisfactory sight. But that expression is more confined

to the person himself; who was of a close and cloudy disposition, much inclined to secrecy, and wrapped in reservation. And, indeed, in the manner of setting him forth, the author is much correspondent to his subject; is so much involved in allusions and digressions, that the greatest part of the work is a dark, detached rhapsody of reflections. Yet are there some curious anecdotes, in characters of persons, and remarks on the late times, sprinkled up and down, especially concerning General Monk, no where else to be met with; and in which the author does maintain his title of 'a loyal and impartial pen:' as where he mentions that tradition of the general's promise, 'Never to bear arms in England against his prince.' 'This (says our author) not a few will have most exactly to be performed; and hence by no action of his loyalty to be impeached. What he acted in the first Dutch engagement, and what was performed in the Caledonian war, must, by a milder gloss, be interpreted a zeal for his country, and no disaffection to his King; but the more rigid censors will not allow him who wounds in hands and feet, no enemy, though not equally mortal with him who transpierces the heart.' He says further: 'The low country religion obliged him to a party; by whom he was disobliged; that he honourably deserted his deserters; and intimates, that the juncto, who made him a cypher in commission, contributed thereby to vote to their own ruin; and when he broke down the city gates, he said, 'he then thought himself even with them.' His dreadless regard of plague and war, is imputed to a predestinarian principle. He violently prosecuted the Dutch war, in which he exceeded his commission; brought the nation many millions in debt, and, had he been a Dutchman, might have lost him his head: whereas, 'by the method he seemed to restore, he might have secured his country: here, a Fabius, he might have effected by delays, what he could not by fighting; and have seemed a double restorer of his nation, whose rashness might have intitled him the demolisher.' The reports he gives us of the general's frugality, or, in truth, sordidness; his introducing board-wages at court; saving half, in his own daily allowance; causing fowls, that were uncarved at his table one day, to be new roasted, and re-visit it the next; and his menacing an only child with disinheriting, for expending five shillings at a supper, might seem incredible, in a man who had taken such liberal views of life, and had such high honours, profitable posts, and vast treasures accumulated upon him; if other authors, who knew him, had not written to the like purpose. But, upon the account of his credulity in the cures of Greatrakes the stroker, and patronage of him, the ignorance of that illiterate quack and impostor, (as he is now plainly called, and seems discovered to be,) is more expatiated upon, than any other circumstance in the whole tract. As our author, before, had not contradicted the assertion, that his hero's head-piece was the worst part of his armour: so now, his strong faith in this gracious babe of the Presbyterian Reformation, is represented as a great weakness; especially in that instance, of his sending this stroaker to a superannuated woman of ninety, who had lost her hearing twelve years, in expectation, by his hand, to recover it. This patronage of that pretender was so notorious, that Dr. Thomas Gumble, in his Life of

General Monk, printed the next year, thought fit, not to pass it over in silence, without endeavouring to make some apology for it; as if the General did not credit him upon the score of his abilities, so much as from the testimonies and certificates of so many other people. There are, besides, some pretty remarks of other persons dispersed up and down this pamphlet; as upon Strafford, Cromwell, Fairfax, and Lesley; Colonel Okey, Dr. Owen, &c. The fisher, that by pagan worship translated the brazen image of a tyrant into gold, was Pagan Fisher, Oliver's poet and panegyrist, who wrote the *Olivia Pacis* in his praise; and had an hundred golden Carolus's bestowed upon him for his pains. And, by 'the doubly blind bard, whose pen is reckoned among those which were pedantically florid,' is meant Milton. There are some other characters enveloped in obscurity, after the like manner, which it might take up too much time to unveil. (Printed in vol. iv. p. 149.)

213. A modest representation of the Benefits and Advantages of making the River Avon navigable, from Christ-church to the City of New Sarum. Humbly submitted to the consideration of the city aforesaid, and the countries bordering upon the said river; and to all other persons that are, or may be concerned therein, for their incouragement, joyntly to carry on so noble a work. By J. H. a real well-wisher both to city and country. 1672. (Quarto, in twenty-four pages.)

The author of this pamphlet was James Hely; as he signs himself in his dedication to the Mayor and inhabitants of that city. He very expressively sets forth the advantages of making the river Avon navigable, from the said city of New Sarum in Wiltshire, to the town of Christ Church, in the county of Southampton; and, what great benefit it would be to all the borderers on that river, within ten or twelve miles on either side, besides many other towns here mentioned. Which, though the sanction of Parliament had often been sought to authorise, an act was not till now passed for that purpose. And yet, the execution thereof moved so slowly, that this author thought it might proceed from the want of a true sense of the emoluments which would accrue therefrom, and full answers to all objections that might be made against it; both which he has offered in this tract; with his approbation of its being undertaken by the mayor and corporation; and his acknowledgements to the Bishops of London and Salisbury; the Lords Ashley and Cornbury; Sir John Nicholas, Sir Stephen Fox, and others, who cordially appeared for the promoting and carrying on the said act.

214. A sad relation of a dreadful fire at Cottenham, four miles distant from Cambridge. It began on Saturday the 29th of April, 1676, and in the space of five hours consumed above a hundred dwelling-houses, besides barns, stables, out-houses, stacks of corn, hay, faggots, tuffs, &c. to the value of many thousand pounds. With an account of a gentleman's servant, who was burned in a miserable manner, by venturing to save

some household stuff, &c. Written by an eye-witness, &c. 1676. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This town, which chiefly consisted of one fair street, above a mile long; formerly called Fenning-street, but latterly Church-street, was inhabited mostly by Yeomen, and substantial farmers; and was burnt down for near three quarters of a mile, as far as the church, by the inadvertency of a farmer's wife; who, having newly baked, carried some embers to the back side in a scuttle, and emptied them near a stack of coarse sedges, which they use to heat ovens, and for other purposes, calling it 'Stuff-reek;' where the embers, revived by the air, first catching some scattered straw, crept to this reek; which, being loose and dry, was blown up into that fierce and unconquerable flame, which did all this mischief.

215. *Christianissimus Christianandus: or reasons for the reduction of France to a more Christian state in Europe. Odimus accipitrem, quia semper vivit in armis.* Printed by H. Hills. 1678. (Quarto, in eighty pages.)

This is an historical detail of the infamous behaviour of France towards its neighbouring nations, especially England, for two hundred years past, down to the time above; exposing their insolent ambition after universal monarchy, in their unjustifiable wars; and their detestable treachery in their treaties, and breach of all faith and covenant with their allies, under the more horrid visor of peace. Shewing moreover, how, under the pretence of commerce, they usurp our trade, and return us nought but trifles; the disguises of their tawdry fashions to deform our bodies, and the worst disguises of their dissimulation, to corrupt our minds. So recommends, as the only bridle that can keep their vanity and arrogance within the bounds of moderation, a confederate war. This pamphlet has lately been reprinted, and seasonably enough; seeing the conduct of the French has of late been as scandalous as ever towards some princes, and their arms as mischievous to others; but to none more than their friends, and themselves, by so much wicked slaughter and destruction, as their bloody councils have brought upon them. The author's name is not printed to this work, but we find it ascribed to Marchamont Nedham; the noted writer of weekly news in the late civil wars, and of many other pieces, which are in print. In the same year that this above sprung from the press, the author descended to his grave.

216. *An Account of the French Usurpation upon the Trade of England; and what great damage the English do yearly sustain by their commerce; and how the same may be retrenched, and England improved in riches and interest.* 1679. (Quarto, in thirteen leaves.)

In this excellent tract, written by way of letter to a friend, and subscribed at the end J. B. it is particularized by what toys, trifles, and unnecessary wares transported from France into England, they receive of us the yearly value of above six-and-twenty-hundred thousand-pounds; and that, by the commodities exported from England to France, we receive not above ten hundred thousand pounds a year of them: so that

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our trade with France is at least sixteen hundred thousand pounds per annum clear loss to this kingdom. The author proposes many ways whereby we may recover this loss, and retrieve ourselves, if our infatuating indolence will give us leave. Otherwise France will continue to flourish by our sloth, to grow wise by our folly, proud by our excess, and powerful by our treasure, till they become our destruction. For as the middle region of the air is wont to frame its thunder, hail, and other meteors against the earth, out of the exhalations it draws from the earth: so France, out of the riches it gathers from England, and other neighbouring dominions, raises formidable armies and potent fleets to invade them.

217. *A Memento for English Protestants; containing the following particulars, viz. an epitome of the massacre in Piedmont: an epitome of the French massacre: an epitome of the Irish massacre. A speech of Pope Sixtus Quintus. A collection of the most remarkable passages of Queen Mary's reign. Together with a preface, by way of answer to that part of the compendium, which reflects on the Bishop of Lincoln's late book.* 1680. (Quarto, in thirty leaves.)

That Bishop of Lincoln was Dr. Thomas Barlow; and his late book was entitled 'Popery: or, the principles and positions approved by the church of Rome, are very dangerous to all; and to protestant Kings, and supreme Powers, more especially pernicious, &c.' Quarto, 1678. Octavo, 1679. That book pointed at, to reflect on the bishops, was called the 'Compendium: or, a short view of the late Tryals, in relation to the present Plot against his Majesty and Government.' Quarto, 1679. (See page 76, 77, of that book.) It was written by Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain; whose said reflections on the bishop, are answered in the preface above.

218. *An Historical Relation of several great and learned Romanists, who did embrace the Protestant Religion: with their reasons for their change, delivered in their own words. Collected chiefly from the most eminent historians of the Roman perswasion. To which is added, a catalogue of sundry great persons of the Roman catholick religion, who have all along opposed the tenets of the church of Rome.* 1688. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

219. *The Interest of England in the Preservation of Ireland: humbly presented to the Parliament of England.* By G. P. Esq. Printed for Richard Chiswell. 1689. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

The author of this tract, whose name was George Philips, (as he signs himself, at the end of his epistle dedicatory to the parliament,) a gentleman of Ireland; has here made many good remarks upon the excellencies of that country, which should engage our care and esteem of it; under these heads or considerations: 1. The Advantage to the kingdom of England in general; by the revenue; the fertility; the number; the

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religion; the consanguinity; the employments, ecclesiastical, civil, and military. 2. The advantage to the trade of England, by the situation, exportation, importation, ingenuity of the inhabitants, and benefit to the king. 3. The danger of falling into the hands of the French; by engrossing all trade; intercepting the trade of England, and interrupting the peace of England.

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220. A Supplicacyon to the Quene's Majestie. Imprynted at London, by John Cawoode, printer to the Quene's Majestie, wyth here most gracious lycence. 1550. (Octavo, in twenty-seven leaves, black letter.)

The date, at the end of this pamphlet, is an error of the press, and should have been five years later; as appears not only by several facts mentioned, (as the condemnation of Bishop Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Sanders to death,) but the dating of one of the author's 'Exhortations' in the same year, 1555. The whole sets forth, very freely and particularly, to Queen Mary, her nobility and gentry, and her parliament, the wicked dissimulation of her bishops; who could first applaud the late King Henry, for throwing off the Pope's authority; and now his daughter, for sacrificing the nation again under the yoke of it. As is proved, more especially, out of Bishop Gardener's book '*De Vera Obedientia*;' Bishop Bonner's preface to it, here translated and exhibited in English; and from a sermon preached before the said King Henry, by Bishop Tunstall. Also shows, how they condemned Cardinal Pole, for endeavouring traitorously to subvert the nation by foreign power in that King's time; and now in this Queen's, how they encouraged the same, under the King of Spain, lately married to her.

221. The Schole Master: or a plaine and perfect way of teaching children to understand, write, and speake the Latin tonge; but especially proposed for the private bringing up of youth, in gentlemen and noblemen's houses; and commodious also for all such, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would by themselves, without a scholemaster, in short time, and with small paines, recover a sufficient habilitie to understand, write, and speake Latin. By Roger Ascham. Printed by John Day. 1571. (Quarto, in sixty-seven leaves, besides the dedication and preface, black letter.)

This learned and elaborate work of that author, who was Latin secretary, and tutor for the Greek tongue, to Queen Elizabeth, was published about three years after his death, by his wife Margaret; who dedicates it to Sir William Cecil, Principal Secretary of State. It was first undertaken, upon the occasion of some discourse which happened at the said Sir William Cecill's table, in his apartment at Windsor, when the court was retired thither, at the time of a great plague, in London, in 1563. When Sir William, telling the company, 'he had heard, that divers scholars of Eaton had run away that morning from the school, for fear of beating;' it produced their different sentiments, 'whe-

ther mildness or severity had the best effect in the 'scholastick education of youth?' Mr. Ascham inclined, as Sir William had done, to the milder course; and used such arguments, that Sir Richard Sackville, Treasurer of the Exchequer, then present, afterwards prevailed upon him to draw his thoughts out, upon the teaching and training of youth, into a regular treatise, for the use, among others, of his grandson, master Robert Sackville: and that was the occasion of writing this work.

222. A warning to the Wise, a Feare to the Fond, a Bridle to the Lewde, and a Glass to the Good. Written of the late Earthquake chanced in London, and other places, the 6th of April, 1580; for the glory of God, and benefite of men, that warily can walke, and wisely can judge. Set forth in verse and prose, by Thomas Churchyard, Gentleman. Seen and allowed. Imprinted at London by John Alde and Nich. Lyng. 1580. (Octavo, in fifteen leaves, black letter.)

Though Anthony Wood laboured much to get the titles of this author's works, this tract was so scarce, that he never got sight or knowledge of it. It is dedicated to Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Paul's, by the author. And, after he has finished his account both in prose and verse, in the first half of the tract, then follows, 'A short Discourse, by Tarlton, upon the 'Earthquake;' who makes as pious an introduction to his report of some particulars thereof in London, as any bishop could have done; which is followed by as decent a prayer to the same purpose; and the whole concludes with a very grave poem, upon the other accidents or tokens which had lately happened, and ought to be of admonition to the age; that they might be able to render their account, when called for. And this is signed, at the end, by the same person, 'Richard Tarleton;' who was the Queen's jester, and the most droll or humorous comedian of the age. See another pamphlet written upon this earthquake, article 178 in this catalogue.

223. The English Romaine Lyfe: discovering the lives of the Englishmen at Rome: the orders of the English seminarie; the dissention betweene the Englishmen and the Welchmen; the banishing of the Englishmen out of Rome; the Pope's sending for them again; a report of many of the paultry reliques in Rome; their vaults under the ground; their holy pilgrimages; and a number other matters, woorthie to be read and regarded of every one. Thereunto is added, the cruell tyranny used on an Englishman at Rome, his Christian suffering, and notable martirdome, for the gospel of Jesus Christ, in Anno 1581. Written by A. M. sometime the Pope's schollar in the seminarie among them, &c. Imprinted at London, by John Charlwoode, for Nich. Ling, &c. 1590. (Quarto, in sixty-seven pages, black letter, besides the preface, and dedication to the Lord Chancellor Bromley; Lord Treasurer Burghley; the Earl of Leicester, and the rest of the privy-council; black letter.)

This piece was written by Anthony Munday, as he signs himself in it; and it had been eight or nine years under his consideration; as appears in another pamphlet of his writing, before specified, in the 144th article of this catalogue. He gives a very distinct account of the orders observed by the English, who were students in that seminary; with the manners and practices of the English priests and jesuits there, (many of whom are named,) to beguile the people out of their senses and their money. In his account of their reliques, he tells us that Bishop Jewel, once preaching upon that subject, at Paul's Cross, named the particular places abroad, where the Papists pretend to have the very nails which fastened Christ to the cross; and they amounted to no less than seventeen. Then he told them, that, at a visitation in his diocese, he met with one, at a gentleman's house, which was affirmed, by him, and his friends, to be another of those nails; which, having borrowed, he told his auditory, 'He had already reckoned up seventeen, and 'this is the eighteenth;' so pulled it out, and showed it them. In the last chapter but one, our author describes the carnevale at Rome, also the Pope's manner of cursing the hereticks on Maunde Thursday; with the custom of the Flagellante. And in the last chapter, it appears, the Englishman, who suffered martyrdom for his irreverence and contempt of their ceremonies, was Richard Atkins, an Hertfordshire man, who perished in the flames with wonderful patience. (Printed in vol. vii. p. 136.)

224. The Honour of the Garter: displaied in a poeme gratulatorie. Entitled to the worthe and renowned Earle of Northumberland; created knight of that order, and installed at Windsore, *Anno Regni Elizabethæ 35. Die Junii 26.* By George Peele, Maister of Artes, in Oxenforde. At London, printed by the Widdowe Charlewoode, &c. (Quarto, in eleven leaves.)

This poem, which was printed in the year 1593, is written in lines of ten syllables, without Rhime; or what we call blank verse. In his prologue, after his addresses to, and praises of that nobleman, for his knowledge in mathematicks and philosophy; and his lamentation of the loss of those patrons of the muses, Sidney and Walsingham; the author gives a character of those contemporary poets, Spenser, Harrington, Daniel, Campion, and Fraunce; and asks why they do not follow those patrons, and also these departed poets, Phaer, Watson, and Marlow? Advising them to exchange this spot, so barren of repast, for the Elisian fields; unless Augusta will restore learning from the wrongs it bears of covetousness and court disdain. In the poem itself, which is represented in a dream the author had, as he lay in a fragrant meadow by Windsor Castle, under the starry canopy of heaven, with cares, his bedfellows, almost twenty years; his eyes and ears were busily entertained with the surprising prospect and din of a numerous and splendid cavalcade of warlike nobles and knights, with all martial accoutrements, attendants and musick about them, descending from the clouds, and circling, as it were, the said Castle; in the midst of whom, most royally encanopied, he beheld King Edward III. with a glittering garter about his leg. Hereupon, he remembers the

origin of the order, according to the common tradition of a Lady's Garter dropped in a Dance, and taken up by that King; but conceived to be the Queen's by our author. Then he discerns all that glorious company to be the first founders, who came down thither to grace this installation; among them the Black Prince, on a coal-black courser, his corslet varnished as black as jet, his bases black, with a battle-ax in his hand; and all, from head to foot, as black as night. (And in such sable armour, &c. he is to be seen in some ancient illuminations on vellum, representing him in the wars of France.) Yet makes our poet this distinction;

' Though Black of hue, that surname yet in
' Fraunce
' He wan: for terror to the Frenchmen's hearts
' His count'nance was; his sword, an iron
' scourge.'

At last our author attaining a view, in this airy procession, of King Henry VIII. and his warlike band of this order; he espied, written in the Book of Fame, the name of Francis Earl of Bedford (some few years before deceased) of whom after some high encomiums, he tells this story: that, once walking out alone, this aged Earl was overtaken with sleep, and laid himself down to rest near a farmer's lodge. He was wrapped in a plain russet cloak; but it covered not the badge of honour which was buckled round his leg, so that it tempted a young thievish vagrant, who passed by, to endeavour at taking it off. The Earl was not so fast asleep, but he soon perceived the design, and offered him a better prize; for his garter would not fit every leg, and he esteemed it better than his purse. The thief, affrighted, ran away; and the earl would pleasantly tell his friends, the rogue would not have dared to steal the garter, if he had understood the French about it. Next comes on Queen Elizabeth, and her stately train of gartered knights, in great pomp and glory; and King Edward congratulates those five especially, who had this day the honour to be created by the said Queen; that is to say, the Earls of Northumberland, and Worcester; the Lords Bourghes, and Sheffielde; and Sir Francis Knolles. And after that King has given characters of their virtues, and exhortations to proceed in them, Renown sounded a retreat: the Train, as swift as shooting stars, retired, Fame's double doors fell to, and the gay Morn wak'd from her golden sleep. The author, in his epilogue, tells that earl, to whom he addresses the prologue, that he offers this dream as the firstling of his scholar's crop, consecrated to his noble name. Other poetical pieces of his were printed the same year; especially in the dramatic way; and some pastoral pieces of his were printed in 'England's Helicon.' But the tragedy of Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany, was Chapman's 'Tis true, (as A. Wood observes) 'that most poets dying obscurely, it is hard to trace them to their graves;' and he was misled in setting down this poet, to be flourishing after his death, from the dates of some of his writings which were then printed: for we are assured, by one of his contemporaries, that he fell a victim in the wars of Venus, in, or before the year 1598: and might then be about forty, or a middle-aged man.

225. Certaine Experiments concerning Fish

and Fruit. Practised by John Taverner, gentleman; and by him published, for the benefit of others. Printed for William Ponsonby. 1600. (Quarto, in twenty-two leaves, black letter.)

The author of this curious and useful tract, dedicates it to Sir Edmond Anderson, knight, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas; conceiving his lordship might take some delight in observations of this kind; as having lately permitted Mr. George Churchey to dedicate to him, his translation from the Latin, of Jacobus Dubravius, his 'New Book of Husbandry, treating of Fishponds,' &c. But more especially, for the publick acknowledgement that is due to his lordship's virtues; so deserving of the whole realm, for his great care and labour in the administration of justice: and doubts not, but he shall, in this little treatise, find something that he knew not before. In his preface, he observes, concerning fish, that none have written thereof, in our tongue, to any purpose, whom he ever saw; and that the said translation, compiled by a stranger, and rendered into English by a person of no great experience, will not satisfy the desires of those who would practise this way to improvement. That, for himself, he means not to express all that might be said in these matters, but only what he has observed and practised; for, if he should set down, by way of preface, the great benefits that might grow to this realm, by practising to have abundance of the two foresaid commodities, the preface would grow a greater volume than the book. Concerning fruit, he says, though many authors have more learnedly written, yet, many of them being strangers, inhabiting climates far differing from ours, they mostly teach how such fruits, as their countries bring forth, are to be used; of which kinds we have little or no use. That, if the benefit arising to the commonwealth through abundance of fruit were well weighed, there would be laws established for the increase and maintenance of it. That Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, great part of Kent, and Sussex, are so stored, as to yield the poor meat and drink, great part of the year. That he has known, in those counties, many men, who had twelve or twenty persons in family, not use, most years, two quarters of malt in drink, but only cider and perry; and sell yearly, besides, great quantities. So might we have it in most other parts of England; yet reap, in effect, as great profit, by pasturing and earing the ground, as we do. That the short term of years for which many hold their lands, and the hazard of being robbed of their fruit, are trifling discouragements to plantations of such benefit, and what might be easily redressed.

226. The Bible-bearer. By A. N. sometimes of Trinity College, in Oxford. 1607. (Quarto, in twenty-three leaves, black letter.)

This tract is dedicated to Hugh Browker, one of the prothonotaries of the court of Common Pleas. It is written in the form of a dialogue, between Theotimus and Poliphemus; and is a shrewd satire upon all hypocritical, puritanical, and sanctified sinners; all neuters and nullifidians, yet seemingly profess, but have no true practice of religion: all trimmers, time servers, and holy camelions, or conformists to any prevailing parties, or fashionable principles; who are only

politically pious, for profit and preferment. It is adorned with many learned authorities, and written in a short, pithy, pressing style; full of many lively and sententious distinctions: and concludes with hearty wishes to a sincere and uniform discipline in the church.

227. Orders appointed by his majestie to be straightly observed for preventing and remedying of the dearth of graine, and other victuall. Dated the first day of June, 1608. Imprinted by Robert Barker, printer to the king, &c. 1608. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves, black letter.)

There are good orders here against the practices of those pernicious monopolists, the corn-holders; who bought up and engrossed all grain, &c. till they had made a scarcity; then sold it out, at their own unconscionable rates.

228. The terrible and deserved death of Francis Ravilliack. Shewing the manner of his strange torments at his execution, upon Fryday the 25th of May last past, for the murther of the late French king, Henry the Fourth. Together with an abstract out of divers proclamations and edicts, now concerning the state of France. As it was printed in French, in three several books, published by authority, 1610. At London, printed for W. Barley, &c. 1610. (Quarto, in twenty pages, black letter.)

This bloody parricide, sometime a Felician Friar, but lately a pettifogging lawyer, being now brought upon a scaffold, had his right hand, with his knife chained to it, burnt off, in a furnace before his face, half way up the arm. At which, he roared like a bull; but would confess no instigator, but the devil. After this, had his flesh torn from many parts of his body, with burning tongs and pincers; and scalding oil, &c. poured into the wounds. Then had he boiling lead poured into a rundel of clay, with an hole in the midst, upon his navel. And lastly, was torn in pieces by four horses; with such difficulty, that one, being wearied, was changed; nor then would his limbs divide from the trunk, till his flesh was cut. The mob picked his bones; then they were burnt, and scattered in the air. See No. 82, of this catalogue.

No. XIII.

229. A new Description of Ireland: wherein is described the disposition of the Irish, whereunto they are inclined: no less admirable to be perused, than credible to be believed: neither unprofitable nor unpleasant to be read and understood, by those worthy citizens of London that be now undertakers in Ireland. By Barnabe Rich, gent. Printed at London, for Tho. Adams. 1610. (Quarto, in sixty-six leaves.)

There is a dedication to Robert earl of Salisbury, and an epistle to William Cokyne, sheriff of London, prefixed. The author was a captain in the Irish service; and in the lieutenancy of sir John Perrot, had an hundred soldiers under his leading at Coleraime.

He lived no less than forty-seven years in that kingdom: therefore, from a man of his sense and experience, these observations on the greater part of the Irish, who were uncultivated in their manners, and unreformed in their religion, will be of weight and authority with unbiased readers; notwithstanding he had gained the name of an enemy to that country, by a book he had before published, intitled, 'The Survey of Ireland;' for he appears therein only an enemy to popery; and is the same in this work; lamenting the unhappiness of Ireland, that not only the customs and dispositions of the people should be corrupted therewith, but even that the history of the country should be so obscured and disguised, by the black clouds of superstition and imposture; as appears in Cambrensis, and Stanihurst; the latter of whom, he takes to task in half the chapters of his tract: and says, he knew him, many years since, at Antwerp; where he professed alchemy, and undertook the practice of the philosopher's stone; and when he had multiplied lyes so long, that every body grew weary of him, he departed from thence into Spain; and there, as it was said, he turned physician: a piece of his personal story, which has escaped Anthony Wood.

230. A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana. Describing the climat, scituation, fertilitie, provisions and commodities of that country; containing seven provinces, and other signiories within that territory: together with the manners, customs, behaviours, and dispositions of the people. Performed by Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, esq. The patent for the plantation of which country, his majestie hath granted to the said Robert Harcourt, under the Great Seal. Printed by John Beale. 1613. (Quarto, in forty-four leaves.)

This patent was obtained through the interest of the late worthy prince Henry, in order to compleat sir Walter Raleigh's discovery and conquest of that rich country, by planting and settling a colony there. The said captain Harcourt, (who was great grandfather of lord chancellor Harcourt,) after he had, with much labour and expence, enlarged the discovery both of the place and its productions, by three years voyage and observation, has here published an intelligent and faithful relation thereof; addressed to prince Charles. And our settlement there, on all the continent of America, between the river of Amazons and the Dessequebe, was in a hopeful way; very liberal proposals being annexed, to invite adventurers; the meanest, who went in person, being to have, as a single share, 500 acres; as sir Walter Raleigh had before granted at Virginia; whose enterprise at Guiana, and his report also published thereof are here honourably mentioned, in more places than one. The death of captain Harcourt, (which seems to have happened not long after the publication of this pamphlet,) very probably put a stop to our possession, and plantation, of that part of America. It was reprinted by Samuel Purchas, in the fourth volume of his Pilgrims; but not completely, with the preface, &c. See another attempt at the possessing of Guinana, in article 192 of this catalogue. (Printed in vol. vi. p. 487.)

231. Sir Thomas Overburie's Vision: with the

ghoasts of Weston, Mrs. Turner, the late lieutenant of the Tower, and Franklin. By R. N. Oxon. 1616. (Quarto, in twenty-nine leaves.)

This is a poem, composed in our epic verse; and, as may be gather'd from the 17th page, by the author of the additional legends in that edition of 'The Myrror for Magistrates,' which was printed in quarto, 1610; whose name was Richard Niccols. It is, (perhaps, with some impropriety) entitled, 'Sir T. Overburie's vision:' for it is, indeed, the vision or dream of the author; upon whose imagination, the trial of sir Thomas's murderers, in Guild-hall, where he had heard it, made such impression, that sir Thomas appeared to him at night in his sleep, and led him to the Tower; and there relates how barbarously he was treated for his faithful services to his master, Robert Carr, earl of Somerset. There is a wooden print of sir Thomas his ghost; and he concludes his tale with a request, that our author would transmit to posterity his true tragedy. Then, as they are looking towards Traytor's Bridge, they see under the arch, the ghost of Weston arise out of the Thames; and he tells the story of his guilt in a penitential manner: and here we have his picture, with a halter about his neck. After whom appears, in the same place, Mrs. Turner; whose figure, in like manner also, is attended with her confession. To her succeeds sir Garvis Ellwis, lieutenant of the Tower; and after him, Franklin; each in a print, attended with their speech. When the last sinks down, sir Thomas winds up the whole, with a panegyrick upon the king's justice, in bringing his said murderers (except the two noble chiefs) to execution; and with prayers, that heaven would confound all treasonable attempts against him, and the state: here the author wakes; and so ends his vision. Anthony Wood says of this R. Niccols, that 'he was numbered among the ingenious persons of the university;' and that, 'he was esteemed eminent for his poetry, in his time.' But he mentions not this pamphlet, because he never saw it. Though it is chiefly narrative, some pretty reflections are dispersed in it: of which, we shall here give you but one short taste, to shew how cruelly they endeavoured another murder upon sir Thomas's fame, in order to palliate that they had committed on his person; in reporting these discolorations wherewith their poisons had so marbled over his body, to proceed from the foul distempers he had contracted of lewd women:

'O why should fiercest beast of all the wood,
'When he has slain his foe, and lick'd his blood;
'End hate in death; and man with man in strife;
'Not end his malice, with the end of life!

(Printed in vol. vii. p. 178.)

See other pamphlets relating to this black affair, in the 21st and 118th articles of this catalogue.

232. The true and wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck, proclaiming himself Richard the Fourth. Printed by E. G. for Nat. Butler, &c. 1618. (Quarto, in 112 pages, besides preface, and dedication to Thomas, Earl of Arundel.)

This work is copiously stretched out, with parade of style, circumstances and surmises, and decked with allusions and applications, out of the ancient heathen.

poets; even so closely, and poetically, as to the bringing them out of some of his person's mouths. Yet it is very deficient in some particulars, which are ever required to satisfy a curious reader. Those are, chronology and authority; by the omission whereof, he has deprived his work of one of the eyes, and one of the legs of history. He quotes but one historian, and that but in one place, throughout his narrative. He has but two dates of the year of our lord; neither of those relating to Perkin Warbeck, and one of them erroneous, no less than seventy years. George Buck, who pretends, in his 'History of King Richard III.' that this Perkin Warbeck was no pretender, is out of humour with our author Gainsford, for representing him one, and not allowing him to be the true Duke of York. He says, 'His learning may be as much mistaken in this, as other things; though he laid a great pretence to knowledge, especially in the History of England and other countries: that, his judgment and reading are much expressed alike in this pamphlet, wherein he forfeits all his skill to make him a parallel in adverse fortune, and supposed base quality, to the unhappy Don Sebastian, late King of Portugal, who he also protests an impostor, &c.' So the said Geo. Buck goes on to relate a deal of the adventures of that Don Sebastian, after the supposed slaughter of him in Barbary by the Moors, in 1578, not 1584, much after the manner as they are more at large recounted in the two pamphlets before mentioned in the 79th and 80th articles of this catalogue. Lord Bacon, who in his History of Henry VII. has extended his narrative of Perkin Warbeck to almost as great a length as Gainsford, makes no mention of him; nor do we know how useful he has been to others, who have had occasion to revive the story of this impostor; but he was brought upon the theatre, in a dramatick performance, composed by Tho. Forde, and printed in quarto, 1634. And the same was occasionally reprinted in octavo, in the beginning of the reign of the late King George; with a copper print before it, feigned to resemble Perkin; and a short account in his life of prose. (Printed in vol. vi. p. 534.)

233. St. Paule's Church, her Bill for the Parliament; as it was presented to the king's majesty, on Midlent Sunday last, and intended for the view of that most high and honourable court; and generally, for all such as bear good will to the flourishing estate of the said church. Partly in verse, partly in prose. Penned and published for her good, by Henry Farley, author of her complaint. 1621. (Quarto, in twenty-one leaves.)

There is a wooden print in the title-page, both of St. Paul's Cathedral, and St. Paul's Cross, with a preacher in the pulpit thereof, and his auditory about him, in the open air. That author, Henry Farley, laboured for the good of this cathedral both late and early; as it is here expressed, in the epitaph designed for him. He dedicates his pamphlet to the high court of parliament; and it is a strange collection in prose and poetry of flowers from scripture, concerning the building of the Lord's house; prayers, petitions, dialogues with, and dreams and visions about that cathedral; which, it seems, was then kept in a sad dirty condition; insomuch that, upon the king's being to visit it, on the Sunday aforesaid, there was more sweep-

ing, brushing, and cleansing bestowed upon it, than had been in forty years before; and the workmen looked like him they called Mul'd-Sack, after sweeping a chimney. The author often made his way to the king, with his petitions and his carrols, before, and upon his going to Scotland, and after his return; always praying him to 'remember St. Paul's.' In the year 1615, he presented St. Paul's complaint to the lord mayor, Sir John Jolles, with a petition to him, for his favour; and a letter to the preachers, to promote such repair as was necessary; and he was the means, through that complaint, &c. of gaining benefactions to the said cathedral, by the time the king came to visit it, which was the twenty-sixth of March, 1619, amounting to five, and as he adds, almost eight hundred pounds. And yet, how the court thought of him, he betrays; where he says, that when he presented one of his petitions aforesaid to the king, 'The Master of the Rolls took it away from his highness, before he could read it; as many things had been so taken before; to the great hinderance and grief of the poor author.' In short, after having been a solicitor for this church, eight years; his own charges towards it, and his credulity in the honour of his patrons, brought him, through suretiship, into Ludgate; where, still, he had his dreams and visions of the church; but he grew cooler towards the church, when he got out of the prison, and would have gone to Virginia; had he not been retained, by the joyful tidings of the king's visitation aforesaid; so he attended, with hopes of success in the said reparations, &c. which did fall out to the full of his expectations for that time. There was another dreamer and visionary of this name, in Oliver Cromwell's time; whose bloody visions may be taken some notice of, when they shall turn up to hand.

234. Leather; a discourse tendered to the high court of parliament: of the general use of leather; the general abuse thereof; the good which may arise to Great Britain, from the reformation; the several statutes made in that behalf by our ancient kings: and lastly, a petition to the high court of parliament, that, out of their pious care to their country, they would be pleased to take into their consideration, the redress of all old abuses, and by adding some remedies of their own, to cut off the new. 1629. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This pamphlet does well set forth, in many points, the merits of this common, but useful commodity. To say, to a friend, 'You would lay your hands under his feet to serve him:' is it not a profession of profound humility? A most zealous and liberal declaration of love and affection? If leather was to do no more than this, and suffered itself only to be cut into boots and shoes for our use, were this not sufficient? An universal benefit to one and all; down from the king to the peasant, and up from the common subject to the greatest prince? But leather serves us in many other respects; and supports many other handicrafts besides the shoemaker. Here are twenty trades, mentioned in the first article of this discourse, above-mentioned, which are wholly maintained by leather, or would want work without it. And yet they had their abuses of it; among which are reckoned impolitick transportation, even to the making it dear among ourselves; also the

profuse consumption of it by ourselves; especially, now it was grown such a fashion for every private gentleman to turn Phæton, and hurry in his rumbling vehicle about the streets, as that ambitious boy did in the air; that it was thought, at least, five thousand coaches and caroches were, then, maintained in and about London. And, as so much spoil was made in that compass, it is not attempted to make a computation of what was consumed through the whole kingdom; since pride also wheeled about in these her leather thrones, through every shire, city, town, and village thereof. (And to this increase they grew, as we learn elsewhere, in the space of twenty-four years; before which time, they were very scarce.) But a more wanton wastefulness of leather than this, at that time, also prevailed, and is here mentioned as another abuse of it; in that slovenly fashion every body, from the courtier to the clown, affected, of covering their legs with it, and stalking about in houses or streets, with boots on, which had huge, ungainly, and immoderate tops to them. These excesses, together with the French superfluities of galloshes, occasion such a consumption of leather, as raised it to an excessive price, to the great detriment of the poor. Here are also laid forth the abuses which were practised in the leather markets; with the benefits which would arise from the correction of them: the whole ending with a summary of the statutes that have been made for that purpose, in order to their further improvement.

235. A Direction to the Husbandman, in a new, cheap, and easy way of fertilizing and enriching arable grounds; by a mixture of certain native materials, in certain small quantities, with the seed to sow, and strowing the same upon the ground sowed. Wherein is declared the ordering and preparation of the materials; the manner and proportion of mingling them with the seed; and strowing them upon the ground. With sundry other particulars, tending to a full and plain instruction of such as shall desire to make use thereof. Printed by Augustine Mathewes. 1634. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

This tract is dedicated by the author, to his worthy, honest friend, Mr. Benedict Webbe, that true patriot, who had taken great pains to benefit the publick, in those two important necessities of life, our raiment and food; by adding to our old draperies, the making of perpetuanas, Spanish cloths, &c. and and by bringing rape oil to the use of clothing: also, by being the first author of this new invention for fertilizing and enriching of arable grounds; from whose tried and approved experiments these directions are published. It appears further, in the entrance of the work, this invention gained such credit, that a patent was granted by King Charles, to empower Charles Mowet, Edward Keeling, and Nat. Waterhouse, gentlemen, and their agents, alone, for fourteen years, to put this mystery in practice; whereby the inventor, being excluded, seems supplanted in his invention. The particular materials to be used therein, are not named in that patent; but in this pamphlet they ingenuously are, with full instructions to use them. The materials are, a composition; consisting of rape oil, in which the grain is first steeped,

and flour of beans, with powder of rape seed cakes, and burnt lime quenched with urine, to clothe and cover the said grain. In want of those materials, or to forward the fertility, may be used, instead of the oil, strong wort; instead of the bean flour, barley malt ground; and for rape cake powder, pigeons' dung, dried; or sheeps trundles prepared; or kelp ashes; or berilla; or pot-ashes, or dried wood, or even the common greensward. The whole concludes with a detail of the several advantages of this new-invented kind of husbandry.

No. XIV.

236. The Old, Old, very Old Man: or, the age and long life of Thomas Parr, the son of John Parr, of Winnington, in the parish of Alderbury; in the county of Salop, or Shropshire; who was born in the reign of King Edward the Fourth, in the yeare 1483. He lived 152 yeares, nine monthes, and odd dayes; and departed this life, at Westminster, the 15 of November, 1635, and is now buried in the Abby at Westminster. His manner of life, and conversation, in so long a pilgrimage; his marriages, and his bringing up to London, about the end of September last, 1635. Whereunto is added a postscript, shewing the many remarkable accidents, that hapned in the life of this old man. Written by John Taylor. Printed for Henry Gosson. 1635. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

There is a wooden print of old Parr, in a black cap, and sitting in a chair facing this title-page. The life is written in verse; and it is dedicated to King Charles in verse, by the said John Taylor: who, being one of his majesty's watermen, is usually stiled 'the water poet.' He informs the king, that as he had had the greatest, the least, and the oldest of his subjects, at his court; meaning William Evans, his gigantick porter; little Jeffrey, the queen's dwarf; and this Thomas Parr; he chose the latter, for the subject of his muse; and begs his majesty's acceptance of this description of his life, as he had received and read others of his poems. If we were to draw the chief circumstances expressed in the said poem, and the preliminary discourse in prose, into a regular order, and join the chronology, it might render the story more compleat: and so it would appear, that living with his father John Parr, a husbandman, at Winnington aforesaid, till he was seventeen years old, he was in 1500, sent to service, under a master of the same calling, with whom he dwelt, till the death of his father, about 1518; then, returning home, resided upon the farm, or lands, he left him in possession of, till the lease expired in 1522. He then renewed the lease for twenty-one years, of Mr. Lewis Porter; and when this ended, in 1543, he renewed it, a second time, for the same term, of Mr. John Porter. In 1563, old Parr, being then fourscore years of age, married Jane, daughter of John Taylor, a maid; by whom he had a son, and a daughter, named John and Joan, who both died very young. The next year, 1564, his second lease ending, he renewed, for the like term, of Mr. Hugh Porter. In 1585, ended his third lease; and he took a lease, for life, of John, the son of Hugh Porter. In 1588, being then aged one hundred and

five years, and having a colt's tooth in his head, he did penance in a white sheet, in Alberbury church, for lying with a handsome woman, named Katherine Milton, and, as it is here suggested, getting her with child. Upon which penance, says our poets,

'Should all, that so offend, such penance do,
'O! what a price would linnen rise unto!'

In 1595, he buried his wife Jane; after they had lived together thirty-two years. Having continued a widower ten years, and, being now one hundred and twenty-two years of age, he married, in the year 1605, Jane, the widow of Anthony Adda, daughter of John Loyde, of the parish of Gillsels, in Montgomeryshire, in Wales; and they lived thirty years together. But now, thinking that time might diminish the strength of his tenement, as it had increased the value of his tenure, he was, for his wife's sake, desirous to renew his lease for years, which was not complied with; though he politickly counterfeited the renewal of his age, by pretending to see, who had been long blind, a pin on the floor, which having directed his wife to lay there, he bid her take up, in presence of his landlord's son, Mr. Edward Porter, with whom it passed as a pleasant conceit, but it had no effect. Soon after, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, a great lover of antiquities, visiting an estate of his, in those parts, was led by the fame of this great curiosity, this Thomas *de Temporibus*, to visit him. He took him into his protection, and having prevailed on him to see London, ordered a litter with two horses for his carriage; and being attended by his daughter-in-law, named Lucy, John the fool, and a servant of his lordship's, named Brian Kelly, who defrayed their expences on the road, they set out from Winnington. But, when they arrived at Coventry, the multitude of people grew so great and pressing, to behold this breathing monument, that Kelley was afraid he should be able to carry his charge no further. At last, with slow marches, they arrived safe at London, about the end of September, 1635. King Charles having had certificates from the gentry of Shropshire, of the leases aforesaid, and other particulars, proving Thomas Parr, to be the eldest son of time, alive; he was admitted to court, admired with great veneration, and had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand. Care was taken to accommodate him with all conveniences, in a lodging provided for him at Westminster. But the change agreed not; he had breathed in a freer air, fed on simpler diet, nor had been used to such throngs of visitors. All which, though now grown very decrepid, so as not to walk, without two persons to support him, and having only one tooth left in his head, not his colt's tooth before mentioned, might hasten his natural decay; and he at last paid the debt of nature like other men, though it was longer delayed, in the middle of November following; after he had been little more than six weeks removed to the city aforesaid, as appears in the title-page above; and he was decently buried in the Abbey. But that postscript is not sufficiently explained in the said title; for it contains only such remarkable accidents as happened not in, or concerning his own life, but only in the times, when he lived. (Printed in vol. vii. p. 69.)

237. A short and true relation, concerning the

soape business; containing the several patents, proclamations, orders, whereby the soape-makers of London, and other his majesty's subjects, were damnified, by the gentlemen, that were the patentees for soape at Westminster; with the particular proceedings concerning the same. Printed for Nicholas Bourne, &c. 1641. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

These soap-boilers appear to have undergone a tedious, expensive, and cruel persecution, by those courtiers, who had procured a patent to supplant them, and engross their business. After twenty or thirty freemen of the trade had, for many years, carried it on quietly, two patents were granted to And. Palmer, and Rog. Jones, for twenty-one years, 'to make hard soap with berilla, and soft soap, without fire, by sun-dry motions, and not boiling it; and to make pot-ashes of English materials;' but they, not able to do much damage, imparted their invention to Sir W. Russel, Sir Basil Brook, Sir Rich. Weston, Sir Edw. Stradling, and others; who, in December, 1631, procured a grant to make hard and soft soap, for fourteen years. Soon after, Sir H. Compton, Sir H. Guilford, Sir N. Fortescue, Sir Bas. Brook, Sir Rich. Weston, Geo. Gage, esq. and others, mostly popish recusants, under pretence of a new invention of making white soap, better, and cheaper, than what the soap-makers of London could produce; for which they would pay his majesty four pounds per ton, procured to be incorporated as 'a society of soap-makers, of Westminster, with power to make all manner of soap; to search all soap made by others; and mark it before they sold it, or else destroy it: also to use the trade, take apprentices,' &c. In April, 1632, Sir William Russel, and his partners, assigned over their privilege of making soft soap, &c. to this Westminster corporation, who indentured with the king, 'to make five thousand tuns of white soap yearly, or more, if required: and, after the first year, to pay him four pounds the tun; and not to sell it for above three-pence the pound.' From these specious overtures of those monopolists, through that grant, arose much loss to the crown, and great grievance to the regular tradesmen aforesaid. For first, the king allowed five thousand pounds to Sir John Bouchier and Jones, for their expences in the project; and the corporation, finding the new white soap, after all their artifices, would not vend, to disable the London soap-makers, from affording to sell theirs at the price by these proposed, procured a proclamation that no soap should be sold, made with fish oil, but only that of olives or rape; so that all the old soap-makers stock lay upon their hands. Then came, in November following, informations in the star chamber against sixteen of the London soap-makers, for proceeding in their established way. To this the defendants pleaded and demurred. But it were a penance, to mention the proclamations, decrees and attachments made in this business; or to recite, how they were harrassed, delayed, over-ruled; in short, pillaged, and every other way distressed by that court, under the notion of law. In the end, they were all fined, from five hundred to fifteen hundred pounds a man, and imprisoned; most, for ten; one, for near twelve months; that is, from the 10th of May, 1633, to the 6th of April, 1634, and two of them died in that restraint. Then came orders to estreat the fines; and extents were issued upon

their goods; they were disabled to use their trade, and others made soap with their materials. The Westminster soapers had licence, upon the badness of their white soap, to make old soap, with fish oil, for which those of London had been sentenced; and, against their own decree, to sell it at a penny in the pound dearer, than soap of the like goodness was usually sold for before, by the London soap-makers; and warranted one of the sixteen aforesaid, to make that soap for them, against his own covenant to the contrary; and ordered that none should buy any, but of this corporation. Officers were empowered to enter all houses, and carry off all soap unmarked; break down pans, vatts, cisterns, &c. drove many to flight in the country, beyond sea, &c. At length, after this corporation had spent one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds in soap-making, salaries, law, &c. and vexed the whole kingdom, for three years, and usurped the soap-makers trade, one year and a quarter; they obtained a grant from the king, of forty thousand pounds, for surrendering their patent, and three thousand pounds for charges of their houses, paid them by the London soap-makers; who were also obliged to take off their materials, at their own rates, amounting to above twenty thousand pounds more; besides five hundred pounds, for not meddling with the soap-makers houses: and all this, only to have the use of their trade again. Then the king incorporated the London soap makers; and though those of Westminster had paid him but four pounds per tun, and, for a short time, six pounds; these of London, without any liberty of raising the price, were obliged to pay eight pounds the tun; which, in about three years, amounted to above ninety thousand pounds. Thus suffered they, by fines, imprisonments, ejectments, spoil and plunder, from June 1632, to May, 1637, near five years, to the ruin of many, for their incomppliance with the intolerable usurpations of those knights, esquires, and gentlemen. Wherefore, it is here, as reasonably, as it is humbly desired, 'That the said patentees may be punished, and make the sufferers full recompence: that the commodity may be reduced to its accustomed price; and none suffered to use the trade, but such as have been brought up, and are skilled in it.'

238. A Discourse, concerning the Successe of former Parliaments. 1642. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

This pamphlet was written with a very good design; to shew the esteem that English parliaments were anciently held in, without (as the author professes) any reflection upon the proceedings of the present parliament: and yet, thereby to induce his majesty to pay such regard thereto, as might still keep this grand convention in its due esteem and efficacy: alledging, 'They have been as much loved by sound and healthy princes, as loathed by them who were out of temper; the latter having thought them a depression of their dignity, as the former have esteemed them an advantage to their strength.' Concluding that, 'Their greatest excellency is seen, when they have been used as a diet by honourable and just princes; such as this nation hath often been blessed with; and such, who have thought it no more disparagement, or depression of their dignity, to be ruled by the sway of that great

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'council, than a wise guider of a ship would think it, to follow his compass; or any mathematician to be directed by his necessary rules and instruments.' This copy had heretofore been in the collections of Sir Symonds D'ewes; and he has written upon the title-page of it, that it is 'a notable piece.'

239. Seasonable Advice, for preventing the mischief of fire, that may come by negligence, treason, or otherwise. Ordered to be printed by the lord mayor of London: and is thought very necessary to hang up in every man's house. Invented by William Gosling, engineer. 1643. (Broadside, printed in one sheet.)

This discourse is divided into three parts: the first shews, 'how many several ways, houses, towns, and cities have been set on fire. As, by what means, the fires happened in Shoreditch, and in Southwark; how Wimbledon was burnt, St. Edmondsbury, and London Bridge.' The second part consists of 'orders to be observed, that fires may not happen.' And the third part, of 'orders, if a fire should happen, to prevent the miseries of it.' Here, by recommending the having, in every parish, a great squirt on wheels, which may do very good service, he seems to have given the first hint to the use of those fire-engines, which were, about ten years after, invented, and offered to the publick. (Printed in vol. vi. p. 399.)

240. The Pope's Nuncios: or, the negotiation of Seignior Panzani, Seignior Con, &c. resident here in England with the queen; and treating about the alteration of religion, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and his adherents; in the years of our Lord, 1634, 1635, 1636, &c. Together with a letter to a nobleman of this kingdom, concerning the same. 1643. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

The author of this letter, which is prefixed, signs himself T. D. and says therein, 'That those curtains of peace and charity, which did so speciously cover this work of darkness, are drawn from off it. He that will not now understand that Tibur and Thames were almost in one channel, shall have my vote to graze upon the mountains, and forfeit his reasonable soul, which, in so clear a day, will not discern the waters running. I believe your lordship, with more boldness, will concur in this sentence; when you shall hear, that the Venetian ambassador was the author of this little story; a man whose religion would not permit him to favour the reformed churches, or to blast his own with any falsehood; especially in an account to a wise state, which had employed him; a man of dear acquaintance with Panzani; and although no master builder, yet a pious servant and spectator of the work: when you also shall hear that the Italian copy was first translated into French, for the great cardinal's satisfaction; and I do not doubt, it hath good acquaintance in the Spanish court, and could speak that language long ago, &c.' That this negotiation of those nuncios was written by the Venetian ambassador, may be read also in Dr. Heylyn's Life of Archbishop Laud, page 388. That Dr. Gregorio Panzaui, a Romish priest, arrived in London, the twenty-fifth of Decem-

3 G

ber, 1634, to move that a catholick bishop might reside in England, under certain limitations, to moderate the differences between the secular and regular clergy and the jesuits. But hearing what disturbance Dr. Smith, bishop of Chalcedon, had made among them, by contesting for the power of ordinary over all England, to the driving him into France; and as the oath of allegiance could not be allowed of by the Pope, Seignior Panzani was advised to drop that scheme, and procure the allowance of a nuncio to come to the queen, by whom the courts (that is, the religions) might be reconciled. According, here arrived, in July 1636, as the Pope's resident, Seignior George Con, a Scotchman, secretary for the Latin tongue to Cardinal Barbarini, who was splendidly received; but it was believed by our author, he would not effectually succeed, because he ingratiated too much with the jesuits; 'which if the court perceive, says he, may diminish the good opinion which is now conceived of him. For both the archbishop, and bishop of Chichester, have said often, that there are but two sorts of persons likely to impeach and hinder reconciliation: to wit, puritans amongst the protestants, and jesuits among the catholics.'

241. King James his Apothegmes; or Table Talk: as they were by him delivered occasionally; and by the publisher, his quondam servant, carefully received; and now humbly offered to publique view; as not impertinent to the present times. By B. A. gent. London, printed by B. W. 1643. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

This collection is dated as spoken at several places, from the year 1617 to 1624. Concluding with these words, '*Apothegmata fideliter collecta ex ore Regis Jacobo, per me Ben. Agar, Servatorem ejus in Juventute sua, jam Aetatis suae 52.*'

No. XV.

242. Areopagitica: a speech of Mr. John Milton, for the liberty of unlicensed printing; to the parliament of England. 1644. (Quarto, in forty pages.)

This celebrated speech has many curious reflections in it, upon the advantages of writing, reading, and publishing of books, without any slavish submission to the peremptory or corrupted judgments of ignorant, mercenary, or time-serving licensers: shewing it is a disparagement to the justice, understanding, and freedom of mankind: that those, who have never offended, should be obliged to undergo the suspicion and examination of the greatest criminals; and then be stigmatised, or bear an indelible brand as it were, upon their very cheeks, after they have been fully acquitted, and found clear of all guilt. Further shewing, their treatment is more severe than is used to debtors and delinquents; who often walk abroad without a keeper: but inoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. 'In short, such was the effect of this treatise,' as we are informed by Mr. Toland, in his Life of the Author, 'that, the following year, one Mabot, a licenser, offered also reasons against licensing; and, at his own request, was discharged that office.' However, it comes to pass, that G. Mabbot's

imprimatur is to be found before some pamphlets which were printed five years afterwards. It was reprinted in octavo, about six years since; as it should be, upon all proper occasions.

243. Articles of Peace, made, concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by, and between his excellencie James, Lord Marques of Ormond, lord lieutenant-generall, and generall governour of his majesties kingdom of Ireland: his majesties commissioner to treat and conclude a peace with his majesties Roman Catholic subjects of the said kingdome, by virtue of his majesties commission under the great seale of England, bearing date at Buckingham, on the twenty-fourth day of June, in the twentieth yeare of his reigne: for, and on the behalf of, his majesty of the one part; and Donogh, lord viscount Muskery, and others, appointed and authorised by his majesties said Roman Catholick subjects, by virtue of an authoritie of the said Roman Catholick subjects, bearing date the sixth day of March, 1645; and in the one and twentieth year of his majesties reigne, of the other part. Published by authoritie and command of the lord-lieutenant and counsell. Imprinted at Dublin by William Bladen, printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1646. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

244. The Freeholders grand Inquest, touching our sovereign lord the king and his parliament. Printed in the three and twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Charles. (Quarto, in forty leaves.)

This learned and loyal discourse, to assert the king's supreme power in parliament, was published An. 1647; in the latter end of which year, the author died. And, though it has not its author's name printed before it, is well known among the curious, to have been written by Sir Robert Holburne, who was a counsellor of Lincoln's-inn, and doctor of the civil law; the prince's attorney; one of his majesty's privy council, member of parliament for St. Michael in Cornwall; and author of some other pieces in the law. This contains an abstract of divers statutes, records, and other precedents, explaining the writs of summons to parliament: shewing, 1. 'That the Commons, by their writ, are only to perform and consent to the ordinances of parliament. 2. That the Lords, or Common Council, by their writ, are only to treat, and give counsel in parliament. 3. That the king himself only ordains and makes laws, and is supreme judge in parliament.' And these arguments are corroborated by the suffrages of Henry de Bracton, John Britton, Sir Thomas Egerton, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir John Glanvil, William Lambert, Richard Crompton, William Cambden, and Jo. Selden.

245. The Marquesse of Ormond's Declaration, proclaiming Charles the Second, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. with his summons to colonel Jones, for the surrender of

Dublin: and the answer of colonel Jones thereunto. Also a perfect relation of their forces; and the present affairs of that kingdom. Together with a true copie of the articles of agreement, between the said marquesse and the Irish. Also, a representation of the province of Ulster, concerning the evils and dangers to religion, laws, and liberties, arising from the present practices of the sectarian army in England. 1649. (Quarto, in 13 leaves.)

These articles of peace, between the marquess and the Irish papists, are more contracted, and more in number, than those mentioned in the foregoing article but one, of this catalogue: these latter being signed 17 January, 1648. Colonel Michael Jones, in his answer, instead of surrendering Dublin, protests against the marquis's pardon of, and peace with, those bloody popish rebels: and as the marquis had resembled, in his letter, Oliver Cromwell to John of Leyden. These particulars, together with the representation of the presbytery at Belfast, of the evils arising from the sectarian party in England, &c. provoked Milton, or those who could influence his pen, so far, as to make him answer this pamphlet; which he did, under the title of 'Observations upon the articles of peace,' &c. which were soon after published.

246. A Diamond, or Rich Jewel, presented to the commonwealth of England, for enriching of the nation; being necessary for the use of all merchants and tradesmen, and advantageous to the poor. Wherein is declared a way, 1. How all forraign moneys may pass in England, and gain the merchant ten *per cent.* and to put off our manufacture, without passing our English coyn into other countries. 2. To settle a bank in London, for furnishing all trades with money; and to quit the nation of beggars. 3. To supply the nation with salt, at three half-pence the gallon. 4. To increase the trade of fishing, without being beholding to others. 5. To make England the richest nation in Europe, both for gold and silver. 6. To save half the charges of the officers of the excise and custom; for the ease of the freeborn people of the nation. 7. To free all necessary commodities from taxes. 8. To settle an insurance office cheap; and not to pay above five in the hundred for insurance from pirates, in all parts of Europe and America. By Captain Samuel Chappel. Licensed and entered according to order. Printed for John Clowes, &c. 1650. (Quarto, in 16 leaves.)

These projects, or proposals are presented, as a petition, in several parts, to the council for regulating of trade; and dedicated to the Lord Whitlock, and the keepers of the great seal, and the lord chief justice Role; and the rest of the justices of the common law, by the said captain Chappel, of Fremington, in the county of Devon, merchant; who had served the parliament, from the year 1641, by land and sea, and now lay in prison, for want of the arrears due to him in their service. There are several other hints of na-

tional improvements, offered to be further disclosed, when the author shall be paid and set at liberty.

247. Certain Proposals, in order to the People's Freedome and Accommodation in some Particulars. With the advancement of trade and navigation of this commonwealth, in general. Humbly tendered to the view of this prosperous parliament, in this juncture of time; wherein they may, both with more safety, and far better deliberation, judge thereof; and, if they see requisite, put them in a way of speedy execution; to the great enriching, securing, cementing, and contenting the universality of this nation; which hath been much desired, and shall be still endeavoured, by Henry Robinson. Printed by M. Simmons. 1652. (Quarto, in 15 leaves.)

There are many important topics touched upon in this tract, with proposal of reformation for the benefit of the commonwealth; as advice to the union of law and equity; remarks on the revenue, and administration of government; exhortation for full freedom of petitioning to parliament; for liberty of speaking, printing, and conscience; for allowing a competency to the ministry in lieu of tythes: for exempting us from all oaths of covenanting engagements, for recovery and advancement of trade, by imitating the Hollanders; in making rivers navigable, having towns at proper distances, nourishing timber for shipping, having store of money, at a reduced interest, and a more diligent exercise of the fishing trade; which, as they have engrossed it, is become a far greater concernment to them, than is all the trade of these three nations, to us. Also to increase our foreign plantations; to recover our woollen manufactures; to allow a certain number of free ports; grant freedom to foreigners; make all harbours, ports, and docks, secure and convenient; strengthen the castles and forts; furnish the storehouses, and induce the mariners to abide near where the ships usually winter, with provision offered to prevent pressing of them. Also to prevent the overbalancing of trade; to encourage the importation of bullion and foreign specie, and to regulate the merchandizing exchange: to prohibit the exportation of our own coin, and the transmutation of it, into plate, lace, &c. To constitute a court of merchants, for deciding controversies in trade; make bonds and bills assignable; with the great benefits of a bank, and request, that the bill for a country register may pass. Recommends the draining of fens, and enclosing of commons; to the greater gain of the poor, who receive some benefit on them, as well as the publick in general. To confirm the laws for encouraging all new inventions and improvements: reform the laws, concerning the punishment of creditors children, or heirs of malefactors, being punished for the sins of their parents, predecessors, or debtors; and the unconscionable course, as it is managed between law and chancery of penary bonds and mortgages; and to enact the registering of wills and testaments in the country register, to enforce the validity of single bills, and shop books of accounts, for liquidating or clearing debts. That none be arrested till after judgment, unless removal or

concealment of goods or person be proved. That all frauds in commodities be enquired into, and prevented; that the erection of lombards, or banks of loan, be encouraged on reasonable rates. That certain work-houses be erected in all great towns, to provide for the poor, beggars, and foundlings: that trustees be appointed for orphans and their estates: that publick schools be erected in all parts of the nation where wanted, and where boys should be taught to read, write, and swim; which last qualification is particularly insisted on, with an eye to making these schools so many nurseries for navigation; by observing how often ships and all their crew have been deserted and lost, for want of this quality. Lastly, it is requested, that physicians and chirurgions be appointed throughout the nation, and hospitals erected at the publick charge. And all these accommodations, the author engages upon his life, might be put in execution, in a very very few years; without greater, and perhaps with less charge to the commonwealth, than they are, at present, at.

248. Sedition scourg'd: or, a view of the rascally and venomous paper, entitled, 'a Charge of High Treason exhibited against Oliver Cromwel, Esq. for several Treasons by him committed.' Printed by H. Hill, for Ric. Baddeley. 1653. (Quarto, in 8 leaves.)

249. The Lord Craven's Case, briefly stated. Printed by T. Newcomb. 1654. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

Herein it appears, that by the informations of Ric. Falconer, Hugh Reyley, and captain Tho. Kitchingman, read in parliament on the sixth of March, 1650, touching the said Lord Craven's attendance upon, and intimacy with King Charles at Breda, his lordship's estate of twelve thousand pounds *per annum*, was thereupon voted to be confiscated, without hearing of him; being then beyond seas, by leave of the parliament; where he had resided, attending his charge there, ever since the year 1641. In the two last informations, there appears nothing against his lordship, more than his said waiting on the king; except the charge his lordship had from the king to look to one Mrs. Barlow, who had a child, by his majesty, born at Rotterdam; which, after the king was gone to Scotland, his lordship took from her, for which, she went to law with him, and recovered the child back again; and in the first information, &c. Falconer, who was a fellow notoriously infamous, was, upon trial, proved guilty of perjury: and his lordship, setting forth, and explaining those declarations of the commons, in which he was construed to be comprehended as an offender; and having clearly proved, that he could not be involved as such; therein concludes, with petition for relief.

249. Observations upon some particular Persons and Passages in a Book lately made publick, intituled, "A compleat History of the Lives and Reignes of Mary Queen of Scotland, and her Son James the Sixth of Scotland, and the First of England, France, and Ireland." Writ-

ten by a Lover of the Truth. Printed for Ga. Bedel, and Tho. Collins. 1656. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

That History of Q. Mary, and her son, King James, which this pamphlet has here, in many particulars, notably corrected, was written by William Sanderson; but it would require a volume to correct all the mistakes and misrepresentations, which that incompetent and prejudiced historian has made therein. The character here given of that history, has been intirely concurred in, by many able writers, who have had occasion to trace it. The ingenious author says, 'That Sanderson has therein compiled, not an history, but a libel, against all the good men and good actions of those times; and, with most servile flattery, praised and exalted the bad, both men and matters. His whole book is a rhapsody of notes, and scattered papers, from other men, collected without either order or method; being exceedingly defective, both in time, place, and nomination; and written in so unseemly and disjointed a stile, that you may easily perceive he hath taken up other men's words, without understanding their matter; and, unless it be where he rails on persons of honour, which he doth plainly, and often, though sometimes very falsely, his language is dark, harsh, and unintelligible.' Further, this intelligent author, being acquainted with most of the eminent personages which are by Sanderson so much disfigured and traduced, had great advantages as well as inclination to rectify their stories and do justice to truth. In doing which, he has acquainted us with some curious pieces of secret history, whereof all other writers have been silent. Particularly, it was here first made known, why Sir Walter Raleigh is so partially treated by Sanderson, because his father pretending Raleigh owed him much money, and it being brought to trial, he was found Raleigh's debtor in very great sums, for which he died in prison. Here are also some aspersions wiped off from the memory of Queen Elizabeth; others cast on the noble house of Pembroke; upon Sir T. Overbury; Hen. Rich, Earl of Holland, &c. &c. The author's name is not printed before this pamphlet, but we learn elsewhere that it was written by Carew Raleigh, Esq. the son of Sir Walter aforesaid; who was sometime gentleman of the privy chamber to King Charles the First, a colonel in the army, member in the House of Commons, and governor of the isle of Jersey.

250. Nuntius a Mortuis: or a Messenger from the Dead: that is, a stupendious and dreadful colloquie distinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the ghosts of Henry the Eighth, and Charles the First, both kings of England, who lie entombed in the church of Windsor. Wherein, as with a pencil from Heaven, is liquidly, from head to foot, set forth, The whole series of the judgments of God, upon the sinnes of these unfortunate islands. Translated out of the Latine copie, by G. T. and printed at Paris. 1657. (Quarto, in thirteen leaves.)

(Printed in vol. vi. p. 474)

251. A true Relation of the Proceedings,

Examinations, Tryal, and horrid Murder of Col. Eusebius Andrewe. By John Bradshaw, President of the pretended High Court of Justice, and others of the same Court. Published by Francis Buckley, Gent. who was assistant to Mr. Andrewe in the time of his imprisonment, and an eye-witness of all the said most bloody and execrable proceedings. Printed for Daniel Packman. 1660. (Quarto, in forty leaves.)

This Colonel Andrewe had been a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn, Secretary to the Lord Capel, &c. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, the twenty-second of August, 1650, aged forty-two years. The speech he made upon the scaffold, was that year printed by John Clowes, in one sheet, Quarto; but is reprinted in this relation above; which is the most copious and compleat account of the treason he was charged with by Bradshaw, in attempting an alteration of the government, that is to be met with. An epitome of his case and sufferings, may be read in some of the General Histories of those times.

No. XVI.

252. **A short View of the Life and Actions of the most illustrious James, Duke of York:** together with his character. Printed for Henry Marsh. 1660. (Quarto, in twenty-six pages.)

253. **A Speech visibly spoken, in the presence of the right honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, by a Ghost, in a white sheet of paper; humbly desiring privilege, as a member of both houses: being a representative of many thousand souls relating to both.** London, printed for the author. (Quarto, in twenty-eight pages.)

This Speech, at the end, appears to have been published by Dr. Peter Chamberlen, and is dated from Coleman Street, the 6th of February, 1662. There are many wholesome admonitions in it, against blind zeal, and godly ignorance, and the distempers, through them, which the clergy had brought upon this nation. With illustrations upon that part of his Majesty's Declaration from Breda, recommending the burial of all animosities between parties in oblivion; the forbearance of all terms of reproach; and the promoting a perfect union among themselves. He also advises to win the allegiance of all, by avoiding the persecution of any; and allowing liberty of conscience; as what will best restore the long disordered government to its former health and strength: and concludes, with relation to himself; offering his means of saving lives from the grave, no less than 3000 of them in a year: 'It being his daily practice, as it was his father's and grandfather's before him, and most of his family, to save lives, of all ages, sexes, and in all cases; which had made him as necessary in courts, and noble families, as cottages; and gave him the honour to be first physician to his Majesty in ordinary, and to the royal progeny; having now outlived all his senior doctors, in court, college, and both universities. And though he was scandalised by that parliament, which

'opposed kings, with the report of madness;' he urges, 'they were more mad, to run on, and suffer those woes in earnest, which to foretell, they judged madness. For they despised the webb of monarchy so often presented them, because they discerned not the thread it was woven with, nor how wrapped up in linsey-wolsey.'

'And if his madness were more reasonable than their wisdom that first branded him, and kept you out of the seats you are now possessed of, what may his soberness do, if you are pleased to command and own him?'

254. **A brief Treatise of the Nature, Causes, Signes, Preservation from, and Cure of the Pestilence.** Collected by W. Kemp, Master of Arts. Printed for, and sold by D. Kemp, at his shop at the Salutation, near Hatton-Garden, in Holburn. 1665. (Quarto, in fifty-one leaves.)

The author, who was a practitioner in physick, and a native of Bristol, dedicates this his ingenious treatise to King Charles. There are many entertaining remarks, many philosophical and historical illustrations, as well as good medicinal prescriptions in it, relating to the causes and cures of all destructive contagions; especially that, which then raged in this nation: and there may be also some few instances of his being led into credulity by the authorities of some writers, otherwise, or for the generality of good credit; as where he treats of amulets, and especially witches. We have surely been mischievously enough credulous, in the mischievous power of witches; but when they shall be asserted, upon the testimonies of Hercules Saxonia, and the candid Sennertus, and the ocular observation of the learned Dr. Ursinus, or any other learned doctor, to have more power in their graves than ever was allowed them above ground, even to the spreading this epidemical mischiefs of plagues among mankind: when it shall be affirmed that, in death, they forbear not the habits of life, but are discovered gnawing and devouring their very shrowds, or whatever lies next them; and that such plagues shall not cease, till their heads are divided from their carcasses; these strange reports, may raise consternation in some, but will certainly administer matter of consolation to others; in finding that, as great stupidity and absurdity of opinion, prevails in Germany and Poland, as does in England. Among his prognosticks, the remark he makes, from Simon Kelwy and others, that children, mimicking funerals, armies, and battles, predict mortalities and civil wars; will be accounted, by some, but a childish remark. But others will look upon that King's chaplain as a conjuror, who, twenty years before this plague, preaching at Bristol, against black patches or beauty-spots, said they were fore-runners of other spots, and marks of the plague; which soon after broke out there, and drove all the patched women out of the city. In his section Of Preservation, he instances how durably the infection will lurk among clothes, in that fatal furred gown, which Fracastorius affirms to have killed five and twenty men in Verona, one after another, with the plague. Lastly, in his section of the Cure of the Pestilence, he makes great use of vinegar in all his ingredients, and gives us a particular panegyrick upon its extraordinary efficacy, not only in this, but many other distempers, from page 79.

to 86; where he says, 'It is for the virtue of vinegar that I wrote this book; and, I had rather take vinegar by itself, than many other, nay, than any other single medicine without it.' He also speaks highly in praise of the oil of vitriol, and of brimstone.

255. *Clastrum Regale Reseratum: or, the King's Concealment at Trent*; published by A. W. *In umbrâ alarum tuarum sperabo, donec transeat seiniquitas.* London, printed for Will. Nott, &c. 1667. (Quarto, in forty-eight pages.)

This title-page is printed from an engraved plate, which has, at the top, a pair of wings expanded, to which that Latin motto partly alludes. On the sides, are represented Worcester-fight in one group or compartment: in another, King Charles's escape through a wood; out of which appears a hand with a shield in it, and this motto, *tu scutum*; Providence intercepting his enemies in pursuit. On the other side, is a view of Trent with the royalists making merry round a bonfire, and over the said town is written, *tu latibulum*. The tract is dedicated to King Charles's Queen, Catherine, by Anne Wyndham, one of the daughters of Thomas Gerard, Esq. late of Trent, and wife of Colonel Francis Wyndham. But the treatise itself appears (in pages 7 and 8,) to have been written by the Colonel's own hand, though he speaks of himself all the way in the second person. As the King's journey, from Worcester to Abbot's Leigh, in Somersetshire, had been published before, this discourse treats of his journey from thence, to the Colonel's house at Trent; his concealment there; endeavour, though frustrate, to get to France; his return, and final departure for embarkation; from the 17th of September, to the 6th of October, 1651.

256. *A Censure upon certaine Passages contained in the History of the Royal Society*; as being destructive to the established Religion and Church of England. Oxford, printed for Richard Davis. 1670. (Quarto, in thirty-four leaves.)

The author of this piece was Henry Stubbes, a physician of Warwick; who dedicates it to Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, Oxon. This author has also, in another work of his, intitled, '*Plus Ultra* reduced to a *Nonplus*,' against Dr. Jos. Glanvill, bespattered the said '*History of the Royal Society*;' which was published by Dr. Tho. Spratt, three years before. But this censure provoked two authors to reply upon Stubbes, and their tracts were printed in the same year.

257. *The Dutch Usurpation: or, a brief view of the behaviour of the States-General of the United Provinces towards the Kings of Great Britain*; with some of their cruelties and injustices exercised upon the subjects of the English nation: as also, a discovery of what arts they have used, to arrive at their late grandeur, &c. By William de Britaine. 1672. (Quarto, in twenty-leaves.)

This piece is founded upon history or matter of fact all the way, and is dedicated, in a copy of ingenious

verses by the author, to the Duke of York, who was then Lord High Admiral.

258. *A Seasonable argument to persuade all the Grand Juries, in England, to petition for a New Parliament: or, a list of the principal labourers in the great design of Popery and arbitrary power*; who have betrayed their country to the conspirators, and bargained with them to maintain a standing army in England, under the command of the bigotted popish D—; who, by the assistance of the L L's, Scotch army, the forces in Ireland, and those in France, hopes to bring all back to Rome. *Veritas non quærit Angulos.—Nunc omnia Romæ Venalia.* Printed at Amsterdam. 1677. (Quarto, in twenty-three pages.)

This may be esteemed as a little, clear pocket-glass; in which the nation might plainly behold and distinguish their members; the master-stroke and features of their very minds; the springs and movements by which they were actuated, and at what rates the people were sold by their representatives, in those days, and all in miniature; in the shortest touches, yet the strongest colours that could be laid on! for here we have, enrolled under the several counties, and their cities, towns, &c. which sent up such trustees of their liberties and properties, out of the country, to make the best market of them in town. A list of the names and titles of those their political factors, with a word often of their characters; the places, salaries, pensions, grants, and boons, they acquired of the court or the crown, for their services; and the interest, with the qualities, by, and for which, they obtained them. And all in the most succinct, free, and unreserved manner. Certainly other parliaments have yielded matter for other the like publications: and it seems incredible to conceive, what a help to history, what a light to posterity, an ingenious communicative author, of good intelligence, might be, in the continuation of such lists, as often as occasion should call him to the like eminent and instructive service of the publick; especially that part of it which calls itself by, and believes itself to be possessed of, that most agreeable name and title of freeholders.

259. *An Account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c.* By his Majesty's Command. Printed by B. G. for Samuel Keble, &c. 1685. (Folio, in one sheet.)

(Printed in vol. vi. p. 321.)

260. *A Treatise of Monarchy: containing two parts. I. Concerning monarchy in general. II. Concerning this particular monarchy.* Wherein all the main questions, occurrent in both, are stated, disputed, and determined. Done by an earnest desirer of his country's peace. Printed for, and sold by Richard Baldwin. 1689. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves.)

There are written, with a pen, in the title-page of this copy, and in a hand resembling that of the late Lord Somers, in whose Collections this pamphlet had

been, before it came into the Harleian library; these words—'This is a most judicious, and truly admirable piece; and to which I do intirely assent, in all the parts of it.' There are also written, by the same hand, in the margin of page 18, these words, upon occasion of what is there laid down in the text.——
'Nothing can be more judiciously determined, than this great and difficult point is here determined, by this incomparable author; and such, as is able to answer that captious question, so often asked in this intricate case, *viz.* "Who shall be judge?" &c.
'And such, as is able also to satisfy the conscience of every holy and godly subject; who is afraid, on the one side, of incurring damnation, by resisting the ordinance of God; and, on the other side, of losing the liberty of his dear country, property, privilege, and, it may be, religion, if he should not resist.' (Printed in vol. vi. p. 323.)

261. A Letter to a Friend, concerning a French Invasion, to restore the late King James to his Throne; and what may be expected from him, should he be successful in it. 1692. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

Somebody has written upon the title-page, that this pamphlet was written by Dr. Sherlock; and at the end, that there was a second letter on the same occasion, by the same author, published the same year.

262. Reasons humbly offered for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing. To which is subjoined, the just and true Character of Edmund Bohun, the Licenser of the Press. In a letter from a gentleman in the country, to a member of parliament. 1693. (Quarto, in thirty-two pages.)

The author of this letter and postscript signs himself J. M. He has several remarks and reflections upon some certain tracts and books, which were printed and licensed in those times, especially by Mr. Bohun, who is pretty freely treated throughout; as is also that prerogative (or plot, as he calls it, against truth) of licensing the press; in which the author has been indebted to some of Milton's thoughts upon the same subject.

263. The Usurpations of France upon the Trade of the Woollen Manufactures of England, briefly hinted at: being the effects of thirty years observations; by which that King hath been enabled to wage war with so great a part of Europe: or, a caution to England to improve a season now put into her hand to secure herself. By William Carter. 1695. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This author, who scrupled not to suffer both in his person and fortune, to assist the English merchants in preventing the transportation of our wool to France, had shewn the great loss and detriment to this nation thereby, in other discourses which he published twenty years before: and, in this, observes, 'that as our loss, in the trade with France, is about two millions *per annum*, by the importation of their commodities here; so it's presumed, on very good grounds, that the exportation of our wool thither, unwrought, in-

'riches France much more than all the importation of French goods into England.'

264. A true Account of the Robbery and Murder of John Stockden, a Victualler, in Grubstreet, in the parish of St Giles's Cripplegate; and of the discovery of the murderers, by the several dreams of Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Greenwood, who was near neighbour to Mr. Stockden, and intimately acquainted with him. By William Smythies, Curate of St. Giles's Cripplegate. 1698. (Broadside, in one sheet.)

This author refers us, for extraordinary discoveries by dreams, to Mr. Walton's life of Sir Henry Wotton; and to Sir Richard Baker's account of the murder committed by Anne Waters on her husband, which was discovered after the like manner, by the dream of a neighbour, in the reign of King James I. Then proceeds to inform us, that by the appearance of this Stockden, who was robbed and murdered, the 13th of December, 1695, to Mrs Greenwood, in her dreams, and his direction of her to the murderers; first one of them, named Maynard, was secured in Newgate, who discovered three others, named Marsh, Bevil the murderer, and Mercer, who had been all soldiers in Ireland. She was, in the same manner, directed to discover two of those: the last, who would not consent to the murder of Stockden, and had preserved the life of his housekeeper and relation Mrs. Footman, escaped unapprehended; and the other three were executed. Here is a certificate, at the bottom of this account, by Bishop Fowler, in these words. 'I certify, that the present Dean of York, the master of the Charter-house, Dr. Allix, and myself, had the particulars of the foregoing narrative immediately from Mrs. Greenwood, and Mrs. Buggas, at my house; and there appeared not the least reason to suspect our being imposed upon. *Edward Gloucester.*'

No. XVII.

265. A View of Valyaunce: describing the famous Feares and martial exploits of two most mightie nations, the Romans and the Carthaginians, for the conquest and possession of Spayne. Translated out of an auncient record of antiquitie, written by Rutilius Rufus, a Romaine gentleman, and a capitaine of charge under Scipio in the same warres. Very delyghtful to reade, and never before this tyme publyshed. Imprinted by Thomas East. 1580. (Octavo, in fifty leaves.)

The editor of this tract was Thomas Newton, a noted author and physician in his time, of Butley in Cheshire. He dedicates it to the valiant Sir Henry Lee, Knight, Master of the Armourie and Leash, to her Majestie: and, in his epistle to the reader, he says of this history:——'Among other praises worthily due unto it, this surely is none of the least, that it is a monument of great antiquitie; and now, of late, by a studious gentleman of this our countrey, in his travails into Italy, there happilye found, and by him sensibly translated. The copy whereof, being unto me, upon trust, long agoe committed to peruse, and my simple advise therein required, I could doe

'no lesse, at the request of my friend, but both peruse
'the booke, conferre the matter with other historio-
'graphers, enlighten it with some needful marginall
'notes, and finally, with the glaunce of my poor pen,
'commend the same as a new-found treasure unto thy
'courteous consideration.'

266. A Compendious or Brief Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen, in these our Dayes; which, altho' they are in some part unjust and frivolous, yet are they all, by way of dialogues, thoroughly debated and discussed. By W. S. [i. e. William Stafford,] Gent. Imprinted by Thomas Marshe; *Cum Privilegio*. 1581. (Quarto, in fifty-nine leaves.)

This has been a pamphlet in great repute, and we may meet with it quoted with great respect. It is dedicated by the author to Queen Elizabeth; to whom he has these words: 'I could not forbear, being, as it were, inforced by your Majesties late and singular clemency, in pardoning certayne my undutifull misdemeanour, but seek to acknowledge your gracious goodness and bounty towards me, by exhibiting unto you this small and simple present.' It is more usually cited by its running-title, along the tops of the pages; which is—'A Briefe Conceipte of English Pollicy,' than that in the title-page. Here are many national topics, of great importance, discussed, to shew the reason why provisions and commodities then were complained of, to be as dear and scarce again, as they had been thirty years before. It is written dialogue wise, that arguments on both sides of the question might be more naturally displayed; and the interlocutors are members of every state, or condition, who found themselves aggrieved; and they were, a knight, a merchant, a doctor, an husbandman, and a craftsman. The whole is divided into three dialogues, or colloquies: the first, recounts the common grievances; the second, sifts out the causes and occasions of them; the third, proposes remedies for their redress. (Printed in vol. ix. p. 139.)

267. A Short Declaration of the Ende of Traytors and false Conspirators against the State, and of the Dutie of Subjectes to their Sovereigne Governour: and wythall, howe necessarie lawes and execution of justice are, for the preservation of the Prince and Commonwealth. Wherein are also breefely touched sundry offences of S. Queene, committed against the Crowne of this land; and the manner of the honorable proceeding for her conviction thereof; and also the reasons and causes alledged and allowed in Parliament, why it was thought dangerous to the State, if she should have lived. Published by Rich. Crompton, an apprentice of the common lawes. Seene and allowed. Eccl. 10. 'Wish no evill to the King,' &c. Printed by J. Charlewood, for Tho. Gubbin and Tho. Newman. 1587. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves.)

This tract is dedicated by the author to John (Whitgift) Archbishop of Canterbury, from the Middle Temple, the 12th of February, 1587. There was a

noted lawyer of the same name, who was bencher at the Temple, at this time, and author of some well-known books in the law. *Query*, if the same person.

268. The Royal Exchange: contayning sundry aphorismes of philosophie, and golden principles of morall and naturall quadruplicities; under pleasant and effectuell sentences; discovering such strange definitions, divisions, and distinctions of virtue and vice, as may please the gravest citizens, or youngest courtiers. Fyrst written in Italian, and dedicated to the Signorie of Venice; now translated into English; and offered to the city of London. By Robert Greene, in *Artibus Magister*. Printed by J. Charlewood. 1590. (Quarto, in forty leaves, blackletter.)

This tract is written much after the manner of another not long before published, and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, entitled 'The Book of Triplicities:' only this before us, is embellished with moral deductions from, and historical illustrations of the quadruple distinctions of the virtues, vices, faculties, and appetites of mankind, which are here sententiously displayed. The English title, conforms closely to that of the original, *La Burza Reale*; and as the author dedicated it to the Signory of Venice; so his translator dedicates it to Richard Gurney, and Stephen Soame, Sheriffs of London. The said translator, in his own epistle, to the citizens of London, has these words: 'Nowe, honourable citizens, look not into my exchange for any wealthie traffique of curious merchandize; either silke, to make men effeminate; or costly abilliments, to make women proude; heere be no fans to shadow the face, nor Alexandrine paintings to make honest wives seem like curtizans; no commodities to wrap gentlemen in statutes or recognizances: only this exchange is royal; and here the phylosophers sette abroche theyr principles: here you may buy obedience to God, performed in the carefull mayntenaunce of his true religion: here you shall see, curiously sette out, reverence to magistrates, faith to friends; love to our neighbours, and charitie to the poore; who covets to know the duety of a Christian; to be brief, the effects Tullie penned down in his offices, eyther for the embracing of virtue, or shunning of vice; let him repayre to this Royal Exchange, and there he shall find himself generally furnished.'

269. A Declaration of Great Troubles pretended against the Realme, by a number of Seminarie Priests and Jesuits; sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great Treasons under a false pretence of Religion. With a provision very necessarie for a remedie thereof. Published by this her Majestie's proclamation. Imprinted by the deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queene's most excellent Majestie. 1591. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

This was a searching proclamation, and did very much alarm the English priests, both at home and abroad: insomuch, that they hereupon published several virulent libels against some of the Queen's council, particularly the Lord Burleigh, who had a special

hand, and others of the ministry, who were consulted, in the composition thereof. More especially, it produced that pretended answer, in Latin, under the fictitious name of Andreas Philopater, printed in several countries abroad, the following year, &c. And it was soon after, in that year also, published in English, under the title of 'An Advertisement, written to a Secretary of my Lord Treasurer's of England, by an English intelligencer, as he passed through Germany towards Italy, concerning another book newlie written in Latin, &c. against her Majesties late proclamation,' &c. The writing of this answer has been imputed to Father Parsons; and, in some of his books, he does not, otherwise than jesuitically, deny it. But Sir Edward Coke, in his 'Speech against the Powder-Plotters,' and others, who were his contemporaries, ascribe it to father Cresswell. Perhaps it is laid at the door of neither unjustly: for they might be coadjutors in that slanderous production; at least, as some of their own fraternity have distinguished, out of Dr. Mathew Sutcliffe's writings, and others, Cresswell might be the author of the Latin edition, which has the proclamation aforesaid, translated and interpersed; and Parsons, the publisher of it in English, after the form of an advertisement or letter; as above. More may be read of this Proclamation in Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, and other historians of her reign. (Printed in vol. iii. p. 95.

270. The nine Worthies of London: explaining the honourable exercise of Armes; the virtues of the valiant, and the memorable attempts of magnanimous minds. Pleasaunt for gentlemen, not unseemly for magistrates, and most profitable for prentises. Compiled by Ric. Johnson. Imprinted at London, by Thomas Orwin, for Humf. Lownes, &c. 1592. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves, black letter.)

This tract may be reckoned among those monuments in memory of the meritorious, which are too scarcely met with, and suffered too much to run to ruin. It is founded upon a pretty platform, in prose and verse; with a very commendable design, by reviving the honourable actions of our renowned predecessors, to inspire an emulation in their hopeful posterity. It is dedicated to Sir William Webbe, Lord Mayor of London, by the author, who calls himself a poor apprentice; but he had no barren brain, however it might not be perfectly cultivated with learning; as he appears more exalted in his genius, than exact, perhaps, every where, in his language; which yet, is often very polite, elegant, and poetical, for the time he wrote in. The Introduction, in prose, discovers Fame taking her flight to Parnassus; and there, having found her secretaries the Muses, at their exercises, in their fragrant bower, expressed her will and pleasure, to have the renown of her nine London Worthies revived. Then she beckoned out Clio for this service; who, clasping up her Book of Histories, and taking her golden pen, they mounted Fame's silver chariot, drawn by Pegasus; who transported them through the air, like Jove's blazing darts, and never stopped his downward course, till his steely hoofs beat against the gates of Tartarus; where leaving the crooked thorny way, smoking with sulphur, and keeping on the op-

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posite side, they arrived at the delightful Elysian Shades, there finding, among the several habitations, that of amber, more sweetly scented still, with the burning boughs of balm, used to cure brave warriors wounds; Fame shook her immortal wings, and straight the melodious noise, with the breath fanned from their feathers, awakened nine comely knights, who arm in arm, upon a green bank, strewed with rose buds, had laid their conquering heads to rest in peace. Then Fame, admonishing Clio to be attentive, and record what she heard, advances to the first; a tall, aged man, with white hair, in a scarlet robe, his head bound with balm, and a sword in his hand, touches his lips with her finger; and he, who was Sir William Wallworth, Fishmonger and Lord Mayor of London, in the reign of Richard II. recounts his story in verse. It is a poem of about five pages in stanzas of six lines. Then comes a short discourse in prose, containing some reflections by the author, some resolutions by Fame, and some remarks by Clio: when rose another of those venerable knights, and framed his tale, in near three pages of verse after the like manner; by which it appears, that he was Sir Henry Pichard, Vintner, and Lord Mayor of London, in the reign of Edward III. That he led 5000 men in his return from the wars of France: and that he then entertained four Kings, one Prince, and all their train at a banquet. Next, after a short conference, again in prose, between Fame and Clio, arose Sir William Sevenoake, Grocer, and Lord Mayor of London, in the reign of Henry V. And he recounts in verse, for about two pages, his strange fortunes and worthy acts, being found under seven oaks, from whence he had his name, which grew where a town is known to have been raised from his bounty and foundations in Kent. In the French wars, he is here said to have been surprized by the Dauphin of France, as he lay asleep, who reproached him for his laziness; but to convince him of his activity, he fought him; and, when they parted, the Dauphin bid him be proud he had such an adversary, and gave him a bag of crowns for his bravery. After some further representation of him in prose, as to his entertainment, and meditations in those regions; he returns to his rest: and another lifts up his aged limbs, Sir Thomas White, Merchant-Taylor, and Lord Mayor of London, in the time of Queen Mary; and he unfolds his merits in verse, for near two pages; and though not as a warrior, yet as a singular benefactor to the learned and the poor. When he had laid himself down, Clio then converses again in prose, and asking Fame, who she designed should next relate his life, is answered, Sir John Bonham, Mercer, in the time of Edward I. Clio then modestly excepts against the misplacing him here, who lived so long before the former. But Fame justifies her present method, by preferring their age, and the honour of their calling, before the observation of Time. And as our poets have placed the worthiest foremost, in respect to them, and the example of others; so it would not be unseemly, that younger knights should here speak after those who had borne the honour of the mayoralty. After the personal figure of this knight is described, and he is summoned to display his story, he rehearses it for near four pages in verse, like the rest; wherein he appears to have been a Devonshire man, the son of a knight: but being bound to the trade aforesaid, was sent by his master with

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goods to Denmark; where, by some fortunate dispute, he was made favourably known to the King; soon after, he shewed his superior valour at a tournament, and had a favour given him by the King's daughter; was sent General of the King's Army against Soliman the Great Turk, overcame him, and was knighted by him in the field; returned home with rich gifts and great glory, and died in honour and peace. Next, after an expostulation in prose, between the Goddess of Renown, and her muse, upon that surprising grace shown by a Mahometan tyrant to a Christian conqueror of him, another young gay knight arises, named Sir Christopher Croker, Vintner, in the reign of Edward III. and he chants out his feats in like manner, for the space of two pages, in verse; wherein it is recorded, that he served his time under his master, who was named Stodie, in Gracious-Street, and gained the affections of his daughter: but, being pressed to the wars of France, was soon made chief over a band of soldiers, and was the first who entered the gates at the siege of Bourdeaux: then, went with the army that restored Don Peter to the throne of Spain, which had been usurped by his bastard brother: received the honour of knighthood for his services: returned home, finished his triumphs in matrimony, and made Doll Stodie a lady. After a short interval of prose, as before, another valiant knight, Sir John Hawkwood, in the reign aforesaid, arose and sung his strange adventures and fortunes in foreign countries, in about two pages also of verse; which inform us, that while he was apprentice to a taylor, in Lombard-Street, he was pressed to serve the Prince of Wales in the wars of France, where he behaved in so distinguished a manner on foot, that the Prince mounted him gallantly, and for his brave behaviour afterwards, in company with three others, knighted him, and called them his own Knights. When the Prince returned home, he gave him a gold chain, and liberty to try his fortune in foreign service; so he went, with fifteen-hundred men under him, to the assistance of the Duke of Milan against his enemies, and, for the sharpness of his wit and his sword, was called by the Italians John Acute. Here he had honour and riches in plenty, heaped upon him; had castles and towns given him for his reward. But Milan having, by his valour and policy, won a peace; the Pope oppressed Spain, and he marched thither with an army to quell his pride, which having done, he returned; and having worn out the remainder of his days in great honour and state, died in the palace at Padua, and had a magnificent monument and statue raised over his grave. Here, after some interlocution again between Fame and her historian in prose, the next, Sir Hugh Calverley, the honour of Silk-weavers in the reign aforesaid, arose, and delivered his tale in the like verse, for near two pages: how, after the service of his Prince, in the wars of France, he was invited into that of the King of Poland, where his valour gained him high renown. There he killed a huge wild boar, which had caused much destruction. For this, and many other gallant feats, he was crowned with laurel and gold, clad in purple, shod with golden buskins, and had a casket of pearls bestowed upon him, by ladies, nobles, &c. and, so adorned, rode with the King to Court. And when engaged in their triumphal justs, it was with such superior valour, and surprising vehemence, that the blood would burst forth at his beaver. After

he was laden with honours there, he returned again to France: and here his tale concludes, with mention of his death. Next follows the imparlance, as aforesaid, in prose: then arises the last of these Nine Worthies, Sir Henry Maleverer, surnamed Henry, of Cornhill, Grocer, in the time of Henry IV. and relates his acts in above two pages of verse. How he went a volunteer to the holy wars; was chosen, by the ambassadors, to fight in single combat there; and left not the field, till he saw Jerusalem taken: but was unjustly brought into disgrace with the ruler of the Jews, and took sanctuary, or concealment, in Jacob's Well; where he suffered none to drink who did not first fight with him, till his valour and his innocence became so well known, that the King vowed him great friendship, and his false accusers were put to death; and so, with honour and fame, he returned to his native country. Then Fame concludes the whole in prose, commanding Clio to clasp up the book, wherein she had written the deeds of the Nine Worthies, and, at her leisure, publish it for their honour, and the example of others; which she accordingly did. (Printed in vol. viii. p. 437.)

No. XVIII.

271. *Philadelphus: or, a Defence of Brutes, and the Brutans's History.* Written by R. H. Imprinted at London by John Wolfe. 1593. (Quarto, in fifty-six leaves, black letter.)

This work is dedicated to Robert Earl of Essex, by the author, Richard Harvey, brother to John and Dr. Gabriel Harvey; with whom Robert Green and Thomas Nash made such diversion in their satirical writings. Our author has here an epistle, to his brother the Doctor, in vindication of this his essay. The introduction contains a Defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Origin, or Derivation of the Britains from Brutus; and a rough censure throughout of George Buchanan, who had condemned that story as fabulous. This chronicle gives a series of the British Kings from the said Brutus, A. M. 2855. for six lines of them, down to Cadwallader, in 4657. But, by a singular method the author has affected of his own, he has divided or distracted the stories of every one of his Princes into three or four different heads, or chapters. Thus we have the genealogy, or issue of Brutus, in one chapter; tables of their arts and acts, virtues and vices, in another; the chronology of them in another; and the topography of their history in a fourth. And so the like, of the other five generations. Page 70, he shews himself very fond or conceited of this method; and yet, two pages further, resolves to alter it, by combining two chapters in one, and chuses to join the places with the actions hereafter; having found, that 'One Day telleth another, and one Night certifieth another.' At the end, the author has added, what he entitles, 'Three Supposes of a Student, concerning Historie.'

272. *A Christian, Familiar Comfort and Encouragement unto all English Subjects, not to dismaie at the Spanish Threats.* Whereunto is added, an Admonition to all English Papists, who openly, or covertly, covet a Change. With

requisite Praiers to Almighty God for the preservation of our Queene and countrie. By the most unworthie J. N. Printed at London for J. B. 1596. (Quarto, in thirty-eight leaves.)

This tract is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, by the author, John Norden, as he signs himself. There was one, at this time, of that name, who was an able surveyor, and wrote compendious descriptions of several counties in England; some of which are published, both by himself, and since his death. But, as there was another of the same name, his contemporary, who was a Divine, it should rather seem, that this tract was written by him.

273. Of Mariage and Wiving. An excellent, pleasant, and philosophicall Contraversie, betweene the two famous Tassi, now living: the one, Hercules the Philosopher; the other, Torquato, the Poet. Done into English, by R. T. Gentleman. Printed by Thomas Creede, and sold by John Smythicke, &c. 1599. (Quarto, in forty-one leaves, black letter.)

This Declaration against Marriage, by Hercules Tasso, the Philosopher, a married man; and the Answer, or Defence thereof, by his cousin Torquato Tasso, the famous Poet, a batchelor; were both first published together; in the original Italian, by the said Hercules, the year before this translation; as appears by the date of his epistle to the Lord Giovan, Battista Licino; to whom, he says, his part was the issue only of a certain youthful capricious humour, which he would have long since contradicted, had not his afore-said famous kinsman prevented him. In the conclusion of that first Part, or Declaration, the said author allows, there are women of such excellent perfection, as prove greater blessings to men, than the bad do plagues: yet he thinks them as rare as black swans, or the peerless Phoenix; allowing, 'Two only, 'most famous and renowned throughout the world: 'of which, one, for a Virgin, and Maiden-Queen, is 'the most excellent and virtuous Princess Elisabeth, 'the admirable Queen of England: and the other, for 'a wife, though now a widow, Loisa, Count Vadamon's daughter, wedded unto the late French King, 'Henry the Third of that name. Whom, because I 'cannot worthily enough commend, I will, with reverence wonder, in silence admire: unto whose beautiful virtues, and virtuous beauties, I have bound myself, one whole day, to display some part of 'the same; for, on the suddain, unprovided, and 'without advice, are not matters of so high a nature 'as these to be intreated and handled. Therefore I 'will here cease, yet not cease to wish, that as they 'may still continue fortunate and glorious in this 'world, so they may be triumphant and blessed in the 'world to come.' Torquato Tasso, in his oration for the fair-sex, and in defence of matrimony, having also produced many eminent examples from antiquity, and enforced them with many ingenious sentiments of his own, to support his argument; concludes, in like manner, with no less zealous praises of, and prayers for, our said renowned Queen; which, because not common from foreigners, take also, as near as our translator could render his words, as follows: 'To 'conclude, where in the end, though it be long, yet

'at the last, you not only allow of marriage, but 'commend women, in the persons of two great 'princely Potentates; although you might have done 'it in many others beside; in this, I cannot chuse 'but confirm your judgment, especially in the famous 'English Queen; I finding myself far insufficient 'and unable to praise her, by reason of her royal 'qualities, and matchless virtues; they being like a 'soundless ocean, that hath no bottom; like unto an 'intricate labyrinth, wherein a man may sooner lose 'himself, than find the end of the same any way. 'And therefore I, although a stranger, in all humble 'duty, wish her, for ever prosperous; unto all the 'world, gracious; and in all places, glorious; that 'there be no end of her praise, until there happeneth 'a final end of all things.' (Printed in vol. ii. p. 156.)

274. A Declaration of the Practises and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert, late Earle of Essex, and his Complices, against her Majestie and her Kingdoms; and of the proceedings, as well at the arraignments and convictions of the said late Earle, and his adherents, as after. Together with the very confessions, and other parts of the evidences themselves; word for word, taken out of the originals. Imprinted by Robert Barker, Printer to the Queene's most Excellent Majestie. 1601. (Quarto, in sixty-three leaves.)

After the said declaration, we have, here, the effect of the evidence given at the arraignments of the late Earls of Essex, and Southampton; also of Sir Christopher Blount, and Sir Charles Davers, Sir John Davies, Sir Gillie Mericke, and Henry Cuffe; with the confessions of Thomas Lee, and James Knowde; declarations of Sir W. Warren, Tho. Wood, and Capt. David Hethrington. The confessions of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Davies, Sir Charles Davers, Sir Christopher Blount. The declaration of the Lord Keeper Egerton, Edw. Earl of Worcester, and Lord Chief Justice Popham. The examination of Roger Earl of Rutland. Confession of William Lord Sandys, examination of the Lord Cromwell; and of the Earl of Southampton, after his arraignment. The speech of Sir Christopher Blount at his death, with an abstract of the Earl of Essex's confession, under his own hand; and his confession to three ministers (who attended upon him) the 25th of February 1600: whose names were Tho. Montford, Will. Barlow, and Abdie Ashton, his Chaplain. Though it appears not in this Work, who was the draughtsman, or compiler of it; yet Sir Francis Bacon, in his 'Apology to the Earl of 'Devonshire,' owns *he* was, by the Queen's command; and that he had such express directions, both from her and her council, as never Secretary was more particularly confined to: yea, after it had passed the general allowance, the Queen had an hand, in some alterations herself; and, even while passing the press, had some of the first copies suppressed, that the frequent expressions, Sir Francis had used of 'my Lord of Essex,' might be altered, as too respectful, for plain 'Essex,' or, 'the late Earl of Essex;' and so it was printed *de novo*.

275. Lamentable Fyers in these Shires of Eng-

land; Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, Hertford, Bedford, Barkshire, Cambridge, Chester, Darby, Cornwall Gloucester, Lincoln, Northampton, Norfolk, Suffolke, Northumberland, Stafford, Southampton, London, Alderney Isle. The truth of these calamities being certified under the hands of divers right honourable persons, knights and justices of the peace in all those counties (the more to credit the report) under private certificates to the King's Majesty, 1607. Printed at London, for Edward White the younger. 1607. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves, black letter.)

There is a wooden print in the frontispiece, giving a prospect of the dreadful danger and destruction, occasioned by houses set on fire: one woman letting her child out at window by a cord, another preparing to jump out, men below plucking down the buildings with long hooks; others above, pouring in buckets of water, &c. This book is a kind of chronicle of those many conflagrations which happened over almost half the counties of the kingdom, within the compass of the four last years; that is, from the beginning of King James's reign; mentioning the places where such fires happened; the times when, and the persons who perished, or were ruined thereby; with the particulars of their losses; much increasing the dearth and poverty of the nation; occasioned through their sufferings, also in this period, from all the other elements: from the air, by pestilence; the water, by inundations; and the earth, by the barrenness that was consequent thereto. It is computed that the losses of particular men, and the several towns here mentioned, by fire, only within those years, besides the damage done to churches by lightning, particularly that of Bleachingly in Surrey, amounted to 29,690 pounds; and that the number of those who were undone, and lost their lives, was 267 persons; yet this computation may not have included the destruction afterwards mentioned of the town of Ipswich by fire, in the same year the author published this tract: nor that occasioned by other fires in London; particularly one in 1604, which burnt down a whole row of chambers in Gray's-Inn. The author, in his preface, imputes much of these sad accidents to the sleepy negligences of servants, or some such like other carelessness in houses, that are apt to receive danger.

276. A briefe and plaine Narration of Proceedings at an Assemblie in Glasco, 8 Jun. 1610, anent the Innovation of the Kirk-Government. With a narration of some straunge Episcopall Accidents, lately happened in Scotland, worthie consideration; which the wise of heart will understand. 1610 (Octavo, in twelve leaves.)

This is a sharp and free representation of that assembly, here called a dissembly, and others, convened in Scotland before, to suspend or discharge the form of discipline by Synods and Presbyteries, and establish a prelatical jurisdiction. The inconstant principles of King James, in these concerns of the Scotch Kirk, are here, in the author's epistle to the reverend brethren in Scotland, expressly set forth; shewing that, in 1584, he set up papal bishops there; yet, in 1592, restored the discipline, and swore by subscription, to defend it

in Scotland all his life: consented to a constitution of the General Assembly in Holirood House; and, in 1602, suffered it to be ordained that the 'Lord Bishops' should no longer have that title, but be called 'Commissioners for the Kirk, to vote in Parliament:' and that he promised, the day before he went from Edinburgh for England, to remove those reliques of Antichrist from them; and yet, as well in 1606, as again now, he authorised, through the instigations of the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Bancroft) the overthrow, by his commissioner, the Earl of Dunbar, and his party, of that government in those new assemblies; which had been established in former ones, as well as by Parliament, and the oaths of his Majesty, Nobles, and Ministers. The Earl aforesaid, by his majority of voices, having prevailed for the authority of Bishops, produced the King's instrument for the discharge of all Presbyteries, and at the outcry of the Assembly against it, by promising to persuade the King to recall that discharge, got the hands, as well as the votes, of many sworn Balaamites. Those Episcopal Accidents spoken of in the title, and here considered, as judgments of God, are: 1. 'Concerning the late titular Bishop (as he is called) Maister James Nicholson, who, at his death, was so troubled in conscience, for accepting that title, that he would not be called a Bishop in his will, and therein rejected whatever was due to him out of his Bishoprick. 2. That the Archbishop of St Androis was waked out of his sleep, with the cry of blood and murder; his nephew having thrown his dagger at the cook, and killed him, as he was dressing his Lord's supper. 3. That the said Archbishop coming out of Haddington Kirk, the earth broke in with him, and he might have been swallowed up, had he not been pulled out by those, who were beside him.'

277. The Marriage of the two great Princes, Fredericke, Count Palatine, &c. and the Lady Elizabeth, Daughter to the Imperial Majesties of King James and Queene Anne; upon Shrove-Sunday last. With the Showes and fire-works upon the water: as also the masks and revells in his Highness Court of White-Hall. Printed by T. C. for W. Barley, &c. 1613. (Quarto, in eight leaves, black letter.)

There is a wooden print in the title-page of a warlike knight, or cavalier, on horse-back, attended by his page; all armed *cap-a-pee*, and gallantly accoutred in all points; to represent the said Palsgrave, &c. These triumphant solemnities lasted four days; beginning on Thursday the eleventh of February, in the evening, with artificial fireworks on the Thames. Friday the engineers rested. On Saturday, the show by water was renewed in sea fights, &c. between the Turks and the English; whose victorious overthrow of the infidels, greatly delighted the princely beholders. On Sunday; was the royal procession to the King's Chapel, at White-Hall: first came the Palsgrave, from the new-built Banqueting House, in a white sattin suit, richly beset with pearl and gold; and attended by a gallant train of English, Scots, and Dutchmen. After came Princess Elizabeth, in a white sattin gown, richly embroidered; led between Prince

Charles, and the Earl of Northampton; having on her head, a crown of gold, made imperial, by the pearls and diamonds thereon placed; and so thickly, that they stood like shining pinacles upon her amber-coloured hair, which hung down in plaits over her shoulders, to her waists interlaid with lists of gold spangles, pearls, diamonds, &c. followed by fourteen or fifteen ladies attired in white sattin. Then came the Earl of Arundel, bearing the sword; and next, the King, in a sumptuous black suit, and a diamond in his hat of great value; close to him came the Queen, in white sattin, embroidered, and beset with diamonds. After the celebration of the marriage, and the dinner over, the rest of the day, and part of the night, were taken up in dancing, masking, and revelling. Monday was spent in races, and such like diversions; and, in the evening, the Gentlemen of the Inns of Courts, prepared masks and revels at Whitehall; which gave great satisfaction; the whole, ending with expressions of general joy, through court and city, by ringing of bells, firing of guns, and blazing of bonfires.

No. XIX.

278. A short Relation of the Departure of the High and Mightie Prince Frederick, King Elect of Bohemia; with his royall and virtuous Ladie Elizabeth; and the thryse hopefull yong Prince Henrie, from Heydelberg towards Prague, to receive the Crowne of that Kingdome. Whereunto is annexed the Solempnitie, or maner of the coronation. Translated out of Dutch. And now both together published, with other reasons and justifications, to give satisfaction to the world, as touching the ground and truth of his Majesties proceedings, and undertaking of that kingdome of Bohemia; lawfully and freely elected, by the generall consent of the States, not ambitiously aspiring thereunto. As also to encourage all other noble and heroical spirits (especiallie our owne nation, whom, in honour, it first and chiefly concerneth) by prerogative of that high and soveraigne title, hæreditarie to our Kings and Princes, Defenders of the Faith, to the lyke Christian resolution against Antichrist and his adherents. At Dort, printed by George Waters. 1619. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

The author of that relation, and translator of the solemnities annexed, in his epistle to the reader, signs himself John Harrison. He has added to his relation, some Latin anagrams on Prince Frederick, sent him by a friend; and, in his Appendix to the whole, informs us, 'There is yet a more particular relation, in Dutch; containing divers other circumstances not here expressed; with a representation of the whole maner of the Solempnitie and Coronation, both of the King and Queen, in pictures:' which, he doubts not, will be hereafter translated and published, for the better satisfaction of the world.

279. The Consideration and Judgment of the Divines of the Electorall Principality of Saxony, in the Universitie of Wittenberge: they being required by the Universitie of Jena: upon the ques-

tion, 'Whether a State of the Empire ought not well to consider, whether he be bound to aid and assist the Roman Emperour, or no, in these warres of Bohemia?' Faithfully translated out of the high Dutch tongue, according to the printed copy. 1620. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

John Ernestus, Duke of Saxony, &c. sent this question to those Doctors, by John Maior, and John Gerhard, two Divines in his University of Jena. Upon which, they conclude, 'That for Protestant or Lutheran Princes, to assist an Emperour, who is in combination with the Pope, and King of Spain, persecuters of the true maintainers of the Gospell, is against the love of God, and of their neighbours; and this determination is grounded upon the doctrine of Luther here specified.'

280. A learned, elegant, and religious Speech, delivered unto his most excellent Majestie, at his late being at Coventry. By Phileman Holland, doctor of physicke; the right honourable the recorder, his deputy, for the time. When, as his royall majestie was graciously pleased to grant and command the erecting of a military garden therein: and sithens to, enlarge the aforesaid citie's charter. Together with a sermon preached in the audience, and published at the request of the worthie companie of practizers in the military garden of the said well-governed citie of Coventry. Serving as a warning against the enemies sudden invasions; as also, exciting to readiness against all secret assaults. By Samuel Buggs, B. of D. sometime fellow of Sidney Sussex Colledge, in Cambridge. Published with authority. London, printed by John Dawson, &c. 1622. (Quarto, in 28 leaves.)

That speech, delivered by the said doctor Holland (the most indefatigable translator of so many voluminous Latin authors into English) upon his majesty's coming to Coventry, at his return from Scotland, in September 1621, is comprised in six pages; wherein having congratulated his Majesty's safe return, and celebrated the felicities of his reign; with the antiquity, and former flourishing state of that city, through the privileges granted to it by his predecessors; and particularly the good government of it; insomuch, 'That it never was noted to harbour rebellion or conspiracy: Nor at this day, within citie or countie, is there knowne so much as one Recusant Papist, or Schismatical Separatist.' He concludes the whole with intreating that his Majesty will shew his favour to the said city, in its present declining state; which produced the grants aforesaid. The sermon, which is entitled, *Miles Mediterraneus*: or the Midland Soldier; and was preached before the said company, or train of artillery, is dedicated by its author, to William Lord Compton, Earl of Northampton, Lord President of Wales, and Lord Lieutenant of Warwickshire, and of the city of Coventry; and to Sir Thomas Leigh, Knight and Baronet, Lieutenant-Deputy of the said county. Also by another dedication, to Captain William Sewall, Lieutenant Paston, and all the company of soldiers of the said military garden. The author has shewed himself a man of learning, in civil, as well

as sacred writings; and of ingenuity, by applying it to his present occasion.

281. *Certaine Reasons and Arguments of Politie, Why the King of England should hereafter give over all further Treatie, and enter into Warre with the Spaniard.* Printed in 1624. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

This little tract notably sets forth, what dishonour King James brought this nation to; what misery his children, the King and Queen of Bohemia; and what insolence his enemies, the Spaniards; by his insignificant treaties with that perfidious people. 1. In the year 1619, by the Earl of Carliel. 2. By Sir Henry Wotton, at Vienna, in 1621. 3. By Conway and Weston, in the same year. 4. By the Lord Digby, in 1621. 5. By Weston, the same year. 6. By the Lord Chichester, Baron of Belfast. 7. By Prince Charles, in Spain, to see the Infanta, 1623. Besides the couriers, the letters, the ordinary ambassadors and ministers! And all this trouble and expence, to no other end, than to be deluded and derided, at home and abroad. This copy had heretofore been in the possession of Sir Simonds D'ewes; who has written these words in the title-page thereof — 'Which very reasons were urged in the parliament, Anno Dom. 1623. Anno regni Jac. 22, for the breach of the two treaties; of the match, with the Infanta of Spain; and the restoring the palatinate.' And he adds, they were 'printed out of some parliament man's notes.' Quere, whether not his own?

282. *A Journal of all the Proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, in the Isle of Ree, a part of France.* Set forth by a gentleman of special note, who was a spectator of all that hapned. Published by authoritie. Printed for Tho. Walkley. 1627. (Quarto, in 8 leaves.)

This journal seems to be different from those three others, that year published, of this expedition, which are specified in the 25, 26, and 27 articles of this catalogue.

283. *A Manifestation or Remonstrance of the most honourable the Duke of Buckingham, generall of the armie of the most gracious King of Great Britaine; containing a declaration of his Majesties intention for this present arming.* Translated out of the originall French copie. Published with authoritie. Printed for Tho. Walkley. 1627. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

After the said English translation follows the said declaration in French: both dated from the admiral's ship, the twenty-first of July, 1627, and signed Buckingham.

284. *A true and exact Relation of the most remarkable passages which have happened in the isle of Ree, commonly called Saint Martin's island, since the sixth of August last past, to the twenty-fourth of the same.* Wherein also is declared, in what state our army, under the command of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace, is in: as

also how it fareth with them of the fort; with the great hopes of the sudden surrender thereof, being driven to great want, both of victuals and water. Together with the description of the several works, both offensive and defensive, about the fort. The names of divers persons of quality, both slain and hurt, on the French side; the present state of Rochell, and the bordering places about it; the willingness of those of the religion to adhere to the Duke of Buckingham, with the preparation of the French king to oppose them. Written in French by a French gentleman of special account in the isle of Ree, to a person of note here in England. Faithfully translated out of the French. Printed for Nat. Butter. 1627. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

285. *The Powerfull Favorite: or the Life of Ælius Sejanus.* By P. M. Printed at Paris. 1628. (Quarto, in 32 leaves.)

This is a diligent extract from all the ancient authors who mention the story of that powerful favourite of the emperor Tiberius, enlivened and adorned with many political reflections, which may be applicable to the proceedings of favourite ministers in most other reigns. It has been by several of our authors thought to have been drawn up, in allusion to the great English favourite at that time, George Villiers, the afore-said Duke of Buckingham, who was murdered in August, that same year of its being printed. The author of the 'Craftsman,' has bestowed a whole paper upon it, under that consideration. And Anthony Wood has enlisted it among the works of Philip Massinger, the poet, as if he was the author of it. But quere if it is not a translation from the French? for there was a noted French writer at that time, named P. Matthieu, who published some account of Ælius Sejanus in his own tongue, which was translated into Dutch, and printed at Amsterdam in 12mo. 1661.

286. *Political Observations upon the Fall of Sejanus.* Written in Italian, by Gio. Baptista Manzini: and translated into English, by Sir T. H. Printed by Anne Griffin, for Godfrey Emerson. 1634. (Quarto, in 26 leaves.)

The said work, in the original, seems to be that entitled *Della Peripetia di Fortuna, Overo sopra la Caduta di Sejano.* There was before published, in French, *Ælius Sejanus; Histoire Romaine: Recueillie de divers Auteurs.* Second edition. A Lyon, par Ant. Soubron, 8vo. 1622. Whether this be P. Matthieu's performance, we cannot say. But there were afterwards published, 'Remarks upon the life and services of Monsieur de Villeroy: and concerning the fall of Sejanus; translated from the French of P. Matthieu, by Sir T. H.' Quarto, 1638. And, the year following, came forth a translation by the same hand, entitled 'Unhappy Prosperity, expressed in the History of Æl. Sejanus and Philippa the Catanian: with observations on the fall of Sejanus.' Lond. octavo, second edit. 1639. By that T. H. in all these three title-pages, is to be understood, Sir Thomas Hawkins, of Nash-

court in Kent; where, in the parish church of Boughton, he was buried anno 1640; having also published a translation of the odes of Horace. As for Manzini's observations above, they may, with the other tracts concerning Sejanus, be looked upon as mirrors for the courts of princes, or magical glasses to foreshew the destinies of those favourites and ministers of state, who give themselves up to the guidance of circumventing, rapacious, or tyrannical principles.

287. *The Prerogative of Parliaments in England. Proved in a Dialogue between a Counsellour of State and a Justice of Peace.* Written by the worthy knight Sir Walter Raleigh. Dedicated to the King's Majesty, and to the House of Parliament now assembled. Preserved to be now happily (in these distracted times) published. 1640. (Quarto, in 37 leaves.)

This excellent dialogue was written by Sir Walter in the year 1615, (as it is observed in his life,) and before he left the Tower. There was a former impression of it, in which, as it is said in the title-page, it was printed at Middleburg, 4to. 1628. This has been thought the first edition, but A. Wood mentions one, said also in the title to be printed there; and, by the date, seven years earlier. There is a note written in this edition now before us, in these words, 'The scope of the discourses, in these dialogues, seems to be this: the counsellor of state would render parliaments prejudicial to the king, and would dissuade the calling of any: the justice of peace asserts, that the natural and genuine constitution of parliaments, founded on the love and mutual trust and confidence betwixt king and people, have been and are most advantageous to the king's honours and interests; and those composed of force and violence, are falsely called parliaments; and are only tumultuous assemblies, &c.' Besides many pieces of antient history, from our records, wherewith this work is adorned, and the arguments supported; there are also some private pieces of history, concerning some eminent persons of his own time, knowledge, and acquaintance. (Printed in vol. v. p. 194.)

288. *A Narrative of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton.* Wherein is set forth the various and remarkable passages thereof; his sufferings, supports, comforts and deliverances. Now published for the benefit of all those that either do or may suffer for the cause of Christ. According to a copy written with his own hand. Printed for John Rothwell. 1643. (Quarto, in 29 leaves, with his effigies.)

289. *A Breviate of the Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury:* extracted (for the most part) verbatim, out of his own diary, and other writings under his own hand. Collected and published, at the special instance of sundry honourable persons, as a necessary prologue to the history of his tryall; for which the criminall part of his life, is specially reserved. By William Prynne, of Lincoln's Inn, esq. Printed by F. L.

for Mich. Sparke, sen. 1644. (Folio, in 20 leaves.)

290. *Britannicæ Virtutis Imago:* or the effigies of true fortitude expressed to the life in the famous actions of that incomparable knight major-general Smith, who is here represented, June 1644. Oxford, printed by Henry Hall. 1644. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This life of Sir John Smith, major-general of his Majesty's western army, under the command of the Lord Hopton, was written by Edward Walsingham, author of another life before mentioned in this catalogue.

291. *Transcendant and multiplied Rebellion and Treason discovered by the Laws of the Land.* 1645. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves.)

This loyal and religious tract has a manuscript note in the title-page, expressing it to be written by the lord chief justice Bancks.

292. *A true and certain Relation of his Majesties sad Condition in Hurst Castle in Hampshire.* With the manner how he was taken out of his bed on Saturday night last, to the amazement of the inhabitants there: with the imprisoning of Captain Cooke, who was appointed governour by the inhabitants, instead of Colonel Hammond. Also the sad condition of the maior and aldermen of Newport, for their allegiance to his Majesty: this being done without the knowledge of the parliament with other remarkable passages. 1648. (Quarto, in eight pages.)

This Letter from the Isle of Wight, to the author's correspondent, 'Noble Dick,' as he superscribes him, is signed at the end, 'George Vaughan;' who is stiled by the editor, in the conclusion, a personage of honour, and one who hates falshood, as much as baseness. This letter shows how the king declared to the mayor and brethren of Newport, &c. before the parliament's commissioners, 'what he had granted for the content of his people; and how he had quite, for some time, divested himself of the very essence of authority, and reserved nought, but the shadow; to give satisfaction unto his two houses, in all their proposals put up to him; and therein, referred them to the commissioners there present; who confirmed the same.' But notwithstanding, this his deportment so much engaged the inhabitants to him, who are said to have been between seven or eight thousand fighting men, compleatly armed; they suffered his majesty to be transported over to Hurst castle, upon the arrival of supplies to Colonel Ewer; where he now remained a sad solitary prisoner, by the appointment of the army only, the parliament no way visibly intermeddling or approving it.

No. XX.

293. *King Charles his Case:* or, an Appeal to all rational Men, concerning his Tryal at the High Court of Justice. Being, for the most part, that which was intended to have been delivered.

at the bar, if the king had pleaded to the charge, and put himself upon a fair tryal. With an additional opinion concerning the death of king James, the loss of Rochel, and the blood of Ireland. By John Cook, of Gray's Inn, barrister. Printed by Peter Cole, for Giles Calvert. 1649. (Quarto in 43 pages.)

This notorious writer, in the conclusion of his pamphlet, appears very apprehensive of coming to an untimely end. He blesses God, that he had no soul to lose: so his body came the less encumbered to the hands of the hangman, at the restoration.

294. The Corruption and Deficiency of the Lawes of England, soberly discovered: or, Liberty working up to its just Height. Wherein is set down, I. The standart, or measure of all just lawes; which is threefold: First, Their original and rise, viz. the free choice, or election, of the people: Second, their rule and square, viz. principles of justice, righteousness, and truth: Third, their use and end, viz. the liberty and safety of the people. II. The lawes of England weighed in this threefold balance, and found too light: First, in their original, force, power, conquest, or constraint: Second, in their rule, corrupt will, or principles of unrighteousness and wrong: Third, in their end; the grievance, trouble, and bondage of the people. III. The necessity of the reformation of the lawes of England; together with the excellency and yet difficulty of this work. IV. The corrupt interest of lawyers in this commonwealth. By John Warie. PHILIP HONOR. *Leges Angliæ plenæ sunt tricarum, ambiguitatum, sibi que contrariæ; fuerunt siquidem excogitatæ, atque sancitæ à Normannis, quibus nulla Gens magis litigiosa, atque in Controversiis machinandis ac proferendis fallacior reperiri potest.* The lawes of England are full of tricks, doubts, and contrary to themselves; for they were invented and established by the Normans, who were, of all nations, the most quarrelsome, and most fallacious, in contriving of controversies and suits. Printed for Giles Calvert. 1649. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

295. A Cry against a Crying Sin: or, a just complaint to the magistrates against them who have broken the statute laws of God, by killing of men merely for theft. Manifested in a petition long since presented to the common council of the city of London, on the behalf of transgressions. Together with certain proposals presented by Colonel Pride to the Right Honourable the General Council for the Army, and the Committee, appointed by the Parliament of England, to consider of the inconveniences, mischiefs, chargeableness, and irregularities in their Law. Printed for Samuel Chidley, dwelling in Bow-Lane, at the sign of the Chequer. 1652. (Quarto, in 34 pages.)

That Samuel Chidley was the author of this scarce pamphlet; and to render it the more remarkable, as well as more suitable to his subject, he has printed it all in red letters. In his letter to the Lord Mayor, Thomas Andrewes, dated 25 June, 1649, he tells him, 'That Christ made intercession to God for transgressors, who were guilty of eternal death before God: we make intercession for men, who are not guilty of temporal death before men.' And a little further, 'I know no friend of mine that is guilty of theft: what I have done is in conscience to God, and compassion to my native country, &c.' And, in his 'Reasons of weighty Consideration,' he shows out of the scripture, how inconsistent with the laws of God, those of our land are, that kill a thief for stealing food and rayment, or to the value of fourteen-pence. On the eleventh of December following, he sent a letter to the commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and goal delivery of Newgate, against the cruelty of pressing a prisoner, who will not plead 'guilty, or not guilty:' for that, he will not plead the former, being not bound to accuse himself; and, by pleading the latter, is only forced into lies. And shews, that he was not only himself turned out of court, but that a malefactor, then upon trial for stealing, refusing to plead, till that letter was read publicly, was denied those conditions, and sentenced to the press by the recorder Steele. Hereupon follows his 'Petition to the Council of State,' that the then condemned prisoners might be reprieved, till the Parliament had heard the matter. And after this, we have his 'Proposal to the General Council for the Army:' in which he offers several arguments for reforming the laws relating to the trial and punishment of thieves and robbers: concluding, that, upon conviction, they should be obliged to make double satisfaction, if not out of their effects, by their labour. We have also, following this, his 'Letters to the Regulators of the Law' appointed by the Parliament; wherein he tells them, that the best of their actions, in that character, had hitherto been, at most, but a 'tything of mint, annis, and cummin: and you have neglected mercy, one of the weighty matters of the law:' and was verily persuaded, they could not have put a stop to the murdering of those men who were hanged at Tyburn the last sessions, for stealing five shillings and sixpence, &c. At the end, there is an odd 'Advertisement,' informing us, that Mr. Chidley appointed one of these pamphlets to be nailed upon Tiburn gallows, before the execution, with this motto over it:

'Cursed be that bloody hand,
'Which takes this down, without command.'

But it could not be nailed on the gallows, for the crowd of people; therefore it was nailed to the tree which grew upon the bank by the gallows; and there it remained, and was read by many, both before and after execution; and 'twas thought it would stand there, till it dropped away. (Printed in vol. viii. p. 477.)

295. A Collection of his Majesty's gracious Letters, Speeches, Messages, and Declarations, since April 4, 1660. London, printed by John Bill, printer to the king's most excellent majesty,

at the king's printing-house in Black-friers. 1660. (Quarto, in 145 pages.)

This collection contains the letters, speeches, &c. of his majesty, K. Charles II. preliminary to his restoration, and in the first Parliament after it. Beginning with 1. His Letter to the House of Peers, from Breda, April 4th, 1660; sent by Sir John Grenvil, soon after Earl of Bath, and read in the House, May the first following. 2. His Declaration from Breda to his loving subjects; same date. 3. His Letter to the House of Commons, from Breda; same date; superscribed, to 'the speaker. 4. His Letter to General Monck, from Breda; same date. Sent by Sir J. Grenville aforesaid, one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Received the first of May; to be communicated to the president and the council of state, and to the officers of the army under his command. 5. His Letter from Breda, to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London; same date. 6. His Letter to the generals of the navy at sea, Monck and Montague, to be communicated to the fleet; from his court at Breda; same date. 7. His Letter to his excellency the Lord General Monck, to be communicated to the officers of the army; sent by Sir Thomas Clerges, from his majesty's court at the Hague, the 26th of May. 8. His Message to the House of Commons: delivered by Mr. Secretary Morris, June 18. Shewing his inclination to expedite the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. 9. His Speech to the House of Peers, the 27th of July, concerning the speedy passing of the said bill. 10. His Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 29th of August, at the passing of the said Act, and others, Herein is mention made of an extraordinary bill, passed in favour of the Duk of Somerset, for his extraordinary services. At the end of his speech, his majesty adjourns this Parliament till the 6th of November. Here he breaks off, and the chancellor continues what was more to be said, for twenty-six pages. 11. His Declaration to all his loving subjects, &c. concerning ecclesiastical affairs: dated from the court at Whitehall, 25 October. 12. His Speech, together with the Lord Chancellor's, to both Houses of Parliament, 29th of December, being the day of their dissolution. In the king's said speech he expresses himself most heartily thankful for their obliging him in the manner they had done; desires, this, may be for ever called the healing Parliament, and imputes the good disposition, &c. they are in, to the Act of Indemnity, &c. In the Chancellor's Speech, he mentions the happy defeat of a late intended insurrection by some disbanded officers, soldiers, and other malecontents, who would have released the prisoners in Newgate, surprised the Tower of London and Windsor Castle, and restored the republican government. They accounted themselves sure of 2500 men; were promised a rising in the west under Ludlow, who was to be their leader, and in the north, under others.

296. Plus Ultra: or, England's Reformation needing to be reformed. Being an examination of Doctor Heylin's Reformation of the Church of England. Wherein, by laying together all that is said by the doctor about the reformation of the church, and by many testimonies of the reverend Dr. Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury; and by

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several observations made upon the work, it doth evidently appear, that the present state of the Church of England is no way to be rested in; but ought to proceed to a further degree of perfection. Written by way of letter, to Dr. Heylin, by H. N. O. J. Oxon. London, printed for the authors; and are to be sold in St. Dunstan's church-yard, in Fleet-street. 1661. (Quarto, in 28 leaves.)

It is not improbable but this pamphlet was written by Dr. Heylin's antagonist, Henry Hickman, whether in conjunction with any other person, is not certain. He taxes him with casting some foul blots upon the first patrons of, and their motives to the reformation: and (page 48) tells him, 'We should rather judge you 'to be the pupil of Dr. Harding (whom you would be 'thought to oppose) than of Bishop Jewel, whom you 'do seem to reverence. Bishop Jewel does not think, 'that he fouls either his tongue or his pen, in naming 'the gospel of Jesus Christ: but how oft, in your 'history, do you, by way of scorn, tell us of the Zuing- 'lian gospellers, as if this were some reproach to them, 'and you had nothing to do with the gospel? which 'in an hundred places, your Dr. Harding upbraids 'Bishop Jewel with.' Bishop Burnet, in the preface to the first volume of his History of the Reformation, has also given a true character of Dr. Heylin's history; against which George Vernon's apology, in his life of the doctor, has had little influence with the publick. Particularly, in one omission the doctor is very unpardonable: 'That he never vouched any authority (says 'the bishop) for what he wrote; which is not to be 'forgiven any who write of transactions beyond their 'own time, and deliver new things not known before.' See also Bishop Barlow, in his Remains, pag. 181, and Bishop Nicholson's Hist. Library, edit. fol. 1736. pag. 118.

297. Observations, both historical and moral, upon the Burning of London, September 1666. With an Account of the Losses. And a most remarkable parallel between London and Mosco, both as to the plague and fire. Also an essay, touching the easterly wind. Written by way of narrative, for satisfaction of the present and future ages. By *Rege Sincera*. Printed by Thomas Ratcliffe, &c. 1667. (Quarto, in 20 leaves.)

This work is dedicated by the author to John Buller, esq. member of the House of Commons. He begins it with repeating the naked narrative, which was printed by consent of his majesty and the public authority. Next proceeds to examine this deplorable accident, by the rules of that searching verse, which comprehends all the circumstances of a fact;

Quis, Quid, Ubi, quibus Auxiliis, Cur, Quomodo, Quando.

'First, by whom done; next, what is done; and then,

'Where; by what means; and wherefore; how, and when.'

And indeed, could he have answered all these ques-

tions, as directly as they are propounded, we must have had a very clear and satisfactory history of the fire of London. However, the answers he does make to those questions may be thus briefly represented. 1. That it was done by the permission of God, through the carelessness of man; the baker, or his servants, in whose house it began. 2. As to what damage it did? having computed that the city of London within the walls, was seated upon about 460 acres, which had about 15000 houses thereon, besides churches, chapels, halls, and other publick buildings, he concludes about 12000 were burnt, which is four parts in five, which, together with all other buildings, goods, &c. he values at seven millions, three hundred thirty-five thousand pounds. Then proceeds, in the same section, to his parallel of the disasters at Mosco, as mentioned in the title. But in this there was a wonderful disparity; that not above half a dozen Londoners were lost in our conflagration, but above two hundred thousand Moscovites miserably consumed in theirs. 3. As to the place where? he answers, with a short, but shining encomium upon our metropolis; the sufferings of which, might employ, he says, a better pen, and be the subject of a full volume. 4. By what means? This he answers, by enlarging upon his first paragraph, where he speaks of the negligence of the master or his servant; the darkness and deadness of the night; narrowness of the streets; closeness and rottenness of the old wooden buildings; the combustible goods and merchandise stored all about; the great heat and drought of the preceding summer; the violent eastern wind, which blew all the while, the most destructive of all others; they approaching over the ocean, this, over the continent; so as to burn our flowers and leaves of trees, more than the hottest sun: lastly, the great want of water, particularly at that time, the Thames water-house being out of order; and the great want of room in those streets so contracted and so crouded with people, to play the engines. 5. The question why? he leaves questionable, whether for the punishment of our sins, the trial of our faith, or the exercise of our patience. 6. The question how it was done? he refers, for an answer, to the fourth section. 7. And, lastly, when? he answers, when we were newly come out of a civil war of twenty years standing; wherein about 100,000 people perished: when the plague had, the year before swept away above 100,000 more; and was still raging: when the kingdom was exhausted of money, and trade lost: and when we had wars with France, Denmark, and Holland, and not without fear of divisions among ourselves. Yet concludes he, by our heavenly Father's paternal corrections, and by his mercies, we are rescued from our fears by peace and quietness, both at home and abroad; restored to the hopes of a flourishing nation, and the most glorious city in the world. *Crescit sub pondere Virtus.* (Printed in vol. iii. p. 295.)

298. A Letter to a Person of Quality, concerning fines received by the Church at its restoration. Wherein, by the instance of one of the richest cathedrals, a very fair guess may be made at the receipts and disbursements of all the rest. By a prebend of the church of Canterbury. 1668. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This author has only subscribed the initial letters

of his name at the end of his letter, P. D. M. by which Anthony Wood might not recollect who was the writer of it, if ever he did see it, or he would not have omitted it in the catalogue of his works. Though it is apparent enough, that the author was Dr. Peter du Moulin, then chaplain in ordinary to the king, and a prebendary of Canterbury. His motives, to this performance, appear in the first page to have risen from what had been said in a pamphlet not long before published, entitled, 'A Proposition for the safety and Peace of the king and kingdom,' &c. (pag. 47) where the writer is charged to have cast a groundless and undeserved odium upon cathedral men, in depressing their persons, and heightening their emoluments; characterizing them as, 'low in their condition, and in their interests; covetous, and undeservedly rewarded. And as to their emoluments, of twenty years in one, if they were reasonable at Canterbury, (says the doctor) they could not be very vast in other cathedrals. Our fines (adds he) are divided equally, but that the dean hath double the share of a prebend, and the total of that great income of our first fines (deducting the reparation of the church, and our present to our royal benefactor) the share of each of the twelve canons was about eleven hundred pounds. Such a sum was no excessive reward for long sufferers, and constant actors in the king's cause, of which the most part of our society consisteth. I am none of the greatest losers of the clergy: yet, I may truly say, that this proportion did hardly amount to the third part of my losses, by sequestration and other violences of the war. Such moderate showers, falling upon lands parched with a long drought, could not drench them to an exuberancy, to leave pools above ground. The condition of my brethren could not be much different from mine.'—And a little further; 'What had become of ours, and all the cathedral churches, if all the fines had been taken from them before the admission of the canons? That of Canterbury, though much defaced by Culmer, and the fanatick soldiers, and decayed by a neglect of well nigh twenty years, was more entire than most cathedrals in England when we came to it; yet, in the year 1664, we found that the reparations of it stood us in twelve thousand pounds; all that expence arising out of fines. But for the fines, all the cathedrals in the kingdom, by this time, had been heaps of ruins; without the fines, these great fabricks, the greatest of Europe, cannot yet be preserved from ruin, &c.' We have been long learning, with St. Paul, how to want; but have had no occasion, as yet, to learn how to abound. But the popular rumour, that we have all the money of the land, hath taught us another doctrine, *Est. inter Causas Paupertatis Opinio Divitiarum*: certainly, one of the great causes of poverty is to be esteemed rich; another, to think ourselves obliged to justify that opinion.

No. XXI.

299. The present Interest of England stated: by a Lover of his King and Country, and the Peace of Christendom. The second impression, corrected and amended. 1671. (Quarto, in 19 leaves.)

There are many good remarks and arguments in

this pamphlet, tending to discountenance that pernicious indisposition, nursed up in our younger brothers, by vanity and idleness, to all kind of business or occupation; and shewing, that the true interest, plenty, and prosperity of England, lies in the advancement of our navigation, trade, and commerce: in giving liberty of conscience to all protestant nonconformists; declining foreign conquests; retrenching the exorbitant fees of lawyers, physicians, and officers: in keeping the ballance among our neighbours; firm league with Holland, good correspondence with Spain, and a jealous eye upon the growing greatness of France: in keeping open the Baltick sea: in his majesty's making himself protector of the whole protestant party, and preserving peace, as the promoter of trade, except unavoidable necessity requires war. Though the author has not prefixed his name to the tract, we find it to have been composed by Slingsby Bethel, esq. See his book, called, 'The Interest of Princes and States in Europe;' preface, and pag. 1.

300. The grand Concern of England explained; in several proposals offered to the consideration of the Parliament: for payment of publick debts, encouragement of trade, and raising the rents of lands. In order whereunto, it is proved necessary; 1. That a stop be put to further buildings in London. 2. That the gentry be obliged to live some part of the year in the country. 3. That registers be settled in every county. 4. That an act for naturalizing all foreign protestants, and indulging them, and his majesty's subjects at home, in matters of conscience may be passed. 5. That the act, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, may be repealed. 6. That brandy, coffee, mum, tea, and chocolate may be prohibited. 7. That the multitude of stage-coaches, and caravans may be suppressed. 8. That no leather may be exported, unmanufactured. 9. That a court of conscience be settled for Westminster, and all the suburbs of London, and in every city and corporation in England. 10. That the extravagant habits and expences of all persons may be curbed; the excessive wages of servants and handicrafts may be reduced, and all foreign manufactures may be prohibited. 11. That it may be made lawful to assign bills, bonds, and other securities; and that a course be taken to prevent the knavery of bankrupts. 12. That the Newcastle trade for coals may be managed by commissioners, to the ease of the subjects, and great advantage of the publick. 13. That the fishing trade may be vigourously prosecuted; all poor people set at work, to make fishing tackle, and be paid out of the money collected every year for the poor, in the several parishes in England. By a Lover of his Country, and a well-wisher to the prosperity both of the king and kingdoms. 1673. (Quarto, in 32 leaves.)

(Printed in vol. viii. p. 547.)

301. A Discourse of the Fishery: briefly laying open, not only the advantages and facility of

the undertaking, but likewise the absolute necessity of it; in order to the well-being both of the king and people. Asserted and vindicated from all material objections. By R. L'Estrange. Printed for Henry Brome. 1674. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This noted author, having diligently perused, extracted, and digested, whatever he could meet with upon this subject, finds his discourse will fall under these propositions. 1. 'That it is of great and certain advantage. 2. That it lies fairer for the subjects of Great Britain, than for the Hollanders. 3. That if it be encouraged and established, it will prove the foundation of an ample and lasting revenue to the crown, and of wealth and prosperity to the nation,' &c. He further asserts, it is granted on all hands, that the Dutch are beholden to the fishery for the rise and support of their greatness; for their reputation abroad, and for their strength at home: insomuch that the herring, cod, and ling, taken in his majesty's seas, by the Dutch, and other strangers, are valued, *Communibus Annis*, at no less than ten millions of pounds sterling; 'which computation (says he) has been often published, and constantly received for current, without contradiction.'

302. An Essay to the restoring our decayed Trade. Wherein is described, the smugglers, lawyers, and officers' frauds, &c. By Joseph Trevers. Printed for Giles Widdowes, &c. 1677. (Quarto, in thirty-three leaves.)

The author dedicates this tract to the Right Hon. Edward Seymour, speaker of the House of Commons, treasurer of the navy, and one of the privy-council; partly because he had been so conversant in and about the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Wilts; where the trade of clothing is so much used. There are two or three copies of verses printed with this work, in praise of the author, and our woollen manufacture; before one of which he is called Capt. Joseph Trevers. And he says of himself, 'That by reason of his employment in the trade of a clothier, and afterwards in the office of surveyor of one of the ports of this kingdom, at the custom-house, he is experimentally enabled to speak of these things.' And indeed, he does well set forth the great advantages of our woollen trade, and the much greater it might produce, but for the many abuses of it. He shews ingenuously, how every two pounds of wool, worth about twenty-pence, will make a yard of kersey, worth five or six shillings; and every four pounds of wool, worth about three shillings and four-pence, will make a yard of broad-cloth, worth eleven or twelve shillings: so that two-thirds is the least profit, that arises by putting our wool into manufactures; which amounts to above two hundred and thirty pounds sterling profit, in every tun of wool so wrought up, accounting twenty hundred English weight to the tun. So that, if we should suppose, but an hundred tuns of wool transported out of the kingdom in a year to France, unwrought; it will amount to twenty-two thousand four hundred pounds sterling, which is so much clear loss to the kingdom, and treble so much profit to France, by their working up three times as much of their own with ours; besides the depriving thereby so many of our poor from work, and the rich of their rents. But, notwithstanding those great advantages in this trade,

it is here affirmed, that millions of money are lost to the king and kingdom, by private exportation of our wool, and fuller's earth; the losing our trade, and being undermined by the Dutch; the importation of foreign prohibited goods, to the detriment of the silk-weavers, &c. and besides the loss by smugglers; the frauds of unfaithful officers, and others concerned in the law, are here complained of, and further offered to be laid open, to prevent the general poverty and decay of trade, which will otherwise attend the continuation of such abuses.

303. A just Vindication of Learning: or, an humble Address to the High Court of Parliament, in behalf of the Liberty of the Press. By Philopatris. 1679. (Quarto, in 12 leaves.)

This address was now published by its ingenious author, upon the occasion of a late act, which, having laid a severe restraint upon printing, was now near expiring; entreating the said Parliament, before they think of continuing any such act, to consider these arguments against such inquisition, or embargo upon science. It is true, the author has been beholden to some fine sentiments of the Lord Bacon, and Mr. Milton, upon the topic of studies, and publishing the fruits thereof without restraint; but he has so well chosen, and joined them so orderly together, that they look like plants, which had been long slumbering, as dead in their winter beds, when called forth by the general warmth of the spring, and decked with new youth and beauty. The author was Charles Blount, esq. the younger son of Sir Henry Blount; and, because he published this tract under the name of Philopatris, it is thought his father had an hand in the composition. He gave other proofs of his pregnant parts and learning, besides this publication, at twenty-five years of age, immediately after, by his '*Anima Mundi*,' and his translation of '*Philostratus's Life of Appollonius Tyaneus*,' &c. There is written, at the end of this pamphlet, with a pen, these words—'How just were the complaints of the people in those days, against a licensing press; and how cogent were the reasons of this judicious author, for its abrogation, are manifest, from the universal consent of the legislature, which hath quite abolished that tyrannical power.'

304. The French Intrigues discovered. With the methods and arts to retrench the potency of France by land and sea; and to confine that monarch within his antient dominions and territories. Humbly submitted to the consideration of the princes and states of Europe, especially of England. Written in a letter from a person of quality abroad, to his correspondent here. Printed for R. Baldwin. 1681. (Fol. in 17 leaves.)

This pamphlet will ever be a useful monitor to England, to beware and guard itself against the secret and treacherous, or open and violent encroachments of France, upon our religion, trade and territories. It is stored with political cautions of all kinds, and strengthened with historical examples upon all occasions. Were our state to have regarded good advice and directions, more than as so many good dreams; and the protestant princes had cordially put in practice, the

propositions here, as well as elsewhere tendered them; they had before this time brought that wish to pass, which this author concludes with, and where there is now but one king in France, there would have been twenty.

305. A short Way to a lasting Settlement: shewing, 1. That Parliaments are not infallible. 2. Who are their great enemies. 3. How to redeem their reputation. With a warning to all loyal gentlemen and freeholders. In a letter to Fanaticus Ignoramus. Printed for Robert Clavel. 1683. (Quarto, in 17 leaves.)

This pamphlet, though it is not inserted in the catalogue of its author's works, by A. Wood, was written, as it is remembered, upon the title-page of the copy here made use of, in a manuscript note, by Dr. Laurence Womack; a great royalist, and true son of the church, who was made Bishop of St. David's the same year he published this pamphlet.

306. A Letter written to Dr. Burnet; giving an account of Cardinal Pool's secret powers: from which it appears, that it was never intended to confirm the alienation that was made of the Abbey lands. To which are added, two breves that Cardinal Pool brought over, and some other of his letters, that were never before printed. Printed for Richard Baldwin, &c. 1685. (Quarto, in 40 pages.)

307. A Collection of Papers relating to the present Juncture of Affairs in England, viz. 1. The humble petition of seven bishops, to his Majesty. 2. Articles recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to all the bishops and clergy within his jurisdiction. 3. Proposals of the archbishop, with some other bishops, to his majesty. 4. Petition of the lords spiritual and temporal, for calling a free parliament; with his majesty's gracious answer. 5. A vindication of the aforesaid petition. 6. An extract of the states-general their resolution. 7. The Prince of Orange his letter to the English army. 8. Account of a design to poison the Prince of Orange, before he came out of Holland. 9. A relation of a strange meteor, representing a crown of light, seen in the air near the city of Orange. 10. Lord Delamere's speech to his tenants. 11. Prince of Denmark's letter to the king. 12. The Lord Churchill's letter to the king. 13. Princess Anne's letter to the queen. 14. A memorial of the protestants of England, to the Prince and Princess of Orange. 15. Prince of Orange his declaration of November 21, 1688; from Sherborn Castle. 1688. (Quarto, in 34 pages.)

308. *Lycrymæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*: or, a serious and passionate address of the church of England to her sons, especially those of the clergy. 1689. (Quarto, in 32 leaves.)

This pamphlet was first printed in the year 1663;

and then dedicated to the king and parliament. The principal matters treated of therein, are: I. The church's apology, for her constitution; and justification of her government, doctrine, and devotion. II. Her resentment of undue ordination; as upon young ministers, above 3000; debauched ones, 1500; unlearned, without number; factious, 1342. III. Her resentment of scandalous profaneness. IV. Her complaint against unconscionable simony. V. Her complaint against encroaching pluralities. VI. Her resentment of non-residence.

309. Lettre du Roy de la Grand Bretagne, au Lord Comte Portland: a Letter from the King of Great Britain to the Earl of Portland. 1690. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This is a very remarkable letter, written in French, dated from Whitehall, 20 January, 1690, and signed by King William. The French letter is printed in one column, and the English translation against it in another. The translator, who bestows above two pages of reflections upon it at the end, declares, 'It is neither flattery nor pique, which made him translate and publish it; and that it was only the sincere love of his country, which induced him to meddle with such a dangerous business.' He says further, 'The contents of it led us to reflect on the genius of the editor; what Holland thinks of him, what he thinks of England, and what England must expect from him. We were made believe, that he was far from any selfish ends, but came over out of pure zeal, for our religion, laws, liberties, and properties; but this letter, the true index of his mind, and most inward thoughts, as being writ to his most intimate friend, plainly discovers a temper, solely bent to pursue his own private grandeur,' &c. &c.

310. An Essay upon Taxes: calculated for the present juncture of affairs in England. 1693. (Quarto, in 14 leaves.)

There is a manuscript note upon the title-page of this pamphlet, expressing the author to have been Sir Richard Temple.

311. The Earl of Anglesey's State of the Government and Kingdom: prepared and intended for his Majesty King Charles II. in the year 1682. But the storm impending, growing so high, prevented it then. With a short vindication of his lordship, from several aspersions cast upon him, in a pretended letter that carries the title of his memoirs. By Sir John Thompson, baronet. Printed for Sam. Crouch. 1694. (Quarto, in 20 leaves.)

312. A Collection of Advertisements, Advices and Directions relating to the Royal Fishery, within the British Seas, &c. transcribed out of divers English writers, observators and other experimentors of, and in the said fishery trade. And by approbation and allowance of the company of the royal fishery of England. Published in order to the inciting the people of these na-

tions, &c. to improve the advantages thereof, under the countenance and encouragements granted to the said company and their successors, by his late Majesty King Charles II. in letters-patents under the great seal of England, bearing date the 25th day of September, in the 29th year of his said Majesty's reign. 1695. (Quarto, printed in 36 leaves.)

No. XXII.

313. A most straunge and true Discourse of the wonderfull Judgment of God, of a monstrous deformed Infant, begotten by incestuous copulation, betweene the brother's sonne, and the sister's daughter, being both unmarried persons. Which child was born at Colwall, in the county and diocese of Hereford, upon the sixt day of January last; being the feast of the Epiphany, commonly called twelfth-day, 1599. A notable and most terrible example against incest and whoredom. Imprinted at London for Richard Jones. 1600. (Quarto, in nine leaves.)

This pamphlet was published by a preacher of the gospel, who signs himself at the end of his epistle to the godly reader, J. R. And has included the description of this imperfect and deformed child, which was communicated by a gentleman of good credit and worship in that neighbourhood. The mother of that child was a yeoman's daughter, but she is not named; and two of her cousin Germans lived incontinently with her, while she was servant in her uncle's house at Mathen in Worcestershire; but it was at her other uncle's house, at Colwell before named, that she was delivered of the child; which was baptised by the pastor of the parish, and named 'What Godwill;' but it died on the third day. The editor concludes the narrative with a christian discourse against all uncleanness, arising from the seven causes here distinguished. Then recommends some books, which have notably handled this point; as, Stubb's 'Anatomy of Abuses;' Hergest's 'Right Rule of Christian Chastity;' Bateman's 'Doom Warning to Judgment;' Beard's 'Theatre of God's Judgment;' Parson's 'Christian Resolution;' and more particularly says, "Read, I pray you, Thomas Nashe's book, entitled, 'The Tears of Christ over Jerusalem:' which book, if you have any grace in you, will make you to shed tears for your sins, &c." After which follows an invective conclusion.

314. A Welch Bayte to spare Provender: or, a looking back upon times past. Written dialogue wise. This book is divided into three parts. The first, a brief discourse of England's security, while her late Majestie was living; with the manner of her proceeding in government, especially towards the Papists and Puritans of England: whereof a letter, written late before her death, specifies; as followeth in this first part. The second, a description of the distractions during her Majesty's sickness, with the composing of them. The third, of the aptness of the English and the Scotte to incorporate, and become one entire monarchie: with the meanes of preserving

their union everlastingly, added thereunto. Printed at London by Valentine Simmes. 1603. (Quarto, in 16 leaves.)

This tract is dedicated in verse, to Henry Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, Baron of Tichfield, and of the noble order of the garter. By Thomas Powell, the author, who was a Welshman. The several discourses also, as mentioned in the title, are interspersed with verses; and, in the conclusion, the author has three copies, upon the Lady Elizabeth Bridges; the noble Sir Thomas Knevet, and the right worshipful Sir Edward Dyer.

315. *The Court of good Counsell*: wherein is set downe the true rules, how a man should choose a good wife from a bad; and a woman a good husband from a bad. Wherein is also expressed, the great care that parents should have, for the bestowing of their children in marriage: and likewise, how children ought to behave themselves towards their parents: and how maisters ought to govern their servants; and how servants ought to be obedient to their maisters. Set forth as a patterne for all people to learne wit by: published by one that hath dearly bought it, by experience. Printed by Ralph Blower, and solde by William Barley, at his shop in Gracious streete. 1607. (Quarto, in 36 leaves.)

These moral discourses and counsells upon those important subjects, coming into the hands of W. B. to be imprinted, (whom we therefore conjecture to be William Barley, the bookseller aforesaid,) he has prefixed a dedication of them to Sir John Joles, one of the aldermen of London: wherein, observing that the duty of all sorts of people is most lively set forth, and thinking that for their excellency they deserve a patron of judicial censure, he has chosen to dedicate them to him; wishing them as worthy of his worship's acceptance, as the said publisher desires they should be, &c.

316. *The hellish and horrible Councell*, practised and used by the Jesuites, in their private consultations, when they would have a man to murder a king. According to those damnable instructions given by them to that bloody villaine, Francis Ravilliacke, who murdered Henry the Fourth, the late King of France. Sent to the Queene Regent, in answere to that impudent pamphlet published by Peter Cotton, Jesuite, in defence of the Jesuites, and their doctrine: which also is here annexed. Translated out of French. Printed for T. B. and to be sold by John Wright, at his shop by Christ-church gate. 1610. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

This curious tract is dedicated to the queen mother of the young king, and to the regent of France; and notwithstanding that notorious letter of father Cotton, so much cried up by his society, for clearing them of the king-killing doctrine: yet the answers, which have been made thereto, have not only laid those black and monstrous principles at the door of their true parents, but proved that the horrid practises of them had been in many other examples effected, through those reli-

gious delusions wherewith they so solemnly poisoned the minds of their ignorant and bigotted instruments.

317. *Sir Anthony Sherley's Relation of his Travels into Persia*. The dangers and distresses which befell him in his passage both by sea and land; and his strange and unexpected deliverances. His magnificent entertainment in Persia; his honourable imployment there since, as embassadour to the Princes of Christendome; the cause of his disappointment therein; with his advice to his brother, Sir Robert Sherley. Also a true relation of the great magnificence, valour, prudence, justice, temperance, and other manifold vertues of Abas, now King of Persia; with his great conquests, whereby he hath enlarged his dominions. Penned by Sir Anthony Sherley; and recommended to his brother Sir Robert Sherley, being now in prosecution of the like honourable imployment. London, printed for Nathaniel Butter, and Joseph Bagset. 1613. (Quarto, in 74 leaves.)

This voyage, Sir Anthony Sherley, set out from Venice, on the 24th of May, 1599. It has never been intirely reprinted, but an abstract of it may be found in Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrims*; volume the 2d, folio 1625, lib. 9. The editor, in his epistle to the reader, informs us, that the author's brother, Sir Robert Sherley, promised an addition to this relation, which is but a former part; but that such addition was ever published by him, or in his name, does not appear.

318. *The Life and Death of the reverend Father, and faithfull Servant of God, Mr. William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway*, who departed this Life at Edinburgh, the 15th of February, 1619. Whereunto is added a Resolution, penned by himself, some few days before his death, touching the articles concluded in the late general assembly holden at Perth. London, printed by George Purslowe for John Budge, &c. 1619. (Quarto, in 16 leaves.)

The discourse of the life of this Scotch bishop was also penned by himself on the first of January, 1616, and some other papers of his meditations also here printed. To which is added, an account of his death by the publisher. His answer to the scruples against the acts of the assembly aforesaid, which also contains a catalogue of his writings, containing his opinion of holydays, baptism, private communion, and kneeling at the communion.

319. *The Favorites Chronicle*: printed according to the French copy. 1621. (Quarto, in 21 leaves.)

This severe and satirical piece of history contains what had happened in the French court within the two last years: also the rencounter of several French noblemen in the other world, with the late Marquis D'Ancre, and the Lord Constable, Luynes, &c. It is very scarce in the original, and seems to have been privately printed in English.

320. The Circle of Commerce: or, the Balance of Trade, in Defence of Free Trade. Opposed to Malyne's Little Fish, and his Great Whale; and poised against them in the scale. Wherein also, exchanges in general are considered; and therein, the whole trade of this kingdom with foreign countries, is digested into a ballance of trade, for the benefit of the publick. Necessary for the present and future times. By E. M. Merchant. Printed by John Dawson for Nic. Bourne. 1623. (Quarto, in 80 leaves.)

This curious and useful tract was written by Edward Misselden, an eminent merchant, who then lived at Hackney. He had variety of reading at his command, sufficient ingenuity to apply it, and was singularly well acquainted with the commerce and interest of the nation. He has properly dedicated it to Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, and lord high treasurer of England; whom he praises liberally for his mercantile knowledge. He had before published a little 'Treatise of Free Trade,' and there were some objections made to certain arguments therein, in two tracts, intitled, 'The Little Fish,' and 'The Great Whale,' written by Gerard Malynes, an old Dutch merchant; who had published several books upon trade for thirty or forty years in England, and especially in defence of exchange, which he prophesied would irritate the merchants, as it came to pass; for he is here very roughly handled throughout this whole treatise.

321. The Cities Advocate, in this case, or question of honour and arms, 'Whether Apprenticeship extinguisheth Gentry?' containing a clear refutation of the pernicious common error, affirming it, swallowed by Erasmus of Rotterdam; Sir Thomas Smith, in his 'Commonwealth;' Sir John Ferne, in his 'Blazon;' Ralph Broke, York-Herald, and others. With the copies or transcripts of three letters, which gave occasion to this work. Printed for W. Lee, &c. 1629. (Quarto, in 40 leaves.)

The author has not prefixed his name to this learned and ingenious work, in honour of our citizens, but it is known to have been written by John Philpot, Somerset-herald, who died at or near the college of arms in London, anno 1645. With the three anonymous letters of inducement to publish this tract; there is another also printed, written to the author by Sir William Segar, knight, garter, principal king of arms, containing his approbation thereof and persuasion to his said loving friend, that he would let it receive the glory of publick light, and this renowned city thereby an increase to her honour. It is divided into four parts; and on the sixth page, there is an impression, from a copper-plate, of the arms of London, 'as they are displayed in ancient heraldry, and as commented upon, out of authentick monuments in that worthily well-commended survey of London, composed by that diligent chronologer, and vertuous citizen, Mr. John Stowe.' There is also the figure of the Lord Fitzwalter, bannerer of the city of London, in his coat of armour; sword in one hand, and in the other the banner of the said city, containing the effigies of St.

Paul; being a copy of that, which an old imperfect leiger-book in the office of arms contains.

322. Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo: or, London's Fountain of Arts and Sciences: expressed in sundry triumphs, pageants, and shewes, at the initiation of the right honourable Nicholas Raynton into the maiorty of the famous and far-renowned city, London. All the charge and expence of the laborious projects both by water and land, being the sole undertaking of the right worshipful company of haberdashers. Written by Thomas Haywood. Printed by Nicholas Okes. 1632. (Quarto, in 10 leaves.)

This T. Haywood was a writer of many plays, as we have taken notice of in his description of that majestic ship, which was called 'The Royal Sovereign of the Seas,' which he published two years after, and whereof a spacious sculpture was also engraved, and published in two large sheets, by John Payne, if we mistake not his name. And, as the said Haywood also published descriptions of several other lord-mayor's shewes, we suppose he might be the city poet, at that time. Among the speeches in verse, he has one in honour of the number *twelve*, in compliment to the chief city companies. At the end of this pamphlet, as well as the other, he has 'a panegyrick upon maister Gerard Christmas,' for bringing the pageants, and figures in them, to such great perfection, both in symmetry and substance; being before but mishapen monsters, and only made of slight wicker and paper. The author dedicates this pamphlet to the said lord-mayor, who being a Lincolnshire man, he makes a remark in honour of that county of many eminent persons, especially in the like high degree of magistracy who were natives thereof; 'as, Sir John Stockton, mercer, born at Bratost, lord-mayor, 1470: Sir Nicholas Aldwin, mercer, born at Spalding, lord-mayor, 1499: Sir William Rennington, fishmonger, at Boston, lord-mayor, 1500: Sir William Forman, haberdasher, at Gainsborough, lord-mayor, 1538: Sir Henry Hobberthorne, merchant-taylor, at Waddingworth, lord-mayor, 1546: Sir Henry Amcoats, fishmonger, at Astrop, lord-mayor, 1548: Sir John Langley, goldsmith, at Althorp, lord-mayor, 1576: Sir John Allot, fishmonger, at Lunbergh, lord-mayor, 1590: Sir George Bowes, grocer, at Gosperton, lord-mayor, 1617: and now in present, your honoured self, Nicholas Raynton, born at Heighington, lord-mayor, 1632. Not so many having attained to the same dignity bred in any other county, the city of London excepted. Worthy observation it is also, that at one time, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, most of the prime officers of state were countrymen of the same county; as, the archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift: the lord high treasurer of England, Lord Burghley, Cecill: the lord-keeper of the great seal, Sir John Puckering: vice-chamberlain and chancellor of the duchy, Sir Thomas Heneage, one of her majesty's privy council: the lord chief justice, Wraye, &c. &c.'

323. A Protestation of the most high and mighty Prince, Charles Lodowicke, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Archidapifer, and Prince Elector of the sacred Empire, Duke of Bavaria,

&c. Translated out of the High Dutch, into English, French, and Latine; and printed at London, by Richard Whitaker. 1637. (Quarto, in 15 leaves.)

This protestation is against all the unlawful and violent proceedings and actions intended and practised to his highness, his brethren, and near kindred's prejudice; particularly against the secret and invalid dispositions and decrees of the emperor, in the translation of the electoral dignity and dominions upon the Duke of Bavaria, &c. Secondly, the unlawful and vain election of a King of the Romans, where his highness and the elector of Triers were excluded. Lastly, the violent and unjust usurpation and possession of the electoral dignity, title, voice, and session, by the Duke of Bavaria. Before the said protestation, there is printed the definition of one, from the civilians; and an example from the bible, of Sampson's making a protestation against the Philistines.

324. The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against Canterburie, and the Lieutenant of Ireland. Together with their demand concerning the sixt article of the treaty. Printed 1641. (Quarto, in 28 leaves.)

Much of their charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury, is, for his imposition of the service book, with his alterations upon them. And, in their charge against the Earl of Strafford, there is this paragraph: 'When he found that the reformation, begun in Scotland, did stand in his way, he left no means unessaied to rub disgrace upon us, and our cause. The pieces printed at Dublin, *E. amen Conjuratōnis Scoticanæ*; 'The Ungirding of the Scottish Armour;' the pamphlet bearing the counterfeit name of 'Lysimachus Nicenor;' all three so full of calumnies, slanders, and scurrilities against our country and reformation, that the Jesuites, in their greatest spite, could not have said more. Yet, not only the authors were countenanced and rewarded by him, but the books must bear his name, as the great patron both of the work and workmen.'

No. XXIII.

325. A perfect Declaration of the barbarous and cruel Practises committed by Prince Robert, the Cavaliers, and others in his Majesty's Army; from the Time of the King's going from his Parliament, until this present Day. Also the names and places of all those, whose houses have been plundered, and lost their lives and estates, compared with the bloody cruelties of the rebels in Ireland, whose examples they follow, and make use of them as their agents to act their cruelties in England. Together with the new oaths and blasphemous speeches they do daily invent; and how Prince Robert's captains offered summes of money to those that can study new execrations against the round-heads. Collected by R. Andrewes, chyrurgion; who is now a prisoner amongst the cavalliers, and was taken at Kynton Battell. London, printed for Fr. Coule. 1642. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

326. A Remonstrance of the Right Honourable James Earl of Castlehaven, and Lord Audley, concerning his Imprisonment in Dublin, and Escape from thence. Reviewed, corrected, and augmented. Printed at Waterford, by Thomas Bourke, 1643. (Quarto, in 23 pages.)

327. The last Speeches and Confession of the Lord Macguire, the Irish Rebel, that was hanged at Tyburne, and drawne and quartered on Thursday last, the 20th of February, 1644. With all the questions that were put to him, and his several answers. And the coppies of those letters and other papers which he then had in his hands, and made use of, that were afterwards delivered to Sheriffe Gibbes. And his directory from the Romish priests, that gave him notice by the said papers to know them, in passing to Tyburne with him: also his several absolutions secretly given him, and all other passages at his death. Printed and published according to order. Imprinted by Jane Coe. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

At the end is this advertisement—'The whole tryall of the Lord Macguire should have been published e'er this, but it could not be ready so suddenly: this, being of such concernment, is thought fit to be published in the interim.'

328. The whole Triall of Connor, Lord Macguire: with the perfect copies of the indictment, and all the evidences against him. Also the copies of Sir Philome Oneale's commission, the Pope's bull to the confederate catholicks in Ireland, with many remarkable passages of the grand rebellion there, from the first rise thereof, to this present. His plea of peerage, and several answers: with the several replies made to him; by the king's sergeant at law, and sergeant Roll: William Prynne, esq. and M. Nudigate. And the copies of the several testimonies brought in against him at his triall at the king's bench barre, in Hilarie term last: by the Lord Blaney, Lady Calfield, Sir Arthur Loftus, Sir John Temple, Sir William Stewart, Sir Francis Hamilton, Sir Edward Borlacey, Sir William Cole, Sir Charles Coot, Mrs. Wordrofe, John Carmicke, Walter Gubson, M. Bunbury, Capt. Mich. Balfoure, and Capt. Beresford. London, printed for Robert Austin, in the Old Bailey. 1645. (Quarto, in 25 leaves.)

This triall of Connor, *alias* Cornelius Macguire, Baron of Enneskellin in Ireland, began at the king's bench bar at Westminster, on Monday, February 10, and ended the next day. He pleaded that he ought, and therefore prayed, to be judged by his peers: but Mr. Justice Bacon delivered his judgment, that a Baron of Ireland was tryable by a jury in this kingdom. And the House of Commons declared their assent to his opinion, in over-ruling the plea, and in the manner of the tryall upon the indictment of high treason in the king's bench, requiring him to proceed speedily thereupon, according to law and justice.

329. The religious and loyal Protestation of John Gauden, doctor in divinity, against the present declared purposes and proceedings of the army and others; about the trying and destroying our Sovereign Lord the King. Sent to a colonel, to be presented to the Lord Fairfax, and his generall councill of officers, the fift of January, 1648. *Imprimatur*, Ja. Cranford. London, printed for Richard Royston, in Ivie Lane. 1648. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

330. A Hue and Crie after Cromwell: or, the Cities Lamentation for the Loss of their Coyne and their Conscience. Nol-nod, printed in the year of no liberty. 1649. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

There is also, in the title-page of this pamphlet, this pretended order—'Ordered by the supreme authority, that this Hue and Crie be speedily directed to all the people's officers, whether mayors, sheriffs, constables, &c. to be proclaimed in all cities, counties, townes, boroughs in England and Walles. Henry Scobel, *Cler. de Com.*' The author, in the manner of a beadle or cryer, having begun with *O Yes!* makes a large description both of the person and principles of Oliver Cromwell; and, though it is a rough one, there are bold strokes of truth in it. He calls him, 'A certain beast with a triangular jesuitical head, a totting red nose, a long meagre face, red fiery eyes, iron-streaked on the sides; a broad back, long runnagade-legs, bloody pawes, &c.'—And a little further. 'His mouth is an open sepulchre, which never divides itself but to deceive. His tongue is tipped with rhetorical rhapsodies to ruin kingdoms, dissemble with God, equivocate and juggle with men. His face is the map of impudence, and his nose the flaming beacon to raise a country to rebellion; or a sea-mark for sectaries to sail by, &c.' In page three, there is a circumstance which has not been touched upon, that we remember, by other authors.—*Viz.* All these are sufficient marks to know him by. Some say, he was conveyed away in a chariot drawn by six Flanders' mares, with one Ireton, the devil's godson, and Harrison the jesuite, his life-guard of ninety 'squires of the last edition; when indeed it had been far better and more pleasing to God and man that he had been drawn like his son on a sledge, with three black dray-horses, and Derrick, and his man for his companion; and the varlets about him with a guard of halberts; as being the greatest injustice, that young Cromwell should be lianged, drawn, and quartered, for poysoning the master of one single family, and that old Cromwell should escape for murdering his lord and sovereign, that was the master of all the private families of England. *O Tempora! O Mores!*

Young Noll at Tyburne suffer'd for his fact;
Old Noll's unhang'd, has done the baser act.

331. Proposals concerning the Chancery. Wherein is set forth the desires of divers well-affected persons, for the regulating of the High Court of Chancery, and the proceedings there; and abolishing of severall fees, offices, and officers thereunto belonging. Tendred to the consideration

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of the honourable committee for regulating courts of justice, and all others whom it may concern. And published to the view of the nation; whereby every well-meaning man to the publique may joyn, in all lawfull wayes, for obteyning a just settlement and regulation of the said court. With a very usefull table thereto annexed. Printed by W. Ellis, &c. 1650. (Quarto, in 15 leaves, besides the table, in one sheet.)

This useful table of fees in the six clerks' office, then worth upwards of two thousand pounds *per annum* a-piece, contains, in the first column, the great exacted fees, which the grand or head officers belonging to the chancery take from the commonwealth in every cause; and for which they take no pains at all, save only attending to receive them. The second column, how little thereof the clerks and labourers, who do all the service, have thereout, to maintain themselves, their wives and families. The third column, how much will satisfy the true labourers, to do all the business: and the fourth, how much thereby, out of every fee, may be saved to the commonwealth, and particularly to all parties; plaintiffs, and defendants in the said court; with far more facility, and quicker dispatch of their business.

332. An Advertisement to the Jurymen of England, touching Witches. Together with a difference between an English and Hebrew witch. Printed by J. G. for Richard Royston, &c. 1653. (Quarto, in 16 leaves.)

Although this pamphlet be anonymous, there is a MS. note upon the copy here used, informing us, that it was written by Sir Robert Filmer, author of the 'Animadversions on Milton, Hobbes, &c. and of some pieces upon government, &c. His writing this tract, was occasioned by the execution of some persons for witches, at the summer assizes before, in Kent, the county in which this author was born. His chief purpose is to examine and confute an old treatise upon the subject, written by Mr. William Perkins; who therein, though he produces eighteen signs for the discovery of a witch, he rejects fourteen or fifteen himself; the sixteenth, which is the party's own confession, that author also confesses insufficient; the seventeenth, two credible witnesses, he grants, can hardly be produced, because of the secrecy of diabolical compacts; and the last, Satan's own discovery; which, 'how it can be done, (says our author) except the devil be bound over to give in evidence against the witch, cannot be understood.' And as Mr. Perkins discredited his own proofs; so does he likewise those of King James; which are, the marks of a witch; the discovery of a fellow witch, and the swimming of a witch, with her inability to shed tears; all which, with other like wise and weighty arguments upon this topic, his majesty so handles, as would make some think he was himself bewitched. In short, our author judiciously distinguishes of this doctrine of witchcraft: that ignorance, in the times of darkness, brought it forth; and credulity, in these days of light, hath continued it.

333. The Speech of Colonel Hugh Grove upon the Scaffold, at Exeter, on Monday last,
3 K

immediately before his head was severed from his body. With his prayer a little before death, and his declaration and protest to the people, touching a loyal heart, a faithful conscience, a bloody scaffold, and a fatal axe. Taken by an impartial hand, and transmitted to the press; to the end, it might be printed, published, and dispersed, throughout the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland. London, printed for Sam. Burdet. 1655. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

334. The Tryals of Sir Henry Slingsby, knt. and John Hewet, D. D. for High Treason, in Westminster-Hall. Together with the lord president's speech before the sentence of death was pronounced against the aforementioned Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet, being June 2, 1658. At which time Mr. Mordaunt was, by the said court, acquitted. As also the manner of their execution on Tower-Hill, the eighth of June following. 1658. (Quarto, in 20 pages.)

335. A Word to Purpose: or, a Parthian Dart shot back to 1642, and from thence shot back again to 1659, swiftly glancing upon some remarkable occurrences of the times; and now sticks fast in two substantial queries, 1. Concerning the legality of the second meeting of some of the long parliament members: also, a fool's bolt shot into Wallingford House, by as good a friend to England as any is there, concerning a free state. 1659. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

More expressly, this pamphlet discusses the point, I. Whether the men met together in the house at Westminster, where usually the commons sat, were at that day a lawful parliament, according to the fundamental laws of the nation, to bind the people to obey their commands? 2. Whether, as things then stood, it was likely they should compass the design of setting up a free state; as well in respect to those who were to do it by greatest pretence, as those who would do it without any pretence, and in respect of the thing itself to be done. Towards the latter end, speaking of a democracy, he says, 'It squares not with the genius of this people; and while Mr. Harrington (speaking well of a commonwealth in general) would fit and calculate it for our horizon, because it suits with other nations, he talks like an ass; for the laws of every nation are suited to the constitution of the people. Were it possible now to alter the fundamental positive ancient common law of this nation, concerning men and times? It is impossible; however eager wolves may bark at the moon: and it is as impossible to subdue the hearts of the people to another frame of government, to have it continue long. Alas! after the king's death, the people, poor, beaten, tyred parliament-ridden wretches, were content to have any thing to be quiet; but, as soon as Oliver stepped up into the chair, see how willingly they conspired with him! how willingly they embraced him! which was only because of the government, and the reduction of the ancient known laws and supremacy into the ancient channel; for, as to his person,

'they deemed him a traitor.' And a little further—
'Let them, that wish for Charles Stuart's coming in again, make all they can for an oligarchy; however, a democracy will do it: and let the soldiers alone and be quiet. For let them have a common enemy, or any power to oppose; they'll join, and be unanimous in such a business: but let them rest, and have nothing to do, and they'll make something to do. Let them be idle, and they'll be busy; and, if they can find no business, they'll make some; give them no occasion of fighting with others, and, my life for it, they will fight with themselves: and, when thieves fall out, honest men will come by their own.'

337. The Rump's last Will and Testament, which the Executors herein named (being out of Hopes of the Monster's Recovery) have thought good to publish and exhibit. Printed by John Taylor. 1660. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This rump of the long sitting parliament, considering the uncertainty of its noisome continuance, and sensible of its approaching dissolution, after having made this comical will, constitutes its loving friends Praise-God Barebones, with his late rabble of fellow-petitioners, to be executors thereof; giving them the thanks of the house for their good infections, and gives them a copy of its countenance, as a commission to carry on their damnable, cursed, and cut-throat design. There is a postscript at the end, which is signed by the author, S. P.

338. The horrid Conspiracie of such impenitent Traytors as intended a new Rebellion in the Kingdom of Ireland. With a List of the Prisoners, and the particular Manner of seizing Dublin Castle by Ludlow, and his Accomplices, *Verbatim*, out of the Expresses sent to his Majesty from the Duke of Ormond. Published by authority. London, printed for Sam. Speed. 1663. (Quarto, in 10 leaves.)

After the narrative of this conspiracy, we have two declarations by the Duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant, and the council in Ireland; in one of which there is a reward offered of one hundred pounds each, for apprehending Thomas Blood, late of Sarny, near Dunboine, in the county of Meath; Major Abel Warren, Andrew Mac Cormock, and Robert Chambers, ministers, and Colonel Gilbert Carr. And the end, where there is an advertisement, observing, 'It was too plain, that the royal parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland had too much reason to order a renunciation of the solemn league and covenant, when those very rebels which abhor and despise it, as if they were honest men, do to this hour make it the bottom for a new rebellion, &c.'

339. A Narrative panegyric of the Life, Sickness, and Death, of George, by Divine Providence, Lord Bishop of Derry in Ireland. As it was delivered at his Funerals in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ-Church in Dublin, on Friday the 12 of January, *Anno Domini* 1665-6. By R. Mossom, D. D. Dean of the said Cathedral Church.

London, printed by Tho. Newcomb, &c. 1665-6.
(Quarto, in 10 leaves.)

This Bishop of London-Derry was Dr. George Wilde, born in Middlesex, bred in St. John's College, Oxon; sometime chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and vicar of St. Giles's in Reading. He suffered much for the royal cause, and therefore, as well as for his learning and abilities, was requited with that bishoprick in Ireland, after the restoration; and there he was much valued for his publick spirit, and exemplary piety. A. Wood says, he was accounted, in his younger years, a person of great ingenuity, and in his elder, a man of singular prudence, &c. He mentions two plays written by him in his youth, and a sermon; but seems to be under a mistake, in saying, that his 'Funeral Sermon' was preached by Mr. George Seignior, his chaplain, 'to which (says he) I refer the reader for his further character, being, as it is said, made publick.'

No. XXIV.

340. England's Wants: or, several Proposals probably beneficial for England; humbly offered to the Consideration of all good Patriots in both Houses of Parliament. By a true Lover of his Country. London, printed for Jo. Martyn. 1667. (Quarto, in 23 leaves.)

This we take to be the first edition of the said work, because we have met with two or three editions printed after it in the title-page, where it is said to be written by the author of 'The present State of England;' and thereby appears to have been doctor Edward Chamberlayne. This copy before us had been the author's own. There are in it abundance of additions of his own hand-writing, on the tops, sides, and bottoms of the leaves; which we find, upon collating it, are printed in the subsequent impressions, and a postscript besides.

341. The Necessity of abating Usury reasserted; in a Reply to the Discourse of Mr. Thomas Manly, entitled, Usury at six *per cent*. Examined &c. Together with a familiar and inoffensive way, propounded for the future discovery of summes at interest; that so they may be charged with their equal share of publick taxes and burthens; the long defeat whereof hath exceedingly fomented usury, embased land, and much decayed the better half of the kingdom. By Sir Thomas Culpeper, jun. knight. Printed by T. L. for Christopher Wilkinson. 1670. (Quarto, in 32 leaves.)

The author's father had written a treatise upon this subject, which was first published in 1620; and the author himself had printed another before this; which produced Mr. Manley's answer; and that, this reply. [See No. 510.]

342. The present Interest of England stated: by a Lover of his King and Country. 1671. (Quarto, in 21 leaves.)

The author's name is not printed to this pamphlet, but there is a manuscript note in the title-page, that is

written by William Penn, the quaker. It was much talked of, at its publication, for favouring the Hollanders so much above the French, that it produced the following tract upon that subject.

343. A Letter to Sir Thomas Osborn, one of his Majesties Privy-Council, upon the reading of a Book, called, 'The present State of England stated.' Printed for Henry Brome, 1672. (Quarto, in 19 pages.)

England being now engaged in a war with the Dutch, the author thinks he could not more seasonably than now transmit these papers to the said Sir Thomas. And in the 4th page thus characterizes the writer of the foregoing pamphlet and his work: 'This author treats of our domestick affairs not only more rationally, but more like a man concerned for the good of England than he does of our interests abroad. For then, instead of examining calmly how far the friendship of other countries would at this present be useful to us, he falls into passionate expressions of kindness for the Hollanders; as if our principal design, in seeking foreign alliances, ought not to be the encrease of our wealth and power, but the finding out humours in another nation that please us, and the being civil to those with whom we have been longest acquainted.' And, page 6, he observes upon the author's argument, 'That we ought to keep friends with the Dutch, because they are traders;' that it is, in plain English, no more than 'Because we love trade, therefore we love those that take it from us.' And goes on thus: 'Had the author been a lover instead of a politician, he would have known that rivals are the things in this world which men do and ought most to hate.' And that, 'It were certainly better for us, if no people in the world traded by sea but ourselves.' This pamphlet gave occasion to the publication of the next.

344. Observations on the Letter written to Sir Thomas Osborn, upon the reading of a Book, called, 'The present Interest of England stated.' Written in a letter to a friend. Printed for J. B. 1673. (Quarto, in 11 leaves.)

Herein vindicating the first writer, this author says, 'All the arguments made use of by the pamphlet against the destroying of the Hollanders, are either upon the account of justice and righteousness, which establish a nation; or clearly in reference to the safety and utility of this kingdom, both in church and state; and not in the least upon any particular affection to the people of that country, as the letter doth insinuate; the pamphlet being no otherwise concerned for them, than as it is for preserving the ballance of Christendom, in opposition of popery and slavery.' Page 15, he observes how careful France was, that no nation should thrive by them, out of a book published in 1663, by Mr. Samuel Fortrey, one of the gentlemen of his majesty's privy chamber, and dedicated to the king. For, suspecting that the English had the advantage in trade, the French were in consultation to prohibit it, till, upon strict examination, they found England vented of their commodities into France not above the value of ten hundred thousand pounds *per annum*; and that France vented of theirs to the English, six and twenty

hundred thousand pounds. The whole concludes with a flagrant instance of the injuries and injustice committed in trade by the French, upon Sir Francis Toppe, and company, as they appear in the certificate of the lord ambassador Hollis.

345. A Declaration of Letters Patent of the Election of this present King of Poland, John the Third, elected on the 22d of May last past, *anno dom.* 1674. Containing the reasons of this election; the great virtues and merits of the said serene elect; his eminent services in war, especially in this last great victory against the Turks and Tartars, whereof many particulars are here related, not published before. Now faithfully translated from the Latin copy. Printed for Brabason Aylmer. 1674. (Quarto, in 12 pages.)

The name of the translator is not prefixed to this tract. But, in the catalogue of John Milton's works, at the end of his life, written by his nephew Edward Philips, we find the said translation inserted, as made by him. And it seems to have been one of the last pieces of his writing.

346. The Downfall of the Bailiffs: or, a Lash for Bumms. Wherein the oppressions, extortions, and villanies of catch-poles, serjeants, bailiffs, and marshals-men; with their yeomen-followers and under-litter of setting-dogs, are fully exposed and detected in their proper colours. By Goodlove Freeman, esq. London, printed for Tho. Grumbleton. 1675. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

And indeed, for so short a compass, they are exposed in their proper colours, which could scarcely be performed from the instructions of any other master than experience. The author allows, that officers for executing processes at law are necessary evils, as hangmen are; and, so far as they perform their charge honestly, and according to the intent of their institution, he has nothing to say to them. But his business is to discover their villainous practices, which the law condemns; and yet suffers! Nay, were they not to act more rigorously than the law would authorise, the law itself is thought too rigorous and unreasonable, in that it often occasions the deplorable ruin of a whole family, by burying one insolvent man alive, for a mere trifle of a debt, which is yet thereby further from being satisfied to the creditor than before.

347. A Narrative of the Process against Madam Brinvilliers, and of her Condemnation and Execution, for having poisoned her Father and two Brothers. Translated out of French. Printed for Jonathan Edwyn, &c. 1676. (Quarto, in 24 pages.)

This French lady had been married about twenty-five years to the Marquis of Brinvilliers; with whom one St. Croix had got acquainted in the army, for his interest; being a man more considerable for his parts and his person than his birth or fortune. This acquaintance extended to the lady, till it became criminal in them, and scandalous to the family: insomuch, that her father, the Sieur D'Aubray, had him arrested,

and sent to the bastile; where he learnt, of an Italian, those strange lessons, soon after put in practice. For, upon his release, this gallant and the lady, resolving to revenge themselves for the obstruction of their pleasure past, and prevent the like for the future, procured a preparation, which she gave her father in a mess of broth; whereof, after much torment, he died in 1666. Then they got one La Chaussee, who had been servant to St. Croix, into the family of one of her brothers, a counsellor; and when both the brothers were at dinner, with other company, they all tasted of a fatal pie, which, after about two or three months painful sufferings, carried them both off, in 1670; and five others narrowly escaped the like untimely end at the same meal. La Chaussee had so cunningly avoided all suspicion before the deed, that his master left him a legacy of an hundred crowns. But now mark a punishment extraordinary, of one of these principals, by no human hand! and which, at the same time, makes a discovery of the other two, and brings them also to punishment! St. Croix was so suffocated or infected with the steam and vapours of the poisons he had so much dealt in, that after he had bequeathed a cabinet he had to that lady in 1672, he died so suddenly, that all his goods were sealed up by the officers. Then La Chaussee and Madam Brinvilliers are so infatuated, and make such suspicious importunities for this cabinet, as were alone sufficient to make them thought criminal. But when this infernal cabinet, this Pandora's box was opened; there lay the engagements to, and the ingredients of this destruction: there was her promissory note, to St. Croix, of thirty thousand livres for his reward; with her letters to him: and there lay the packets, boxes, and phials of those murdering powders, drugs, and waters, which were employed upon this wicked occasion. La Chaussee was seized, condemned, and, having made confession, was racked to death. The lady, spurred by fear and guilt, fled to foreign countries; was a while at London, then in Germany; and was at last arrested at Liege. She would confess nothing at first, but being threatened with the torture, she made an open confession and repentance; and on the 17th of July walked barefooted from the prison in a linnen robe, with a wax taper in her hand, to the church gate of Notre Dame, where kneeling, she made her confession; then, in a cart, was carried to the Greve, the place of execution; where she at large recounted the remarkable incidents of her life, yet with a great sense of the wickedness which brought her to this end; and, concluding with the usual acts of devotion, submitted her neck to the axe. Her head, with her body, was burnt, and their ashes thrown in the air.

348. The Good-Wives Lamentation: Or, The Womens' Complaint, on the account of their being to be buried in Woollen. With allowance. London, Printed for L. C. 1678. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

The pleasant author of this pamphlet, though he approves, in his own person, the late act for 'Burying in Woollen;' whereby that manufacture would be encouraged, and vast quantities of linnen, heretofore idly wasted in the earth, would be preserved for making of paper; yet he very naturally exposes the obstinate simplicity of the people, and the tyranny of custom, in the conversation of some glib lip'd gossips,

over a cordial bowl of burnt-claret, against this innovation. One grieves that ever she should think of living to see herself buried in such coarse and in-commodious stuff; and tenderly wishes her husband, who could not endure it neither, had died before the act. Another is resolved to forfeit the five pound penalty, rather than her's, who had always loved clean linnen, should travel so far as into the other world like a beggar, without a shirt to his back: that the worms themselves, who have not such sweet and cleanly fare of us, will expect table linnen at their meals; to which they had been so constantly used. Another has such a delicate hide, that, if she don't wear Holland smocks of twenty shillings an ell, she fears blistering; she can't sleep without fine sheets, and should never lie quiet in her grave; nay, rather than she'll be trussed up in a frowzy stifling flannel shift, she'll never die at all, if she can help it. Another elderly gentlewoman, for the refreshment of her memory, against melancholy, is resolved to be buried in her wedding smocks; and she has seven of them, that shall ride one upon t'other. The last exclaims against it as downright idolatry: that she'll as soon sacrifice her children to Moloch, as suffer them to be swaddled up in such Welsh abominations: that it is all a Popish device; a Jesuitical trick, only to make us do penance after we are dead. These affecting arguments, and the zeal they inspired, together with the aggravating insinuations of the burnt wine, so overpowered their spirits, and threw them into such a maudlin condition, that, between weeping and sleeping, they were forced to be led, reeling and staggering under the weight of their oppressions, home to their respective dwellings.

349. A Collection of certain Horrid Murthers in several Counties of Ireland, committed since the 23d of October, 1641. Abstracted out of certain Examinations, taken by vertue of several Commissions under the Great Seal of Ireland. Printed for Henry Brome. 1679. (Quarto, in seventeen leaves.)

This Collection of more cruel and inhuman murders, in that grand Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, than the most savage brutes could have been guilty of, seems to be authentickly extracted, 'out of the voluminous Records, remaining in the Clerk of the Council's hands in Dublin. The Earl of Essex, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, did peruse them himself, and compare many of them with the originals; finding all that he compared to be true. If any doubt, they may have recourse to the books themselves; which, being publick remembrances, may be seen by any; the citations directing to the volume, page, and mark where each is to be found.' In the beginning, there is a Deposition made by Mr. Hugh Cunningham, on the 21st of April, 1642: that an account was returned, by the priests of every parish in Ulster, according to the command of Sir Phelim O Neile; wherein it appeared, that ten thousand five hundred British Protestants, men, women, and children, were killed by the Irish, in that province. And in another Deposition, by Mr. Maxwell, that, by the rebels account of the murders they had committed upon the British Protestants in the North, there were slaughtered one-hundred-fifty thousand. There is a

note written on the title of this copy, signifying, that this Collection was drawn up by the Earl of Essex.

350. A pleasant Battle between two Lap-Dogs of the Utopian Court: or, a Dialogue between sleep and awake, jest and earnest, reality and fancy: being fought upon the new-erected Dog-Pit, lately contrived purposely upon this occasion, as aforesaid, in the antichamber of the said Court; where it was fought with great applause, satisfaction, and content of the company there present: but by reason of the author's drowsy disposition, being late at night, and he inclined to sleep; he would crave your favourable censures of this his pains, and judge of them as you find occasion. Printed for R. B. 1681. (Folio, in one sheet.)

This Dialogue is between Nell Gwyn's Lap-Dog Tutty; and Snapshort, the Dutchess of Portsmouth's: and does probably allude to some real fray between two of their servants, or gallants. Tutty upbraids the other with her French Lady's looking like one of Pharaoh's lean Kine, and with such a sharp countenance as if she would devour him, as she had almost devoured the nation; and of her sending Guinea-Pies to her countrymen. Snapshort says of the English Madam, that she hopes to see her tail set up once more on a dunghill; that she lately came from selling of oranges and lemons about the streets; and now, being advanced to a royal bed, forgets her mechanic condition: that French Dogs, Ladies and Catholics, will put the English Court all to a nonplus: that it is not ten-thousand pounds a year will protect her for ever; and that his Lady has taken a wiser course, who has transported forty times the sum; and intends to follow it soon after herself. 'Good riddance,' (says Tutty:) 'when the Salt Bitches leave the kingdom, it is more than probable the Romish Wolf-Dogs will follow them; but he rather believes, the French Mistress is making provision for the reception of the French Monarch, than for her departure to France; where he thinks she will be pelted like an owl in an ivy-bush.' But Snapshort answers, 'he mistakes the case; for his Lady has absolution and dispensation from the Pope; and did not come into England barely to be a Whore, she came as a Spy, to betray the kingdom's interest. That Alexander the Great had a brace of notorious Whores sent him for the same purpose; but he had sense to perceive their intrigues, and prevent them.' This so enrages Tutty, that he vows to seize his antagonist by the throat: Snapshort strips off his crucifix, and to it they go; snarling, barking, biting, and tearing one another; till the French Whore speaks, and calls out for 'fair play.' The English one answers, 'She knows Dog-fighting as well as her Ladyship;' and halloo's them both very fairly; offering to lay two to one, on Tutty's head: a Monsieur crys 'done;' but when it appeared that little Tutty got the victory; he cried out, 'Pox take de Begar, me have lost near Tou-sand pound.'

No. XXV.

351. The Forfeitures of London's Charter; or,

an impartial account of the several Seisures of the City-Charter: together with the means and methods that were used for the recovery of the same; with the causes by which it came forfeited; as likewise the imprisonments, deposing, and fining the Lord-Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, since the reign of King Henry III. to this present Year 1682. Being faithfully collected out of ancient and modern Histories; and now seasonably published for the satisfaction of the inquisitive, upon the late arrest made upon the said charter, by writ of *quo warranto*. Printed for the author, and sold by Daniel Brown, &c. 1682. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves.)

352. A brief Account of the first Rise of the Name Protestant, and what Protestantism is: with a Justification of it; and an earnest Exhortation to all Protestants to persist in that Holy Religion. By a professed Enemy to Persecution. 1688. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves.)

353. The Dying Speeches of several Excellent Persons, who suffered for their Zeal against Popery, and Arbitrary Government; viz. I. Mr. Stephen Colledge, at Oxford, August 31, 1681. II. The Lord Russel, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, July 21, 1683. III. Colonel Sidney, on Tower-Hill, December the 7th, 1683. IV. Colonel Rumbald, at Edinburgh, June 26, 1685. V. The Lady Lisle, at Winchester, in September 1685. VI. Alderman Cornish, in Cheapside, October 23, 1685. VII. Captain Walcot, at Tyburn, July 20, 1683. 1689. (Quarto, in twenty-leaves.)

Though some of these Speeches were printed before, yet being in separate sheets, they were here collected together, as the author of the Preface says, 'for their better preservation, and that the then present, as well as future, might with abhorrence behold the iniquity of the past violent times; when so many excellent persons were destroyed by forms and subtilties of law; and *scribere est agere*, was brought in for evidence; as in the case of Colonel Sidney, when no other could be found.' And whereas the business of the Rye-House-Plot had been received by some, as an article of faith, and a smooth history of it imposed upon the nation; therefore, the said author thought good to add Colonel Rumbald's Speech, to undeceive the world: 'by which it is evident,' (says he) 'if we may believe the dying words of a good man, that it was a meer sham contrivance, to bring an odium upon the Protestants,' &c.

354. A Plea for the City; and Prisoners for Debt; humbly offered to this present Parliament. With allowance. Printed and sold by Randal Taylor. 1690. (Quarto, in seventeen leaves.)

355. The Plagiary Exposed: or, an Old Answer to a newly-revived Calumny against the Memory of King Charles I. Being a reply to

a Book, entitled, 'King Charles's Case, formerly written by John Cook, of Gray's Inn, Barrister; and since copied out, under the title of Colonel Ludlow's Letter.' Written by Mr. Butler, the author of Hudibrass. Printed for Thomas Bennet, &c. 1691. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

That libel of Cook's, intitled 'King Charles's Case,' &c. is to be seen in the 293d Article of this Catalogue. The publisher of this Reply, 'penned' (as it is in his preface said) 'forty years since by the celebrated author of Hudibras,' thinks there would have been little occasion, at this time of day, to produce so great an advocate for the King's memory; but that there is risen, among us, a new race of the old republican stamp, who have revived the quarrel, and copied out the obsolete scandal of our libeller, and made it their own; among the first of whom is reckoned the author of 'Ludlow's Letter, &c. a copier of Milton's, and our libeller's malice, at least, though not of their wit; therefore least pointed at by our answerer. He concludes, 'That it was Mr. Butler's design to print this Discourse himself, had not death prevented him; and since it has fell into the editor's hands, it is but a piece of justice to his memory, to let the world make their advantage of it.'

356. The True Causes of the Present Scarcity of Money; and the proper Remedies for it. Printed by Benj. Motte, for Randal Taylor, in the year 1690. Reprinted, 1692. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

There are some arguments and propositions in this little tract worthy of consideration; concerning our buying more than we sell abroad; and sending armies to Flanders, as causes of this present scarcity: and our having encouragement for a free exportation of silver, and the sugar-plantation, as she causes of plenty in former reigns.

357. Fatal Friendship: or, the Drunkard's Misery; being a Satyre against Hard Drinking. By the author of the 'Search after Claret.' Printed for Randal Taylor. 1693. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

This is a Poem, in twenty-two Stanzas; and it has been thought that it was written by the late Mr. Edward Ward, author of 'the London Spy,' and many other pieces.

358. Truth brought to Light: or, the corrupt Practices of some Persons at Court laid open. Whereby their Majesties and the Kingdom, have been prejudiced near one hundred and fifty thousand pounds this year; besides other evils that have, and do attend it. 1694. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This pamphlet is dedicated to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, by the author, Robert Crosfeild; who had, for some time, zealously endeavoured to detect, and root out, some publick corruptions. But it appears, that his advertisements to the State, met with more regard than reward: for he observes, that his tract, entitled, 'England's Glory Re-

'viewed,' which he published the preceding Session, had several regulations proposed in it, which were now put in practice; though he received not so much as thanks for them. He had, amongst other things, observed, 'that the greatest part of the charge and trouble of collecting the Land-tax might be saved, by laying the Receiver-Generals wholly aside;' and had applied to the council about it; but, the matter being put off, he here revives the proposal; shewing how, if he had been regarded, 'fifty thousand pounds might have been saved that year.' He shews, also, the great danger there was in Selling of Employments; whereby enemies to the government, getting into offices, communicated the secrets of it to its enemies. He also lays open the great remissness of the State, in not regarding the Proposals of Mr. George Everett, an eminent Shipwright, (published last session) wherein he so evidently demonstrated, how he could save an hundred thousand pounds a year, by the means offered in the said Tract, for building and repairing the Royal Navy; that here are produced the names of above forty persons of honour, quality, and experience; Lords of the Admiralty, Aldermen and Merchants of London, and several Shipwrights; who, by their certificates, &c. have shewed their absolute approbation thereof: and yet no encouragement had he. (See another Proposal of his to the State, to Facilitate the Manning of our Fleets, in the 170th Article of this Catalogue.) Our author then recounts how he had reflected (in a book published the last session) upon the mischievous indolence of our Fleets, the two preceding years; though they were of stronger force than the enemy. And, to his having laid that matter open to the view of the world, ascribes the sending of Admiral Russell into the Streights, with such a power, as saved an ally from ruin: then recites his Proposal for laying aside the Press-Ketches, and for taking up the Sailors in the several Ports, by the Custom-House Officers. He also recites the Demonstration he had made of the injuries which the nation had received from the great embargoes laid upon shipping; the consequence of which was, that there had been none laid this year: insomuch, that the Lords of the Admiralty had ordered no Press-master should presume to meddle with any sailors on board of any outward-bound shipping. He likewise proposed an Act of Tonnage, for laying sixpence per ton upon all coasters, &c. which is here repeated.

359. Justice Perverted, and Innocence and Loyalty Oppressed: or, a Detection of the Corruptions of some Persons in Places of great Trust in the Government; which would have been laid open the last Session of Parliament, according to the intention of both Houses, had it not been prevented. 1695. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This Pamphlet is dedicated to both Houses of Parliament also, by Robert Crosfeild. And here he more expressly detects several mal-practices; especially many embezzlements of the Naval Stores in his Majesty's Yard at Portsmouth, and it is laid heavily upon Captain Wilshaw, one of the Commissioners of the Navy. And when Sir Richard Haddock was solicited to encourage the apprehension of some persons who had, by sinister means, obtained some of these stores; he

only, after near an hour's discourse upon it, answered, 'That Kings and Princes were born to be cheated.' But he acknowledges the Lords of the Admiralty gave all imaginable encouragement to those who made such discoveries, as long as the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Richard Onslow were in commission; but, upon their leaving the Board, the scene changed, and some persons were turned out of their employments for their faithfulness to his Majesty's interest and their trusts. He next touches upon Mr. George Everett's Proposal, to save one hundred thousand pounds *per Annum*, in building and repairing the Royal Navy; which having produced a Report from the Navy-Board, to the Lords of the Privy-Council, signed R. Haddock, E. Dummer, C. Sergison, T. Wilshaw, D. Liddall, J. Hill, S. Pett, and G. St. Loe, their Lordships are here said to have looked upon it to be a scandalous one; and the said Mr. Everett delivered them a Memorial in answer to it, which is here printed by our author, who observes how the said Commissioners of the Navy prevaricated with Mr. Everett, by asserting, that the whole charge of building and repairing of the Navy did not amount annually to one hundred thousand pounds; 'when they knew,' (says he) 'that the estimate given unto the House of Commons for the wear and tear of the Royal Navy, for this present year, was seven hundred and eighty thousand pounds.' Then he proceeds to shew, that the sailors being inhumanly and barbarously treated, is the only true cause why they decline the publick service: and, to this purpose, we have here a letter written by Mr. John Trevor to the Lords of the Admiralty, laying open the frauds used in the payment of seamen's tickets; also by queries and runs, and other grievances; and towards the end, there is a Petition, which the author (Robert Crosfeild) had delivered to the House of Lords, complaining of the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded Seamen, &c. for their great miscarriages here mentioned; also against the Lords of the Admiralty and Commissioners of the Navy for conniving at Frauds, supporting of criminals, persecuting their discoverers, and turning just men out of offices, &c. with the examination thereupon of the said author and one Mr. Baston, who had published a detection of those miscarriages, and did hereafter publish more thereof, as will in this Catalogue appear.

360. A Short History of the Horrid Conspiracy to Assassinate his Sacred Majesty King William; to raise Rebellion, and to procure an invasion from France. Being a faithful collection from the depositions of the witnesses at the trials of the conspirators. With an account of the last speeches and papers left by those who have been executed. And a journal of the most remarkable proceedings both at home and beyond sea, relating to the Plot, to Saturday, May 30, 1696. Printed for John Salusbury. 1696. (Quarto, in thirty-four leaves.)

The author calls this 'a faithful Collection,' as published in foreign gazettes, and the current news at home: but, at the bottom of his Preface, there is a manuscript note, written in a hand, very much like that of the Earl of Oxford, who was Lord-Treasurer,

containing these words: 'This Book is, for the most part, collected from the Flying-Post, and other weekly news-papers; is full of mistakes, as to dates and persons; and is not composed with any care, or judgment.'

361. *England's Calamities Discovered: with the proper Remedy to Restore her ancient Grandeur and Policy.* Humbly presented by James Whiston. Printed for the author, and sold by Joseph Fox, &c. 1696. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

This author here attempts to be a reformer of the City of London, which is the grand pattern of other Corporations, and chiefly in their pernicious practice of Selling Offices, or Employments; to the great encouragement of injustice, extortion, and oppression: daily complaints arising, through the excessive straining and advancing the exorbitant fees of counsellors, attornies, clerks, serjeants, gaolers, and other officers in this city. He argues, that a man who bestows his time and toil on a business, ought in reason to make double as much *per Annum* of his money, as in a lazy annuity; so that a serjeant for his five hundred pounds seems to have a just pretension to get about one hundred and fifty pounds a year; a round income for a man in his post and character. And how must he raise it at half a crown for every arrest, of which his yeoman, who gives about two hundred pounds for his place, partakes one-third? So that, not arresting six men, every day, one with another, to raise the profits of his purchase-money, he extorts civility-money, &c. instead of half crowns, half pounds, and whole pounds; besides several other demands, too unreasonable for the rich to suffer, but what throws the poor often into inextricable ruin. He informs us a little farther, 'that the keeper's place of Newgate was lately sold for three thousand five hundred pounds;' and asks, 'what an annual income must the fees amount to, to satisfy that saucy purchase, and all the subordinate blood-suckers in that one gaol?' So he tells us also, 'that one thousand five hundred pounds is paid for a city council or attorney's place; as well as divers other offices; which must raise near five hundred pounds *per Annum*, from their miserable clients, to balance the excessive price they pay for them.' Here are many other intimations of the most detestable barbarity, used by such as have bought themselves a power over the poor; insomuch, that the common hangman, encouraged by these examples, will scarcely give a malefactor a cast of his office, without a bribe; very formally demanding his fees, and higgling too, as nicely with him, as if he was going to do him some mighty favour. Towards the end, we have a recital of the Act, which was made *anno* 5, 6, of Edward VI. cap. xvi. 'Against the Sale of Offices.' And in the conclusion a discourse drawn from the common law, &c. 'Upon the duty of a gaoler to his prisoners, with his and other officers' fees due by law.' (Printed in vol. vi. p. 360.)

362. *A Dialogue between a Modern Courtier, and an Honest English Gentleman.* To which is added, the author's Dedication to both Houses of Parliament; to whom he appeals for justice.

By Samuel Baston, Gent. 1697. (Quarto, in twenty-two leaves.)

This author was a clerk in some office, and he has very vigourously laid open the mismanagements of many persons who were too powerful for him to struggle with, particularly in a pamphlet he published the last year, entitled, 'Baston's Case: or, a brief account of the evil practices of the present Commissioners for Sick and Wounded; as they were proved before the Lords of the Admiralty, Lords of the Council, and the Commissioners for stating the Public Accounts.' And now again he is for further pointing out the causes of our misery in this dialogue: containing, 1. 'Bare matter of fact, against the Lords of the Admiralty, Commissioners of the Navy, Commissioners of the Post-Office, and Commissioners of the Sick and Wounded Seamen; with the foul practices of the Commissioners of the Public Accounts, for concealing and justifying the said crimes. 2. Natural consequences and arguments drawn from the said matter of fact, in reference to religion, law, policy, and the true interest and safety of the King and kingdom.' As soon as the tract was out, it was seized by messengers; Mr. Crosfeild (beforementioned) was committed to the Poultry-Compter, and the author into the custody of a messenger, from the 26th of October, 1696, to the 29th of January following; and then was discharged, upon giving a recognizance of five hundred pounds, to appear the first day of next term at the King's Bench bar, to answer to this seditious and scandalous libel, against his Majesty and Government; as it was stiled in the warrant for his commitment. He avers in his said 'Epistle Dedicatory' to the Lords, that the matters of fact, related in this dialogue, are no more than what are contained in a petition and articles exhibited by Mr. Crosfeild aforesaid, and others; and only entreats their Lordships would prevent his prosecution till his witnesses were heard, and he had proved, by them, the truth of his assertions.

No. XXVI.

363. *The State of the Navy considered, in Relation to the Victualling, particularly in the Straits, and the West Indies. With some Thoughts on the Mismanagements of the Admiralty, for several years past; and a Proposal to prevent the like for the future.* Humbly offered to the honourable House of Commons, by an English Sailor. The second edition. Printed for A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane. 1699. (Quarto, in sixteen pages.)

This tract was certainly written by a man of knowledge and experience in this subject, and it contains many important observations, which may be applicable and useful in other times than those which occasioned them. He censures our suffering the escape of the Toulon fleet in Brest, very justly; lays open the miserable case of the sailors who are poisoned and starved with bad provisions or want of good, in a very lively manner; and shews why so little redress was had from the Parliament. What profits the Victualling-Office made in buying of cattle at Smithfield; and how preposterous their contracts with the dealers to the office were; particularly he informs us, that

Thomas Middleton, the Hogman, got of them four or five thousand pounds by his contract one year of them; and the next year was a loser by them; and, when he complained of his loss, the Commissioners procured him two thousand five hundred pounds out of the King's pocket; so that, being burdened with riches, he took occasion to hang himself. (Quere, whether this is not the same Hogman that a late noble Duke is said to have trundled about with him in his chariot, till he had won all his money of him; and whether this was not the occasion that he hanged himself?) But our author is perhaps as sharp upon the Admiralty, as any other topic he touches upon, where he calls it, 'an office, managed we know not how, nor to what purpose; for I dare engage to pick out as many old women in Wapping, that should have managed that affair more for the honour, glory, and advantage of the English nation.' And a little further, speaking of Solomon's and Hiram's navy, he observes, 'that the Scripture tells us, they were under the conduct of shipmen that had knowledge of the sea; and, in another place, that part of this lading was apes and peacocks; but tells us no where, that apes or peacocks had the sovereign command in sea affairs; or that land-men were proper persons to command men of war.' But there is no giving a just view of the observable particulars in this tract, without quoting the whole.

364. The six distinguishing Characters of a Parliament-Man: addressed to the good People of England. 1700. (Quarto, in thirteen leaves.)

These characters are, 1. 'That the candidates be protestants, and satisfied in the present establishment of government. 2. Men of religion. 3. Men of sense, general knowledge, and receptive of the general notions of things; acquainted with the true interest of his native country, and the general state of it, as to trade, liberties, laws, and common circumstances; especially that part of it, for which he serves; and ought to know how to deliver his mind with freedom and boldness, and pertinent to the case; &c. 4. To be men of years; &c. 5. Men of honesty. 6. Men of morals.'

365. The French King's Reasons for owning the pretended Prince of Wales, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Communicated in a letter from Paris to a gentleman in London, &c. Printed for J. N. near Ludgate. 1701. (Quarto, in half a sheet.)

366. A Funeral Oration upon the late King James. Composed from memoirs furnished by Mr. Porter, his great Chamberlain. Printed by the consent of the late Queen. Dedicated to the French King, and published by authority.—Wherein it is owned, that the late King reconciled his brother King Charles the Second to the church of Rome; that he himself designed to destroy the protestant religion, and to reduce these kingdoms to the obedience of the See of Rome, according to the example of Louis le

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Grand; who, they hope, will effect it, and punish these rebellious nations, as they are pleased to call them. With remarks upon the whole. Printed and sold by A. Baldwin, in Warwick-Lane. 1702. (Quarto, in twenty-eight pages.)

367. A Letter from a Country Divine, to his Friend in London, concerning the Education of the Dissenters, in their private Academies, in several parts of this nation. Humbly offered to the consideration of the grand committee of parliament, for religion, now sitting. Printed for R. Clavel, at the Peacock, in St. Paul's church-yard. 1703. (Quarto, in fifteen pages.)

The author did not prefix his name to this pamphlet, but it was written by Mr. Samuel Wesley the elder, who died a little while before his Latin Dissertations upon the Book of Job were published. In this pamphlet he has given us an historical account of his education among the Dissenters, till he left them, and went to Exeter-College, in Oxford, in 1683; whence returning to London, he was ordained Priest of the Church of England in February 1688.

368. A Defence of the Dissenters' Education in their private Academies; in answer to Mr. W——'s disingenuous, and unchristian reflections upon them. In a letter to a noble lord. 1703. (Quarto, in twenty-four pages.)

369. Royal Religion: being some inquiries after the piety of Princes. With remarks on a book, entitled, 'A Form of Prayer used by King William.' 1704. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves.)

The use of that form of prayer by the said King, or his use of any form of prayer, having been questioned, here are produced the testimonies of Archbishop Tillotson, 'that he was a very devout Prince, and a constant observer of religious duties, both in publick and private.' Here is also recited the Bishop of Norwich's preface to the said Manual, wherein he says, 'these prayers are faithfully printed from the original papers, which his Majesty constantly used;' and says afterwards, 'there is good reason to believe he made use of some of them every morning and evening, when he retired into his closet to pray;' &c. Our Author also appeals to eye-witnesses of his Majesty's actions, in the field, particularly, at the great battle of Landen; where, the night before it was fought, his Majesty lodged in his coach, and, in the morning, had his chaplain called into the coach, to pray with him.

370. The Patriot's Proposal to the People of England, concerning the Ballot: the best way of choosing their Representatives in Parliament. 1705. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

There are some good observations in this pamphlet upon the corruption, partiality, and hereditary monopoly of seats in Parliament: and this way of election, by the ballot, is proposed as the only expedient to prevent those fatal mischiefs of having the rights and liberties of the people betrayed by those who are made the

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guardians of them. He would propose the examples of other states, as Venice, &c. who are, by the use of balloting, as free as possible from factions, animosities, tumults, &c. if we were apt to imitate other nations in any thing but their follies. But he observes it to have been practised also in part amongst ourselves. It has been used in the House of Lords; also in several of the public companies, and other bodies corporate; and shall the whole body of the people neglect, or be diverted from the same means; the most easy, just, and necessary, to get them such a free-elected body of representatives, as will act to the honour and interest of the nation; be tender of their privileges and properties; and not burden them with unreasonable or unnecessary impositions, to serve only their own private ends, or particular persons, rather than the publick good? In the latter end of his pamphlet he gives us an exact description of the method of the ballot, with a sculpture representing the form of the balloting-box; containing two boxes within it; that on the right side for the *ayes*; on the left, for the *noes*; as directed by inscriptions on the outward box; into either of which, the voter can, by a hole towards the top, between both, put his hand, and drop his roll or pellet; and none of the company be able to perceive into which box he delivered it. With other particulars too circumstantial for this place.

371. *Essay upon the Union: shewing, that the subjects of both nations have been, by the union of the two Crowns, justly entitled to all manner of privileges, which the ensuing treaty can give them. Therefore, the work of the ensuing treaty is, not so much to treat of new privileges, as to provide for the security of the old ones. And the best security against incroachments on both sides, is, to have separate parliaments; with an express proviso, that no laws about trade, or the other common concerns of the united nations, shall be of force, unless agreed to by both parliaments. Edinburgh; reprinted by the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, &c. 1706. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)*

372. *The London Belles: or, a description of the most celebrated beauties in the metropolis of Great Britain, &c. Printed for, and sold at the Publishing-office in Dove-court near Bearbinder-Lane. 1707. (Folio, in sixteen pages.)*

This is a poem, in which there are forty one ladies celebrated for their beauty, who were inhabitants of this city; and their names are all as well printed in the title-page as in the body of the poem; among whom there is the Lady Child, Mrs. Goulstous, Mrs. Dashwood, Mrs. Furnesse, Mrs. Vernon, Mrs. Hublon, Mrs. Ashurst, Mrs. Benson, Mrs. Crawley, &c.

373. *The surest Way of Prospering in our Military Affairs the ensuing Campaignes, and thereby of putting a speedy Conclusion to the expensive and bloody War which, at present, we are involved in. For the use of all her Majesty's subjects, especially those in her armies.*

By John Edwards, D. D. Printed for Jonathan Robinson, &c. 1708. (Octavo, in twenty-four pages.)

374. *The Circus: or, British Olympicks. A satyr, on the Ring in Hyde-Park. 1709. (Octavo, in sixteen pages.)*

This is a poem, satirizing many fops under fictitious names, who, in their fine dress and equipage, resorted so much to this ring; which, at that time, so much attracted the beaux and belles, thither to ogle one another, that near a thousand coaches have been seen there in an evening.

375. *An Account of Charity-Schools lately erected in Great Britain and Ireland: with the benefactions thereto; and of the methods whereby they were set up, and are governed. Also a Proposal for adding some Work to the Children's Learning; thereby to render their education more useful to the publick. The ninth edition, with large additions. Printed and sold by Joseph Downing, in Bartholomew-Close. 1710. (Quarto, in thirty-two leaves.)*

This work gives an account of the methods taken in raising charity-schools; of electing masters; with the orders for them, the scholars, and their parents. An alphabetical list of the parish-schools in London, and within ten miles; number of boys and girls in them; subscriptions to, and collections for them; and how many from each have been put out apprentices. The charge of a school in London, for fifty boys or girls. The form of leaving them legacies. Alphabetical list of the cities and towns in England that have charity-schools; with an account of them: also in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; with an account of the like charities in Germany, New England, the East Indies, &c. Also a form of subscription for charity schools. Charge of cloathing the children. Method of registering their behaviour. Churches where lectures are read, to encourage such charities; and where the children are publickly examined. Proposals for teaching poor children, in small villages, to read, &c. The whole ending with an hymn that was sung by the children in Whitsun-week, the year aforesaid.

376. *The Taxes not Grievous; and therefore not a reason for an unsafe peace. Printed and sold by A. Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1711. (Octavo, in twenty-two pages.)*

This author undertakes to shew the falshood of the assertion, that we were so exhausted by taxes to maintain our wars, that peace must be had upon the best terms we could, for these reasons: 1. 'Because, if that doctrine were believed by the enemy abroad, it must make him still stiffer in his terms. 2. The belief of it at home would make the people more impatient, if the treaty were broke off.' So proceeds to examine the grounds of complaint in the people under this division of them—the landed men; the clergy; merchants; manufacturers; shopkeepers, and farmers. He concludes, with the advantages which have been

produced by the war and taxes; and thinks, 'the benign Providence, which hath shewn us the means of carrying on the war nine years, with so little grief and oppression to the people, will not desert us, if it be found necessary to continue it another year. That our good Queen has no views, but the welfare of her people; nor any ends to pursue, by continuing the war unnecessarily: and, as God forbid the war should be continued a month, if a safe and good peace can be had now; so, on the other hand, let not the mistaken notion of taxes being grievous, cause it to be concluded untimely.'

377. The New Way of Selling Places at Court. In a letter from a small Courtier to a great Stock-Jobber. Printed for John Morphew, near Stationers Hall. 1712. (Octavo, in eight leaves.)

This pamphlet was written to expose the arts and practices of a certain petty retainer to the court, who had no employment himself, but was partner for life to one that had; and here called by the name of Guzman, in imitation of a famous Spanish deceiver of that name. He had, belike, heard of the pranks played by Harry Killigrew, Fleetwood, Shepherd, and others before him, who had sold some places that were never in being, and disposed of others, good pennyworths, before they were vacant: how the Privy-Garden at Whitehall was actually sold, and an artist sent to measure the ground. How one man was made curtain-lifter to King Charles; another, his gold-finder; and his oyster-cracker another: so he, not able to recover some employment he had been discarded from, employed his wits to serve others; and, where he could not advance them in reality, would do it in their imagination; with prudent regard to his own interest; though, whoever he trafficked with, could not but own he sold at reasonable rates; and was so modest, as to be content the credit of receiving the present, or purchase money, should rest on the greatest men in England, rather than himself. So proceeds to give several examples of this Place-Jobber's Dexterity; among the rest, one of selling, about two months before, the place of Vice-Chamberlain, to a gentleman, who was to have given for it four thousand pounds to a lady, who was foster-sister to the Queen. Two thousand to the then Vice-Chamberlain, in consideration of his being turned out; and one thousand to be divided between Don Guzman and his agents. But, the matter reaching the Vice-Chamberlain's ear, the don and his agents were examined before one of the Secretaries of State, where, after much shuffling and confusion, he owned the fact; but, abroad, reported himself to be a party injured, and went on with his trade. For the Vice-Chamberlain, between generosity and contempt, seems to have dropped, at least, hitherto, the prosecution; and the rest of the court to have contented themselves, some with laughing, and some with lifting up their eyes in admiration.

No. XXVII.

378. The Translation of a Letter, written by a French Gentilwoman to another Gentilwoman, her frind; upon the Death of the most excellent and vertuous Ladye, Elenor of Roie, Princes of Conde; contayning her last Wyll and Testament.

Doone by Henry Myddelmore, Gentyman, at the request of the Ladye Anne Throckmorton. Imprinted at London by John Daye, for Humfrey Toye, dwellyng in Paules Churchyarde. *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis*. 1564. (Octavo, in thirty-two leaves.)

379. A Declaration and Publication of the most worthy Prince of Orange: contayning the cause of this necessary Defence against the Duke of Alba. Translated out of French into English, and compared by other copies in other languages. Imprinted at London by John Day, beneath S. Martin's over Aldersgate. (Octavo, without date, in eleven leaves.)

But there is date at the end, when the said declaration was made, in these words — 'Geven the 20 of July, 1568.'

380. A Letter sent by J. B. Gentleman, unto his very Frende, Mayster R. C. Esquire; wherein is contained a large Discourse of the peopling and inhabiting the countrie called the Ardes, and other adjacent, in the North of Ireland; and taken in hand by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Queene's Majesties Privie Counsel, and Thomas Smith, Esquire, his son. Imprinted at London, by Henry Binneman, &c. (Octavo, no date, in thirty-one leaves.)

By the account which Camden gives of this undertaking, in his 'Annals of Queen Elizabeth,' Anno 1572; it both appears, that this letter was written in that year, and that he drew his said account from it; where he says, that 'at this time, Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary to the Queen, a wise and learned man, taking pity of Ireland, which had been neglected, obtained of the Queen, that a colony might be transported into a peninsula of Ireland, which they call Ardes, on the eastern coast of Ulster, under the conduct of his natural son, the only son he had; that so those half barbarous people might be taught some civility. His hope was, that the place might easily be defended, by garrisons planted in the strait neck of land, by which it is joined to the rest of the island. To every footman he granted 120 acres, and to every horseman 240; which are as much as 500 English acres: for which they were to pay yearly a penny an acre. But it failed of the wished success: for his son Thomas, when he had carried over the colony, was intercepted and slain, by the treachery of Neal Brian Artho. But Malbey, an Englishman, who was Governour of Lecale hard by, supposing that no unjust death could be inflicted upon a treacherous villain, soon after slew him; leaving him to be devoured by wolves.'

381. A Supplication to the Kinge's Majestie of Spayne, made by the Prince of Orange, the States of Holland and Zeland, with all other his faithfull Subjectes of the Low Countrie, presently suppressed by the tyranny of the Duke of Alba and the Spaniards. By which is declared the

originall beginning of all the commotions and troubles happened in the said Low Countrie: to the relief whereof, they require his Majesties speedy redresse and remedie. Faithfully translated out of Duytsch into English, by T. W. Imprinted at London, by Henry Middleton. 1573. (Octavo, in twenty-three leaves.)

382. A brief and true Rehersall of the noble victory and overthrow, which, by the grace of God, the Protestants of the North Partes of Holland had against the Duke of Alba his Ships of Amsterdam; with the taking of the Earl of Bossu, and their Admiral Bosshuysen, with divers other Gentlemen, the 12 of October, 1573. Imprinted at London in Fleetestreet, at the sign of the Faucon, by Henry Middleton, and are to be sold at his shop in St. Dunstanes Churchyarde. 1573. (Octavo, in seven leaves.)

383. A Declaration concerning the Needfulnesse of Peace to be made in Fraunce, and the Means for the making of the same: exhibited to the most Christian King, Henry the Second of that name, King of Fraunce and Poland, upon two Edicts put forth by his Majestie; the one the tenth of September, the other the thirteenth of October, 1574. Translated out of French, by G. H. Esquire. Imprinted by Henry Byne-man, &c. (Octavo, in fourscore leaves.)

This declaration is dedicated by George Harte, who was the translator of it, 'to his father, Sir Pearcevall Hart, Knight, one of the Sewars and Knight Harbinger to her Majestie, on the first of January, 1575.' The King's edicts, aforesaid, are prefixed; and the declaration contains many good arguments, and examples ancient and modern, for promoting the peace proposed.

384. A Justification or Cleering of the Prince of Orendge, against the false Sclaunders wherewith his Illwillers goe about to charge him wrongfully. Imprinted at London by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate. 1575. (Octavo, in ninety-four leaves, black letter.)

That Justification was written by the said William Prince of Orange himself, chiefly to clear him of the imputations of rebellion charged upon him by King Philip; as if he usurped the whole government of the Low Countries, under a pretence that the Spanish Inquisition was, or would be there introduced; which imputations were laid to his charge in 'The Summons or Citation, sent out against the Prince of Orange in that King's name. Dated from Brussels, 19 January, 1567;' with orders to attach and apprehend his person. And the same is here printed, after his Justification, in the 73d page; as also a copy of the Serjeant at Arms his execution of the said citation. Besides an abstract of the last letters, &c. sent by the King of Spain to Margaret Princess of Parma, Regent in the Low Countries, concerning the case of religion. Her letter to the Chancellor, and King's council in Brabant, dated 18 December, 1565. A supplication of the no-

bles in the Low Countries to the said Lady Regent, 5 April, 1566. A replication to the same. Her letters of assurance to the confederates. The King of Spain's letter to the Prince of Orange, approving his duty and loyalty: dated August 1, 1566. A letter of the King's Ambassador in France to the Lady Regent. The Prince of Orange's answer to the Attorney's citation, 3 March, 1568. The Prince's answer to the Duke of Alba, upon that citation. Another letter from Francis of Alba, the Spanish Ambassador in France, to the Dutchess of Parma; from Paris, 29 August, 1566. Letter from the Prince of Orange to the said Lady Regent, concerning the Council of Trent, Inquisition, &c. From Brussels, 24 of January, 1565, according to the computation of Brabant; but, according to that of the empire, it is 1566. The Regent's answer. Extracts of certain points comprised in the injunctions and edicts, set forth in the Low countries, by the decree of the Emperor Charles, in 1540, concerning religion; after the pattern of another as rigorous, published nine years before; also of the perpetual decree set forth in 1550, after the form of other rigorous decrees. Also of another decree set forth the same year, and afterward confirmed against heresy, &c. Copy of the Confederates answer to the Lady Regent. Her letter to the counsellors and towns of the Low Countries.

385. Of the Knowledge and Conduct of Warres; two bookes: lately wrytten and set foorth; profitable for suche as delight in hystories, or martyall affayres, and necessary for this present time. *In adibus Richardi Tottelli.* 1578. (Quarto, in fifty-four leaves.)

In the next leaf to the title page, there is a wooden print of the author's arms, with this motto, *Virtus superat ardua*; and the initial letters of his name, T. P. on each side. On the back of the same leaf, he has a copy of verses, recommending his said work to the service of his country, and subscribes them at the tom with those two letters again. In his preface, he tells us, 'This work may be a beginning to encourage others to make large additions; for, as yet, he finds only Vegetius, an ancient writer, and Machiavell of these affairs, well translated into English: who being expert and learned, their industry is commendable; yet, because Machiavell is deemed somewhat diffuse, and his opinions not agreeing with all judgments, nor reaching so many matters, meet for our English wars; and Vegetius being a writer when wars were used in another course than they are now-a-days: 'Tis therefore wished more were done in this behalf. And it is a marvel, to see how the studies of many men had been addicted, in his time, abounding in store of ripe wits. Yet, among so many books as were daily written of dreams and fancies; introductions to pleasure; familiar fruitless talkings; eloquent formal orations, little material, of pleasant meetings and fables amongst women, of Canterbury, or coarser tales: with divers jests, and vain devises: in earnest, there is least labour laid on that art, whereby kings rule, and are ruled and conquered: which erecteth, buildeth, establisheth, increaseth, beatifieth estates; the end and fruits whereof is honour most high, flowing wealth, fame neverfailing or forgotten, victory and dominion without bounds: the contrary, and want

‘ whereof, is captivity, ruin, dishonour, and desolation,’ &c.

386. The First Part of the Eyghth Liberal Science; intituled, *ars adulandi*; the art of flatterie; with the Confutation thereof; both very pleasaunt and profitable: devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwell. Newly corrected and augmented. Imprinted by Richard Jones, &c. 1579. (Quarto, in thirty-seven leaves, black letter.)

This treatise begins with a dialogue in verse, between the author and his muse, who encourages him to dedicate it to the lady therein proposed. Then follows the dedication to the Lady Mildred Burgley, wife to the Lord-Treasurer, to whom he gives this reason, why he calls it a liberal science; ‘ because benefits are so liberally contributed to it.’ And tells her, ‘ that though he may seem very presumptuous to aspire with so slender a present to so learned a lady; yet the great courtesy, he had both seen and received at her hands, enforced him to express his dutiful gratitude, with this his simple and unpolished piece of work.’ The work itself, after the author’s epistle to the reader, begins with a description of the seven liberal sciences, in so many stanzas of verse, and ends with this eighth, which has intruded itself into their company. So proceeds more particularly to expatiate thereon, in eight dialogues, chiefly in prose. 1. Between the Author and his Printer. 2. Between the Author and Lady Fortune. 3. Between the Author and a Friar. 4. Between the Author and Fortunatus. 5. Between Pierce Pickthank, Drunken Dickon, Dame Annat the Alewife, and the Author. 6. Between Diogenes and Ulpianus: wherein is expressed (under the person of the author) the simplicity of such as think the court will prefer all who flock to it; which is found an unfit place for simple persons of gross education. This is all in verse. 7. Between Tom Tapster, Miles Makeshift, Wat Wily, and the Author. 8. Between Sir Simon, the Parson of Poll Jobbam, and the Author: before which, is printed a short dialogue in verse, between the Author and his Book; wherein is shewed sundry opinions that were uttered of the first impression, &c. which dialogue should have been printed last of all. The author, who was a Somersetshire man, was, at this time, a Gentleman-Commoner of St. Mary’s-Hall, Oxon, aged 33 years. He published also, eight years afterwards, an Interlude, called ‘ Like will to Like, quoth the Devil to the Collier;’ as may be seen in Langbaine. His authority is cited by John Speed, in his Life of King Edward VI. in his Chronicle, for nothing in either of these pamphlets, as A. Wood rightly conjectures; but in another, which we shall give a sketch of, as soon as it comes to hand. [This does not appear to have been done. But see vol. ix. p. 337.]

387. The Jesuites Banner. Displaying their original and success; their vow and othe; their hypocrisy and superstition; their doctrine and positions. With a confutation of a late pamphlet, secretly imprinted and intituled, ‘ A Brief Censure upon two Books written in Answer to M. Campiou’s Offer of Disputation,’ &c. Compiled by Meredith Hanmer, M. of Arte, and

Student in Divinity. Imprinted by Tho. Dawson and Richard Vernon, &c. 1581. (Quarto, in forty-six leaves, black letter.)

This author had written an answer to Campian’s said challenge to a disputation; and being charged, in that ‘ Brief Censure of his said answer,’ with an untruth, in saying that Pope Paul the Fourth had been a Jesuite; it produced this display of the Jesuites Banner, wherein he has both cleared himself fully of whatever was objected to him, and confuted the said Censure under the several heads mentioned in the title. He dedicates his work to Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord Chancellor, the Lord-Treasurer Burghley, and the rest of the Privy Counsell: then introduces it with an epistle exhortatory, in Latin, to the Jesuites themselves.

388. An Oration or Funerall Sermon, uttered at Roome, at the Buriall of the holy Father Gregorie the XIII, who departed in Jesus Christ, the 11 of Aprill, 1585. Conteyning his Manners, Life, Deeds, and last Words at his Death, concerning the Affairs of this present Time: together with the Lamentations of the Cardinalls and whole Clergie. Faithfully translated out of the French copie, printed at Paris, for Peter Jobert, dwelling in Harp-streat, 1585; with the King’s priviledge. Otherwise to be intituled—A Sermon full of Papistical Adulation; and matter sufficient to procure the wise and virtuous minded to contemn such gross and palpable blindness; and all persons to laugh at their absurd and erroneous follies. Imprinted 1585. (Octavo, in fifteen leaves.)

The translator of this oration was (as appears by his epistle to the reader) Robert Greene, before-mentioned in this catalogue; one of the greatest pamphleteers, and refiners of our language in his time, though seldom in such grave and serious subjects. Besides his preface, giving a further character of this Sermon, to the sense aforesaid; he has also prefixed some Latin verses, written by Theodore Beza upon the Pope.

389. Perimedes the Blacke Smith: a Golden Methode, how to use the Minde in pleasant and profitable Exercise. Wherein is contained speciall principles, fit for the highest to imitate, and the meanest to put in practise; how best to spend the weary winter nights, or the longest summer evenings, in honest and delightfull recreation. Wherein we may learn to avoid idleness and wanton scurrilitie, which divers appoint as the end of their pastimes. Herein are interlaced three merrie and necessarie Discourses, fit for our time: with certain pleasant Histories and tragicall Tales, which may breed delight to all, and offence to none. *Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.* Printed by John Wolfe, &c. 1588. (Quarto, in thirty-one leaves, black letter.)

This pamphlet is dedicated to Gervis Clifton, Esq. by the author Robert Greene, lately above-mentioned; who, in his Preface to his Gentlemen-Readers, vows, if it neither please nor pass, that he will make them

amends in his Oeapharion, and merry with it too, the next term; for it was pretty customary with him, to bring out four pamphlets in a year; but, whether this was ever published, we have not yet found. After the said preface, here is a copy of verses in the author's praise, written in French, by J. Eliote; wherein having styled the then well-known and much-admired book, called Euphues (written by John Lilly, in a new kind of sententious phrase) the first-born, or eldest offspring of eloquence, he adds, that author might well acknowledge this to be his own younger brother: and that, by his fine writings, he had made it appear, that he derived his birth from the muses. So compares them to several famous authors, who had improved and polished the other languages in their respective countries, as the French, by Marot and De Mornay; the Spanish, by Guevara; the Tuscan, by Boccace; and the German by Sleedan: so Greene & Lilly, *tous deux raffineurs de l'Anglois*: 'both refiners of the English,' &c. At the end of this tract there is a letter written by William Bubb, Gentleman, to the author, entreating him to publish certain 'Sonnets,' which he had seen of his, that lay in his desk; and they are accordingly here set forth, being four in number; and they were so well esteemed, that extracts from them have been quoted, as well as from other sonnets of his, in like manner interspersed among his prose writings, in some common-place books of poetry, and other miscellaneous collections, which were not many years afterwards published.

390. A Letter written by the King of Navarre to the Three Estates of France: containing a most lively Description of the Discommodities and Dangers of Civill Warre; and a very forcible Perswasion to Obedience, Unitie, and Peace. Together with a brief Declaration upon the Matters happened in Fraunce, sithence the 23 day of December, 1588. Translated out of French by G. R. Printed by Tho. Purfoot. 1589. (Quarto, in ten leaves)

391. A Myrror for Martinists, and all other Schismatiques, which in these dangerous Daies doe breake the Godlie Unity, and disturbe the Christian Peace of the Church. Published by T. T. Printed by John Wolfe. 1590. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves, black letter.)

392. Newes out of France, for the Gentlemen of England. A Stratagem most ventrously attempted, and valiantly atchived by the French King, the 27 day of July, 1591. Wherein is deciphered, what trust his Royal Majestie reposeth on the valour of the English, and their dutifull service unto him at all assayes. Newes also touching Sixteen Ships taken nigh the Haven of Deepe, and the discomfiture of the Pope's forces transported into France, towards the aide of the leaguers; both concurring on the 28 of July last past. With a report of the princely meeting and honorable conjoyning of the whole power of the French King, the sixt day of this present moneth of August, consisting of English, German, and

his own people. Printed for John Kid. (Quarto, in ten leaves, black letter.)

It was printed the same year as is mentioned in the title. The author subscribes himself to his epistle 'G. B. M. of Arte.' He has some Latin verses at the beginning, in praise of England; and others at the end, by way of prayer, for the safety of our country in the miseries of those times. Here is mentioned a gallant action, successfully performed under the said King, by a brave British Commander, Sir Roger Williams, near the town of Noyan against the leaguers, the day and year abovementioned.

393. A True Confession of the Faith, and humble acknowledgement of the Allegiance, which wee, hir Majesties Subjects, falsely called Brownists, doo hould towards God, and yeild to hir Majestie, and all other that are over us in the Lord. Set down in articles or positions, for the better and more easie understanding of those that shall read yt: and published for the cleering of ourselves from those unchristian slanders of heresie, schisme, pryde, obstinacie, disloyaltie, sedition, &c. which, by our adversaries, are in all places given out against us. 1596. (Quarto, in eleven leaves, black letter.)

Herein, this sect set forth their sufferings under the severities of the prelates and chief clergy, even to exile, imprisonment, fetters, and violent death itself; by the heavy decrees they procured, for them to forswear and forsake their own country, or else be slain therein; as that in April 1603. But, that the causes of their injustice may appear, they have here published this Confession of their Faith; and also to set forth the miserable state of their poor countrymen, under the intolerable yoke of their Popish canons and decrees; subjecting them, every day they rise, to thirty-eight Antichristian Ecclesiastical Officers; who are all named in the margent, from the Archbishop to the Sexton; and stigmatizing them with the titles of Donatists, Anabaptists, Brownists, Schismatics, &c. which they here doubt not but to clear themselves of; protesting they always accounted it unlawful to separate from any true church of Christ, till, by their iniquities, they cease to be a true visible church: but for this our renowned Church of England, that they have, both by word and writing, proved it to be false and counterfeit; so refer to their conferences between certain preachers and prisoners, in March 1590. Their pamphlet entitled, 'A Discovery of the False Church,' printed the same year; and their 'Refutation of Mr. Giffard:' quarto, 1591. All which, instead of producing any humane toleration or conviction of them, only irritated their said prelatical and priestly adversaries to behave themselves like savage beasts, rending and tearing them to pieces. So that, through their barbarous cruelty, no less than twenty-four souls have perished in their prisons; who are all named here, in the margent, and where they died; in the prisons of London only, besides other parts of the land: and besides the condemnations and executions, as felons, which they procured of Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry; 'whose particular examinations, arraignments, and manner of execution, with the circumstances about them, if thou didst truly un-

'derstand, gentle reader, it would make thy heart bleed.' About the same time they executed also William Dennis, at Thetford in Norfolk; and, long before, they killed at Bury in Suffolk, Coppyn and Elias, for the like testimony. Then having censured Dr. Robert Some, and Mr. Giffard, for their slanderous and disingenuous writings; also all the degrees of clergy, as a pack of rabble; and their rites and ceremonies as only so much trumpery; mere reliques, or disguises of the Romish beast; as inventions of human pride and vanity, and no way founded on divine authority; they challenge the clergy to shew them their errors by the scripture, or any one truth held by them, in which they agree not. Then shews them the ignorance and corruptions of their flocks from members of their own church, and their tracts here quoted: and concludes, with acknowledging the discord which Satan has sown among themselves also. Then follows their 'Confession of Faith,' fortified and fenced in, as thick with scripture authorities, all down the margin, as if it were with the closest, and most impenetrable hedge.

394. A Caveat for France, upon the present Evils that it now suffereth. Together with the remedies necessarie for the same. Translated out of French into English by E. Aggas. Imprinted by John Wolfe. 1588. (Quarto, in twenty-nine pages.)

This pamphlet very sensibly sets forth the causes and miseries of that destructive war, then raised in France for above three years past by the faction of the Guizards, which was called the holy league; who when they saw the Duke of Anjou dead, the king to have no children, and the King of Navarre chief prince of the blood, through his religion, as they thought, estranged from the people's favour, they imagined the way to be then open to their extreme ambition, and the season fit for hatching their drifts. Then they began afresh to kindle their practises and conventicles, to search out all malecontents, to treat with the King of Spain, and such other potentates as envied that realm; whereof, in short space, sprung forth this war of the league, which now had so consumed that state. Then they required the king to name his heir, and the same to be a Catholick prince; namely, the Cardinal of Bourbon, so to exclude the King of Navarre: because they knew they could not climb so high but by degrees, and might rule in France under the cardinal's wings; though he was very old, and that king in the flower of his age. The King of Navarre stopped their passage; whereupon they declared him an heretic, and so do still pretend him to be deprived of all the rights belonging to the blood of France. The mischiefs of these plots, and the wars they occasioned, being fully laid open; the only remedy prescribed, is, a sincere and faithful peace.

395. The Mansion of Magnanimitie. Wherein is shewed the most high and honourable acts of sundrie English kings, princes, dukes, earles, lords, knights and gentlemen, from time to time performed, in defence of their princes and countrie: set forth as an encouragement to all faithful subjects, by their example, resolutely to address themselves against all foreine enemies.

Published by Richard Crompton, an apprentice of the common law, 1599. Whereunto is also adjoyned a collection of divers lawes and statutes, meete to be knowne of all men: with a briefe table, shewing, what munition ought to be kept by all sorts of her majesties subjects, for the defence of her highnesse realmes and dominions. Printed for William Ponsonby. 1599. (Quarto, in 60 leaves, black letter.)

On the back of this title is a print of the Earl of Essex his coat of arms, with all the quarterings. Then follows the author's dedication to him, in praise of valiant men and martial discipline; and after that, 'An oration to be made by the general to the whole armie, afore the battle.' The work is divided into twelve chapters. 1. 'Of the strength of England, and its fruitfulness; and how well replenished with valiant men and a royal navy. 2. How happily governed under so gracious a prince; how free from taxes, servitude, &c. 3. How happy in her counsellors; and of the miseries of war where the enemy prevails. 4. Of our success against our enemies by prayer to God; with persuasions to withstand the enemy, and of the fame attained thereby. 5. Examples of divers noblemen of this land, who have ventured their lives in defence of their country, &c. more especially John Lord Talbot, with some verses in honour of his house by our author. 6. That we must beware of sedition among ourselves. 7. Of the practises of the King of Spain and the Pope to invade our country; and of the preparations made to prevent them: more particularly of some English fugitives entertained by the King of Spain, to fight against their own country; how rewarded, and to what ends they came. 8. Of suppressing rebels; with a persuasion to obedience: the inconveniences of civil war; the odiousness and punishment of traytors. 9. A rehearsal of the statutes making it treason to withdraw the queen's subjects from their allegiance, or be withdrawn. 10. Of the conspiracies of certain nobles, and others, against their country, with their rewards; and how dangerous religious controversies are. 11. Of divers victories formerly obtained by the English by sea and land, to the encouragement of their posterity, to maintain the honour of their progenitors. 12. That all ought to join in defence of their country, notwithstanding any difference in religion: with a repetition of certain laws to preserve the queen's person, and for the safety of the realm.' The last page contains the table above in the title described, whereby may at one glance be seen the effect of the statute concerning the furnishing the army with horses, arms, &c. as made in the fourth and fifth years of Philip and Mary.

396. A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse on the first Sunday in Lent, Martii 1, 1600. With a short discourse of the late Earle of Essex his confession and penitence, before and at the time of his death. By William Barlow, doctor of divinitie. Whereunto is annexed, a true copie, in substance, of the behaviour, speache, and prayer of the said earle, at the time of his execution. Printed for Matthew Law, in St. Paules churchyard. 1601. (Octavo, in 39 leaves.)

This discourse, composed by the said chaplain of that unfortunate earl (who, blown up to a rash insurrection by his ambitious dependants and incendiaries, in hopes he could remove some ministers and officers at court, that they might get into their places; for which he, and some of them, now came to an untimely end) had several censures passed upon it, at its first appearing in the world; as may be learnt in the epistle to the reader: among the rest, 'That he was a time-server and preacher for reward.' The truth was, he dared not in this affair speak any good of the earl; nothing that would justify or extenuate his said insurrection, but only what might shew his repentance and acknowledgement of justice: the better to satisfy her majesty for her strict execution.

397. The Supplication of certain Mass-Priests; falsely called Catholicks. Directed to the king, now, this time of parliament; but scattered in corners to move mal-contents to mutinie. Published with a marginall glosse, for the better understanding of the text: and an answer to the libellers reasons for the clearing of all controversies thereof arising. Imprinted for William Aspley. 1604. (Quarto, in 43 leaves.)

398. The Flea. Printed for John Smethwick; and are to be solde at his shop in Saint Dunstan's churchyard in Fleet-street, under the diall. 1605. (Quarto, in 18 leaves.)

This is a poem, written by Peter Woodhouse, as he signs himself under his epistle to the reader. It is otherwise called, 'Democritus his dreame: or the contention between the elephant and the flea.' There is, in the frontispiece, a wooden print, representing some elephants, and a flea on the ear of a shepherd's dog, whose master is ascending in a tree, for fear of those huge animals. There is a bull sitting before them in an elbow-chair, and a weazle sitting by him on the ground, who were appointed umpires of the controversy; a mouse being set aside, having been rejected as the elephant's known enemy. In the dream itself, after each party has pleaded his own merits, and made what objection he could to his opponent, and just when the verdict was to be given, Democritus wakes; leaving the reader to bestow the palm, and explain what is intended by the flea, the dog, the elephant, &c. There is a copy of verses at the beginning in praise of the author, written by R. P. gent. the last stanza whereof is as follows:

Now let who list, this as a toy despise,
Such worthy patrons since thou hast in store:
What though thy subject be of litle price,
Thy wit thereby appears to be the more:
Then let thy flea step forth, since frogs and mice,
And little gnats have led the way before.
Fear not, though Momus brood still carping be,
He snarl'd at Homer, let them bark at thee.

399. Mr. George Blackwel, made by Pope Clement 8. Arch-priest of England, his Answers upon sundry his Examinations. Together with his approbation, and taking of the oath of allegiance: and his letter written to his assistants and

brethren, moving them not only to take the said oath, but to advise all Romish Catholicks so to doe. Imprinted at London, by Rob. Barker, printer to the king's most excellent majestie. 1607. (Quarto, in 21 leaves.)

This George Blackwell was appointed arch priest by Henry Cardinal Cajetane, the protector of the English nation, as appears by his letter from Rome, the 7th of March, 1598, according to the Pope's instructions, for the better governing and keeping in peace the Romish priests in this realm. Here are seven examinations of the said arch-priest taken at Lambeth, and his letter aforesaid, containing the sum of them; with his acknowledgement of its being his own hand-writing, witnessed by seven lords of the council. After which follow the summaries of the briefs mentioned in the said examinations; and, lest any doubt should be made of what it contained therein, Mr. Blackwell himself is referred to, now prisoner in the Gate-house.

400. The Arraignment, Conviction, and Execution of George Jarvis, Priest, of the Order of Saint Benedict: who was executed at Tiburne for Treason, on Monday last, the eleventh of Aprill, 1608. Imprinted at London, for Henry Gosson, &c. 1608. (Quarto, in 4 leaves, black letter.)

401. A Supplication made to the Privy Counsell. By Mr. Walter Travers. Oxford, printed by Joseph Barnes, and are to be sold by John Barnes, dwelling near Holborne Conduit. 1612. (Quarto, in 25 pages.)

This Travers was a famous puritan in Queen Elizabeth's time, when this 'Supplication' was made; who thought himself supplanted in the benefice of the Temple church, by Mr. Richard Hooker, and took exceptions to some of his doctrine, as appears herein; but, being prohibited from preaching, this supplication to those lords, is, that he may be restored to his ministry again, or, that they would take into protection, under her majesty, his private life. Joined hereunto, is, 'The answer of Mr. Richard Hooker to a supplication preferred by Mr. Walter Travers to the H. H. Lords of the Privy-Counsell.' Printed at the same place and time with that above. See Hooker's works, his Life by Mr. Isaac Walton, and Fuller's Church History.

402. The Booke of Carving and Sewing: and all the feastes in the yeere, for the service of a prince or any other estate, as yee shall finde each office, the service according in this booke following. Printed by Edw. Allde, &c. 1613. (Octavo, in 20 leaves, black letter.)

There is a MS. note written before this copy by Peter Le Neve, late Norroy, in these words: 'There is another edition of this book, printed in the year 1513, by Wynkyn de Worde, in a black letter, quarto, which I have also.' It treats, 1. Of the tearmes of carving. 2. Of the butler and panter. 3. The names of wines. 4. To make ipocras. 5. Of sewing flesh; with the service. 6. Of carving of flesh; with the

service. 7. Sauces for all manner of foules. 8. The feasts and service from Easter to Whitsontide. 9. Carving of all manner of foules, and the terms. 10. The feast from Pentecost to Midsommer. 11. The feast of S. John the Baptist to Michaelmas. 12. From the feast of S. Michael to Christmas. 13. The sewing of fish. 14. The carving of fish. 15. Sauces for all fish. 16. Of the chamberlain. 17. Of the marshall and the usher. At the end of which chapter, it is said, there ends the book of carving. After this follows, 18. How to make good marchpane. 19. Another way. 20. To make ipocras. 21. Another receipt for the same.

403. The Art of Jugling, or Legerdemaine. Wherein is deciphered all the conveyances of legerdemaine and jugling, how they are effected, and wherein they chiefly consist. Cautions to beware of cheating at cards and dice. The detection of the beggarly art of alchymistry, and the foppery of foolish cousening charmes. All tending to mirth and recreation, especially for those that desire to have the insight and private practice thereof. By S. R. Printed by George Eld. 1614. (Quarto, in 24 leaves, black letter.)

This tract is dedicated in verse by the author (Sa. Rid.) to the ingenious gentleman, and his loving father, Mr. William Bubb; which is followed by an epistle of Mr. Bubb's to his said loving friend, and adopted son; promising to cherish him further in this his discovery, by giving an addition to his second treatise; but whether such second treatise did come forth, we know not. There are some tricks in this tract taken out of 'Re-ginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft;' and several others, which have been reprinted, and practised to this day. He begins this work with an account of the Egyptians, or Gypsies; which, with the common cantors, he had published some discourse of before. He says, that certain Egyptians, being banished their country, arrived in England, and began to gather to a head about an hundred years ago, in the southern parts; and having many slights and devices, besides a pretence to palmistry, all clouded in their own language; which the English loiterers, who joined them, soon learned, they became much admired and followed; and they couzened the country people of money, silver spoons, apparel, &c. very successfully. The first Englishman who took up their trade, was Giles Hather; who, with his trull Kate Callot, got a great train after them in a short space: he stiling himself the king, she the queen of the Egyptians; and they rode about the countries uncontrolled. About forty or fifty years after, their couzenages growing most exorbitant, a statute was made in the first and second of Philip and Mary, 'That whoever transported any Egyptians into this realm, should forfeit forty pounds.' And further, 'that whoever took on them the name of Egyptians, or frequented the company of those vagrants, who so called themselves, &c. should be adjudged felons, without benefit of clergy.' Many executions nevertheless ensued; which, at last, dispersed them; for they had been sometimes above two hundred in a regiment. But they still kept up their yearly meetings at the Devil's arse in the Peak of Derbyshire, at Ketbrook by Black Heath, and elsewhere. Queen Elizabeth revived the statute aforesaid, in the twentieth year of her reign.

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'Still they keep wandering up and down to this day, (says our author,) with discoloured faces, and fashion of attire like their founders, though they daily decreased, by turning into other professions, as pedlars, tinkers, jugglers, &c.

404. The Praise of the Gout: or, the Gout's Apology: a paradox, both pleasant and profitable. Written first in the Latin tongue, by that famous and noble Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, counsellor unto two emperors, Maximilian the First, and Charles the Fifth: and now Englished by William Est, master of arts. Printed by G. P. for John Budge. 1617. (Quarto, in 22 leaves.)

There is a wooden print in the frontispiece of this tract, representing an old man in an elbow chair, with his leg upon a stool; and upon the physician's touching him, he cries out, "Oh!" The learned and ingenious author had been many years afflicted with the gout, which shows him more a philosopher, in that, after such experience, he could give such encomiums of it. He says, in his epistle, 'That as a fool, persuaded by foolish physicians, I abstained in vain, for the space of seven years, from the use of wines; and then, in my frequent travels and embassies, when I was constrained to follow my sovereign lord Cæsar Maximilian, and sometimes through those countries where the waters were corrupt and contagious: but, at last, I became more wise, and found more ease.' The translator, W. Est, dedicates it to the right worshipfull Sir Bernard Grenville, knight, his very good patron; whom he informs, 'That age having inforced him to retire himself a little, and to think upon some convenient recreation, whereby his drooping spirits being refreshed, he might be able with the more alacrity to undergo the burthen of those grave studies, which his function incessantly requires; and this little tract falling into his hands, he bestowed some spare hours in translating it into the English tongue.' The translator appears to have been the same W. Est, who, a few years before, published certain sermons upon some parts of the evangelists, and some lectures upon other parts of the new testament.

[See in vol. ii. p. 42, a similar tract.]

405. The Poor Vicar's Plea. Declaring that a competency of meanes is due to them out of the tithes of their parishes, notwithstanding the impropriations. Written by Thomas Ryves, doctor of the civile laws. Printed by John Bill. 1620. (Quarto, in seventy-nine leaves.)

The learned author is said to have been, about this time, one of the masters of chancery, and judge of the faculties, and prerogative court in Ireland; where he was held in great esteem for his knowledge of the laws. He was afterwards, in the next reign, the king's advocate, and knighted by him; was a great royalist, and sufferer in the cause, even of wounds in battle. He was also author of other works, in Latin; two of them upon naval affairs: and lived to the latter end of the year 1651. As for this treatise, it is dedicated to King James; and the drift of it is to shew how poor and sadly supplied the churches were in Ireland. He imputes the sole cause of their misery, to the multitude of

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benefices long since taken from the daily ministers of the churches, and converted to other uses; but principally to the luxury of the monks. For there was an age when the Christian religion seemed to consist only in building monasteries, and bestowing large revenues upon them; which, as they were at first burdensome to the temporal state, so they grew baneful to the churches, by reason of the multitude of livings they procured to be appropriated to their uses. 'Insomuch that,' as our author observed out of an old leiger book 'of the Abbey of St. Thomas, in Bermingham's Tower in Dublin, a house of no very old foundation, within few years after it was erected, it had procured fifty-nine church livings, in part, or in whole, to be appropriated to its use.' And these monasteries corrupted, by their example, many chantries, colleges, hospitals, and nunneries, to do the like. Whence barbarism, ignorance, and superstition, so much prevailed, and few churches were to be found, served by other than poor vicars and stipendiary curates; and those chiefly men of such coarse qualifications, as one can hardly say, whether they are less worthy of better maintenance, or such maintenance of better men. [This subject has been ably illustrated by the deeply learned Bishop White Kennet, in his 'Case of Improvements,' &c. 1704.]

406. *Votivæ Angliæ: or, the Desires and Wishes of England.* Contained in a pathetical discourse, presented to the king on new yeares day last. Wherein are unfolded and represented many strong reasons and true and solid motives, to perswade his majestie to draw his royall sword, for the restoring of the pallatynat, and electorat, to his son in law Prince Fredericke, to his onely daughter the Lady Elizabeth, and their princely issue: against the treacherous usurpation, and formidable ambition and power of the emperour, the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Bavaria, who unjustlie possesse and detaine the same. Together with some aphorisms returned, with a large interest, to the Pope; in answer to his. Written by S. R. N. J. Printed at Utrecht. 1624. (Quarto, in twenty-two leaves.)

This excellent author, who subscribes himself by those initial letters, was Mr. Thomas Scot, who had published many shrewd pamphlets against the Spanish match, and in favour of the palatinate. It is dedicated to Prince Charles; and he dates it, at the end, from his chamber in London. We take this to be the same Thomas Scot, who was murdered not long after in Holland, as may hereafter be more particularly observed.

407. *The Life of Mr. Bernard Gilpin, sometimes Person of Houghton, in the Bishoprick of Durham: a man, for his piety and integritie, famous and renowned over all the northern parts of this kingdome of England.* Faithfully collected and written in Latine by the right reverend father in God, George Carleton, late Lord Bishop of Chichester; and published for the satisfaction of his countrimen, by whom it was long since earnestly desired. Translated by William Freake,

minister. Printed by William Jones, &c. 1629. (Quarto, in thirty-four leaves.)

This life is dedicated by the author to Sir William Belusis, knight, to whose importunity the world is indebted for this publication. There is also a copy of verses upon Mr. Gilpin, by a kinsman; in which, mention is made of the said Mr. Gilpin's having refused a bishoprick. Upon this particular, Bishop Nicholson thus observes, where speaking of this 'Life of our northern apostle, Bernard Gilpin, rector of Houghton, written in elegant Latin by his gratefull scholar Dr. George Charleton, Bishop of Chichester;' he goes on thus: 'There is one passage in this history which has been ill applied by some of its readers. The refusal of the bishoprick of Carlisle has been interpreted as an instance and argument of the good man's mean opinion of the order of episcopacy: whereas (not to mention the extraordinary humility wherewith he is noted to have been endowed,) they who know the values of that bishoprick, and the rectory of Houghton, will easily apprehend there might be other motives to incline one to modesty upon such an offer.'

408. *God's Love to Mankind. Manifested by disproving his absolute decree for their damnation.* 1633. (Quarto, in fifty-eight leaves.)

This treatise is learnedly handled, against the opinion of absolute reprobation, and other pernicious tenets in the sublapsarian doctrine, which is ever driving some weak minds or other to despair, destruction, &c.

409. *A short Treatise of Politike Power, and of the true Obedience which Subjects owe to Kings, and other Civil Governours.* Chap. 1. Whereof politike power groweth; wherefore it was ordained; and the right use and duty of the same. 2. Whether kings, princes, and other governours, have an absolute power and authority over their subjects. 3. Whether kings, princes, and other politike governours, be subject to God's laws, and the positive laws of their countries. 4. In what things, and how farre subjects are bound to obey their princes and governours. 5. Whether all the subjects goods be the emperour's, or king's own; and that they may lawfully take them as their own. 6. Whether it be lawfull to depose an evill governour, and kill a tyrant. 7. What confidence is to be given to princes and potentates. Composed by me, D. J. P. B. R. W. Printed in the year 1556, and now reprinted. 1639. (Quarto, in thirty-five leaves.)

This tract was written by Dr. John Poynt, sometime Bishop of Rochester; and, upon the deprivation of Stephen Gardiner, was translated to Winchester, in March 1551. But, when Queen Mary came to the crown, he left the kingdom, and died at Strasburg in Germany, April 11, 1556. Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. v.

410. *An humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament: by a dutifull Sonne of the Church.* Printed for Nathaniel Butler. 1640. (Quarto, in twenty-three leaves.)

This remonstrance, against any alterations that were or might be offered to be made in the church liturgy, is said, in the title-page of this copy, to have been written by Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exon; and published January 30, 1640.

411. No Post from Heaven, nor yet from Hell: but a true relation, and animadversion, written and sent as an antidote to all unbelieving Brownists, profane anabaptists, schismatical monsters, and such like incendiaries of the state. Proving by histories, and apparently shewing by records and examples, that his majestie's taxations have not been unusuall, nor his government tyrannicall, as hath been through impious and impudent pamphlets, by some of them maliciously invented, diabolically printed, and, by a most superstitious and unheard-of way, protected, divulged, and scattered abroad. Dedicated to his sacred majesty. By G. A. Printed at Oxford. 1643. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

412. A more exact and perfect Relation of the Treachery, Apprehension, Conviction, Condemnation, Confession, and Execution of Francis Pitt, aged 65, who was executed in Smithfield, on Saturday, October 12, 1644, for endeavouring to betray the Garrison of Rushall-Hall, in the County of Stafford, to the Enemy. Published by Ithiel Smart and Edward Archer, two ministers, who were acquainted with him in his life, and present with him at his death. By special command. Printed for John Field, October 18. 1644. (Quarto, in sixteen pages.)

413. A Looking-glass for the Parliament: wherein they may see the face of their unjust, illegal, treasonous and rebellious practices. 1. Against Almighty God. 2. Against their king. 3. Against the fundamental lawes of the kingdom. 4. Against their own oaths and covenants. Argued between two learned judges; the one remaining an exile beyond the seas; the other a prisoner for his allegiance and fidelity to his king and country. Printed in the eighth yeer of the parliament of tyranny and oppression. 1648. (Quarto, in twenty-five leaves.)

The epistle to the reader is subscribed D. J. and R. H. which probably are intended for David Jynkins and Sir Robert Holborne.

414. The several Speeches of Duke Hamilton Earl of Cambridge, Henry Earl of Holland, and Arthur Lord Capel, upon the Scaffold, immediately before their Execution, on Friday the 9th of March. Also the several exhortations and conferences with them upon the scaffold, by Dr. Sibbald, Mr. Bolton, and Mr. Hodges. Published by speciall authority. Printed for Peter Cole, &c. 1649. (Quarto, in twenty-two leaves.)

415. Mutatus Polemo: the horrible stratagem

of the Jesuits lately practised in England, during the civil wars, and now discovered by a reclaimed Romanist, imployed before as a workman of the mission from his holiness. Wherein the royalist may see himself out-witted and forlorn, while the presbyterian is closed with, and all to draw on the holy cause. A relation so particular, and with such exquisite characters of truth stamp upon it, that each of our three grand parties may here feel how each others pulses beat. Also a discovery of a plot for a speedy invasion. By A. B., Novice. Published by special command. Printed for Robert White, Dec. 5. 1650. (Quarto, in forty pages.)

416. His Highness' Speech to the Parliament in the Painted-Chamber, at their Dissolution, upon Monday the 22d of January, 1654. Published to prevent mistakes and false copies. Printed by Henry Hills, printer to his highness, &c. 1654. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves.)

There is an 'Order of Council,' at the end of this speech, that none presume to print it, but the said Henry Hills, and such as he shall imploy and appoint in that behalf. Signed 'William Jessop, clerk of the 'councill.'

417. A brief Answer unto the Cambridge Modell: which is to go to the two universities, to be read by all the doctors and students, vice-chancellor and fellows; as they will answer it to God. And likewise, this is to go to all those they call gentlemen of the countreys to whom this modell is directed; from the doctors, for money to maintaine the students: and is to go amongst all the priests that are, and have been, heretofore, made ministers by the same doctors of colleges, now planted themselves in the countreys: and this is to go amongst all the country-men; that they may see the fruits of the learning from the doctors; which fruit is Persecution. And also, that they and all people might come to learn of Christ the prophet which is raised up, which doth 'enlighten every man which comes into the 'world,' high and low, rich and poor, bond and free, male and female; that all through him might believe, who is the covenant of God, the leader of the people whom they should hear; who reconciles, in one, things in heaven and things on earth; who brings into unity, which is, in the light, which every man which comes into the world lightned with all, which is Christ, that Abraham and the prophets spake of; he being enjoyed, the end is seen. By E. M. London, printed for Thomas Simmons, at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate. 1658. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

The author of this tract was a quaker, though his name seems not to have been known by any of the Friends who have mentioned it. The pamphlet it is designed to answer, is before mentioned in this catalogue.

418. General Monck's last Letter to his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood, declaring his Resolution to send Col. Wilkes, Lieut.-Col. Clobery, Major Knight, by Way of Treaty in order to a happy Union between the two Armies of England and Scotland. With two other letters from persons of honour, signifying great hopes of peace, and a prohibition of either armies proceeding any further in their march. Published by his excellencies speciall command. Printed for Fra. Smith, &c. 1659. (Quarto, in four pages.)

419. His Majestie's Reason why he cannot in Conscience consent to abolish the Episcopal Government. Delivered by him in writing to the divines that attend the honourable commissioners of parliament, at the treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight: with the answer of the said divines, delivered to his majestie in writing, October 3, 1648. Printed for Abel Roper, &c. 1660. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

420. A full and certain Account of the last great Wind and Storms: being a narrative of the several accidents, hurts, and damages caused thereby, both by sea and land, at home and abroad. Collected out of domestick and foreign letters, with a great deal of care and diligence; and faithfully published. Printed by J. B. for Dorman Newman, &c. (Quarto, in sixteen pages.)

It may be found that this pamphlet was printed in the year 1661, by that expression of the author's, (p. 6,) where he says, 'This famous wind happened on February 18; some days before which, deceased that most noble royal lady, the Queen of Bohemia, his majestie's onely aunt; who had for so many years been absent from this kingdom, and was driven and tossed through a sea of troubles; so that it may be thought these winds gave notice that she was gone to her rest.' Several fatal accidents, occasioned by this storm, in town and country, are here related; particularly of Mr. Blith, a Lincolnshire attorney, who, though advised not to pass by a tottering house in Piccadilly, could not avoid it; so was buried in its ruins. And the lady Saltenstone, as her maid was dressing her in her lodgings near the Fleece tavern in Covent-Garden, was bruised to death with the fall of a chimney. The Thames flowed not in sixteen hours together, nor was there there the least sign of any alteration in the tide; so that the river was fordable in many places; just as it happened before the death of Oliver. In the Earl of Essex's park in Hertfordshire, no less than 500 trees were blown down; and it did the like mischief in many other places, as Lincoln's-Inn walks, Moorfields, &c. At Weston in Cambridgeshire, it blew a man off from a barn up into the air, and, after having twirled and spun him about some time, set him down lightly upon the ground. It blew solicitor Cook's head off from Westminster-Hall, and it might have been lost in the Thames; but it was carefully recovered, and staked up again in the same place. Much

damage it also did by sea as well as by land, and in France and Holland as well as in England.

421. A Wonder of Wonders: or, a Metamorphosis of Fair Faces; voluntarily transformed into Foul Visages. Published by R. Smith, gent. Printed by J. G. for Richard Royston. 1662. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

This pamphlet is written against the strange and whimsical fashion, which prevailed amongst the ladies at that time, of adorning, or disguising their faces with abundance of black patches, cut into various forms and figures. The author dedicates his work, 'To the young ladies and gentlewomen of the society of black-spotted faces, newly taken into the fellowship of the company of painter-stainers; &c. But he has said nothing, from all his fathers and philosophers, that would be more likely to discountenance and deter these fantastical affectations, than that story in Sir Kenelm Digby; who informs us, 'that soon after this fashion of patching appeared at court, a lady with child, was so deeply moved at the sight of one of those new-spotted faces, that she was delivered of a daughter, whose face was naturally so spotted, or marked over with black patches.' But the females were now grown to be significant in the shapes of them, as appears here in one of the poems before this pamphlet, where the poet says,

And yet the figures emblematick are,
Which our she-wantons so delight to wear;
The *coach* and *horses*, with the hurrying *wheels*,
Shew both their giddy brains, and gadding heels;
The *cross* and *crosslets*, in their face combin'd,
Demonstrate the cross humours of their mind;
The *bias* of the *bowls* doth let us see,
They play at rubbers, and the mistress be;
The *rings* do in them the black art display,
That spirits in their circles raise and lay:
But oh, the sable *stars* that you discry!
Benights their day, and speakes their darkned skie;
The several *moons* that in their faces range;
Eclipse fond Proteus in his various change;
The *long slash*, and the *short*, report the scars
Their skirmishes have gain'd in Cupid's wars.
For those that into *patches* clip the *crown*;
'Tis time to take such pride and treason down.

422. Considerations and Proposals, in Order to the Regulation of the Press: together with divers instances of treasonous and seditious pamphlets, proving the necessity thereof. By Roger L'Estrange. Printed by A. C. June 3. 1663. (Quarto, in twenty-six leaves.)

423. The Surveyor of the Press survey'd: or, Mr. Roger L'Estrange appearing in his proper colours. Being an account of some of his many irregular actions, before and since he was in that imployment; which may serve as an answer in part to his book, entitled, 'Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press.' Recommended to all that have, or may have, to do with this gentleman. By a well-

wisher to his king and country. 1663. (Quarto, in twenty pages.)

424. *Don Juan Lamberto: or, a comical History of our late Times. Wherein the subtil contrivances, arch-rogueries, and villainous treasons of the late notorious rebels, under several feigned names, are jovially discovered, and to the very life displayed. In two parts. By Montelion, Knight of the Oracle, &c. The third edition corrected. Printed for Henry Marsh. 1664. (Quarto, in forty-four leaves, black letter.)*

The comical author of this history divides it into chapters of adventures like the old romances, and the principal persons in the rebellion, whom he treats of, and of whom he has several stories, not to be met with elsewhere, are, 1. Cromwell the soldan; and, 2. His son Richard, the meek knight. 3. Sir Harry Vane, knight of the mystical allegories. 4. Sir Lambert, knight of the golden tulip. 5. Sir Fleetwood, the contemptible knight. 6. The grim giant Desborough. 7. Don Hazlerigo, knight of the hot-head. 8. Scoto, the negromancer. 9. The Seer Wareston. 10. The giant Husonius. 11. The loyal knight (Monck). 12. The Seer Lisle. 13. Sir Baxtero, knight of the lions. 14. Sir Ludlojus, knight of the green powdering-tub. 15. The giant Okey. 16. Hugh Petres, and the butcher's wife. 17. The vandal Vennezo. 18. Sir Haringtonius, knight of the Rota. 19. Sir Harry Martino, knight of the turpentine-pill; Sir Munsonius, the slovenly knight, &c.

425. *A Looking-Glass for England: being an abstract of the bloody massacre in Ireland, by the instigation of the jesuits, priests, and friars, who were chief promoters of those horrid murders, prodigious cruelties, barbarous villanies, and inhumane practices, executed by the Irish papists upon the English protestants in the year 1642. As also, a brief apology in the behalf of the protestants in the vallies of Piedmont; with a narrative of the barbarous butcheries, inhumane cruelties, most execrable and unheard-of villanies, perpetrated on them by the Popish party during the heat of the late massacre in April 1655, stirred up by the malice and instigation of the devil acting in the Popish clergy. 1667. (Quarto, in thirty pages.)*

426. *Liberty of Conscience, the Magistrates Interest: or, to grant liberty of conscience to persons of different perswasions, in matters of religion, is the greatest interest of all kingdoms and states, and particularly of England; asserted and proved. By a protestant, a lover of peace, and the prosperity of the nation. 1668. (Quarto, in twenty-two pages.)*

427. *The Act of Parliament against religious Meetings proved to be the Bishops' Act: or a letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to his fellow-bishops, to promote the persecution in-*

tended by it. Printed, to save the trouble of copying it out. With some animadversions thereupon. 1670. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

428. *The Downfall of Coffee-Pence: or, a true and perfect account of the short life, deserved death, and desired burial of coffee-pence and half-pence. With the sad lamentation of their owners, on their changing them for silver; in pursuance of his majesties gracious proclamation, published the 19th of this instant August, 1672. Printed for Phil. Brooksby, &c. 1672. (Quarto, in one sheet.)*

In this discourse, the author treats, 1. Of a penny in general; its etymology, ancient form, value, &c. 2. Of the first occasion of private persons stamping half-pence and pence. 3. The mischiefs and inconveniences thence arising. 4. The advantages accruing by a general farthing; and the lamentation of the owners of the prohibited pence and half-pence. He has this observation upon our ancient penny; (p. 4.) 'From the Saxon's time, unto the reign of King Edward III. our English penny, like a Good-Friday bun, had a cross struck so deep into the midst of it, that you might break out any part of four, to buy what you had occasion for, which was in those times their farthing; so called from High Dutch, whence our English tongue derives its pedigree, *Ein Viertding*; that is, a fourth thing, or part.'

429. *An Essay to revive the antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues. With an answer to the objections against this way of education. 1673. (Quarto, in twenty-two leaves.)*

There are many examples of learned and accomplished women mentioned in this treatise: and there was a school now erected at Tottenham High-Cross, where Mrs. Makin, the governess, (some time tutoress to Princess Elizabeth, daughter to King Charles I.) now proposed to instruct young ladies in arts and languages, for twenty pounds *per annum*, or something more, if such improvement be made in the tongues and other qualifications here mentioned.

430. *My Lord Lucas his Speech in the House of Peers, Feb. 22, 1670-1; upon the Reading of the Subsidy Bill the second time, in the presence of his Majesty. Middleburg, printed 1673. (Quarto, in one sheet.)*

This excellent speech was publicly burnt by the common hangman. The editor says, he would have submitted himself to the same fate, if his death might have prevented those fatal calamities, and evil counsels, which have since been so destructive to this kingdom: 'But, (adds he) God has taken him from an ungrateful generation, and from the evil to come, and left us to lament the loss of so worthy a patriot.' His objection to the lords in this speech, is, that the commons had sent them a bill up, and were preparing others, for money for his majesty, amounting to little less than three millions; which prodigious sum he exhorts their lordships to moderate. At the end, there is a list of the mischiefs which happened since this

speech, as follows : '1. The strict alliance with France. 2. Shutting up the exchequer. 3. Breach of the triple league; and the present war. 4. Fall of lands, and decay of trade. 5. Sending great forces into France, under French and Popish commanders. 6. Losses at sea by privateers, amounting to at least two millions. 7. Corrupting of members of parliament. 8. Drunken and debauched elections. 9. Oppression in quartering of soldiers. 10. Pressing of Englishmen to serve in foreign wars. 11. Loss of many thousand seamen in this war. 12. Making papists, atheists, and French pensioners, ministers of state. 13. Great consumption of the treasure by the privy-purse. 14. Sending ignorant and ill-affected ambassadors abroad. 15. Debauching the nation by masquerades. 16. Favour shewn to papists at court. 17. Continuing salaries to those that refused to abjure transubstantiation. 18. Dissentions at sea between protestant and popish officers. 19. Encouragement of popery in Ireland. 20. Defrauding the seamen of their pay. 21. Grievous taxes in the most grievous poverty. 22. Suspending of penal laws against popish priests and jesuites. 23. Loss of the dominion of the seas by the treachery of the French. 24. His highness refusing the tests for prevention of popery, and marrying a papist, (niece to a cardinal) to the great strengthening of the popish and French interest. 25. Making a French lieutenant-general, to the great dishonour of the English nobility. 26. Making French Cazwell an English dutchess, to the great disgrace of the ladies and gentlewomen of this nation.' [See Noble Authors, iii. 120, edit. 1806.]

431. A brief Memorial, wherein the present case of the ancient leasees, the inward pawn subtenants, and the outward pawn present-tenants, of the Royal Exchange is truly, and impartially stated. As also, some animadversions and remarkable passages, relating to the present and publick revenue of the said place: with some modest proposals for the future benefit, and most certain advantage of the same. Humbly presented to the consideration of the right honourable Sir Robert Viner, knight and baronet, lord-mayor of the city of London; and to the rest of the right worshipful and worthy members of the grand committee for Gresham affairs. By an unfeigned well-wisher to the flourishing estate of the city of London; and, in particular, to all the present inhabitants of the Royal Exchange, within the said place. 1674. (Quarto, in twenty-six leaves.)

At the end of this tract is a Latin distich, importing that whoever would know the author's name, he may seek it in these letters, DEHNKERVY. Quere, if the author's name was not 'Henry Duke;' and compare it with page 17, where it is said — 'The next court-day comes Mr. Rutland, Mr. Duke, and Mr. Henry Joyce, according to the court's own order and appointment, with full power and authority from the rest of their neighbours, &c. to represent the whole, &c.'

432. England's Great Happiness: or, a Dia-

logue between Content and Complaint. Wherein is demonstrated that a great part of our complaints are causeless. And we have more wealth now, than ever we had at any time before the restauration of his sacred majestie. By a real and hearty lover of his king and country. Printed by J. M. for Edward Croft, &c. 1677. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

The author of this treatise was John Houghton, Fellow of the Royal Society. See his Collection of Letters, p. 96.

433. The Jesuite's Manner of consecrating both the Persons and Weapons imployed for the murdering Kings and Princes, by them accounted Hereticks: being matter of fact. Translated out of Hospinian's History of the Jesuites, p. 366. Printed at Zurich, in the year 1670. 1678. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

434. The Tryal and Execution of Father Henry Garnet, Superior-Provincial of the Jesuites in England, for the Powder-Treason. Collected by Roger Widdrington, a Roman Catholick, and by him addressed unto Pope Paul the Fifth; printed in Latin, 1616, in his Appendix to his 'Humble Supplication,' p. 124; and thence translated. Now published, to make it further evident, that it is no new thing for Jesuites to curse and ban, to justifie a lie. Printed for Jonathan Robinson, &c. 1679. (Folio, in two sheets.)

435. A seasonable Memorial, in some historical Notes upon the Liberties of the Press and Pulpit: with the effects of popular petitions, tumults, associations, impostures, and disaffected common-councils. To all good subjects, and true protestants. Printed for Hen. Brome, &c. 1680. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

436. The last Speech of Mr. Oliver Plunket, titular Primate of Ireland: who was executed at Tyburn, on Friday the 1st of this instant July, 1681. Written by his own hand. Printed by N. Thompson. 1681. (Folio, in one sheet.)

(Printed in vol. vi. p. 188.)

437. A Tryal of Witches, at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmonds, for the County of Suffolk; on the tenth day of March, 1664. Before Sir Matthew Hale, Knight, then Lord Chief Baron of his Majestie's Court of Exchequer. Taken by a person then attending the court. Printed for William Shrewsbury, at the Bible in Duck-Lane. 1682. (Octavo, in thirty-two leaves)

Here it appears, that one Rose Cullender and Amy Duny, two poor old widows of Leystoff in the county aforesaid, were indicted for bewitching some girls and a youth, named Elizabeth, Anne, and William Durent,

Jane Bocking, Susan Chandler, Elizabeth and Deborah Pacey, who were all subject to violent fits; occasioned, as the evidence sets forth, by those reputed witches, who being thereby convicted, and the judge having acquainted the jury, they had only two things to enquire after, first, whether these children were bewitched? secondly, whether the prisoners were guilty of it? They, within half an hour, brought in their verdict, *both guilty*. And this was on Tuesday in the afternoon, March 13, 1662, as the date is printed at the end of the trial: and the said women were executed on Monday the 17th of March following; but they confessed nothing. In short, it is a strange trial for a man of Judge Hales's reputed knowledge and wisdom, to have pronounced sentence in. Most of the foolish tales, by nurses and ignorant gossips ascribed to witches, are here used as evidence against these two poor women; as the catching of a toad in a blanket, and burning it in the fire; and Amy Duny's appearing next day all lamentably scorched in her face, legs and thighs: just like the cat in one of Cleveland's poems, which having had one of its legs cut off, it proved, next day, to be an old woman's arm, 'as a Lancaster grand jury (says he) 'will report.' Then there were some quantities of crooked pins produced, and attested to be vomited up by those girls, in their fits; and a two-penny nail, that was thrust into one of their mouths, by a bee! with several other such absurdities; besides the filthy search and discovery of several teats, or excrescences like them, upon Rose Cullender, at which she was supposed to suckle her imps. Serjeant Keeling seemed very rationally unsatisfied with all this stuff; and the draughtsman of this trial, did very well not to publish the opinions herein by him ascribed to Sir Thomas Brown, about witchcraft, before that learned man was secure from contradicting them; he being newly dead, or dying, just as this pamphlet was published; which was six years after the death of Sir Matthew Hale. There was an experiment made, (p. 45.) upon which the Lord Cornwallis, Sir Edmund Bacon, and serjeant Keeling, openly protested, that they did believe the whole transaction of this business was a mere imposture. This put the court and all persons into a stand; till the credulity or prejudice of the witnesses overruled, and the condemnation passed as aforesaid; and then, it was affirmed that the children were perfectly restored from their fits, to their speech and health.

438. *The Present Interest of England: or, a Confutation of the Whiggish Conspiratours Anti-Monyan Principle.* Shewing, from reason and experience, the ways to make the government safe; the king, great; the people, happy; money plentiful, and trade flourish. Printed for Thomas Dring, &c. 1683. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves.)

By a note written in the title-page of this copy, it appears, that the author of the said pamphlet was Dr. John Nalson. Accordingly, he subscribes his epistle to the reader with the last letters of the said name, *N. N.*

439. *The penitent Recognition of Joseph's Brethren: a Sermon, occasioned by Elizabeth Ridgeway; who, for the petit-treason of poyson-*

ing her husband, was on March 24, 1683-4, (according to the sentence of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Street, one of his Majesties Judges of Assize for the midland circuit,) burnt at Leicester: when and where, were also executed William Tannesly and Edward Orton, for burglary; sons of one woman. To which is prefixed a full relation of the woman's fact, tryal, carriage, and death. By John Newton, A. M. sometime Fellow of Clare-Hall, Cambridge; and now Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester. London, printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's church-yard. 1684. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves.)

440. *Seasonable Advise to the Citizens, Burgeses, and Freeholders of England, concerning Parliaments and the present Elections.* By a Divine of the Church of England. Printed for Walter Kettilby, &c. 1685. (Quarto, in twenty-one leaves.)

There is written upon the title-page of this copy, that 'the author of it was Dr. Grove of St. Andrew 'Undershaft.'

441. *What Manner of Men the Clergy of the Church of England, and their Creatures, are; briefly shown, in a Letter to one of the late 'Answerers to a Letter to a Dissenter:' occasioned by a 'Postscript to the said Answer.'* Printed for T. Jones. 1687. (Quarto, in twelve pages.)

That answerer of a letter to a dissenter, having, in a postscript thereto, threatened, upon a fresh provocation, to give 'a Description of the Clergy of the Church 'of England, and their Creatures;' this author anticipates him, and writes in their justification.

442. *An Account of the whole Proceedings against the Right Reverend Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London, before the Lord-Chapcellor, and the other Ecclesiastical Commissioners.* 1688. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

Setting forth the said bishop's reasons, by his learned council, why he could not so peremptorily suspend Dr. John Sharp of St. Giles's, from preaching, as King James had enjoined, by his letter to his lordship, dated June 14, 1686. His lordship was therefore cited, the 9th of August following, before the commissioners; and, on the 6th of September next ensuing, the whole proceeding ended, with a suspension of the bishop himself.

443. *A brief Vindication of the Parliamentary Proceedings against the late King James II. Proving that the right of succession to government (by nearness of blood) is not by the law of God and nature, but by politick institution. With several instances of deposing evil princes; shewing, that no prince hath any title originally, but by the consent of the people. Licensed July 20, 1689, J. Fraser. Printed and sold by Randall*

Taylor, at Stationers-Hall. 1689. (Quarto, in thirty-six leaves.)

444. A Letter from Major-General Ludlow to Sir E. S. comparing the Tyranny of the first four Years of King Charles the Martyr, with the Tyranny of the four Years Reign of the late abdicated King. Occasioned by the reading Dr. Pelling's leced barangues upon the 30th of January, being the anniversary, or general madding-day. Amsterdam. 1691. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

445. The Life of Captain James Whitney. Containing his most remarkable robberies and other adventures, &c. Continued to his execution near Smithfield-Bars, the first of February 1692-3. Printed for A. R. near Temple-Bar. (Quarto, in seventeen leaves.)

446. King William and Queen Mary Conquerors: or a discourse, endeavouring to prove that their majesties have on their side, against the late king, the principal reasons that make conquest a good title: shewing also how this is consistent with that declaration of parliament, 'King James abdicated the Government,' &c. Written with an especial regard to such as have hitherto refused the oath, and yet encline to allow of the title of conquest, when consequent to a just war. Licensed 11 January, 1693, Edmund Bohun. Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane, &c. 1693. (Quarto, in thirty-four leaves.)

447. An Account of Mr. Blount's late Book, entituled, 'King William and Queen Mary Conquerors;' ordered by the House of Commons to be burnt by the hand of the common hangman, on Wednesday morning next, at ten of the clock, in the Palace-Yard, Westminster. The second edition. 1693. (Quarto, in twenty pages.)

448. Justice the best Support to Government: or a brief account of some publick transactions during the late war. 1697. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This is dedicated to the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, by that industrious discoverer of many corruptions in the administration of those times, Robert Crosfield. And here are the whole proceedings of Mr. Everett's discoveries of the like nature, with relation to the Admiralty and Navy-Office; for which he had an hundred pounds given him, which did not near countervail the charges he had been at. And though, by vertue of a commission given him, he made one hundred and thirty seizures of anchors, cables, cordage, timber, ammunition, and ordnance, which delivered into the king's stores, he was but slandered, abused, and ill-treated for his services, by the navy board, and commissioners of the victualling-office, while those he

detected were cherished and screened from justice. Here is moreover a great deal of loss and damage charged upon the admiralty by their embargoes, and their insufficient guard of the seas, whereby 100 ships of war and some thousand merchant ships were lost. The barbarous usage of our sick seamen in the hospitals, &c. is also hinted at, with the dangerous consequences of some unjustifiable practices in the post-office, relating to secret correspondences with France, &c. He concludes, with applying some of Sir Robert Cotton's reflections, in his life of King Henry III. and makes this note upon one of them at the bottom of the page in his own words: 'In our age, the wicked practise of buying and selling employments, as it were by inch of candle, who bids most, has been of fatal consequence to the whole body of this nation; and the only reason why publick crimes have not been looked into: all, generally speaking, partaking of the spoil; for it is notorious to the world, that, as employments have advanced in value, the misery of the people has encreased. But if my lord-mayor, &c. be obliged to keep port and grandeur, it is fit it should be, by some publick allowance, or on his own domaines, and not live upon the blood and tears of the people. Vide, *England's Calamities discovered*: sold by Joseph Fox in Westminster-Hall, and Robert Clavell, at the Peacock in Fleet-street, &c.'

449. The Cause of England's Misery: or a brief Account of the corrupt Practice of the Law: humbly offered to the consideration of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled. 1698. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

This is a collection of cases that had then lately happened within the author's own knowledge, and in some whereof he had been a sufferer, by the practices of attornies, lawyers, and judges in their courts of law, &c. The author signs himself at the end of his treatise, Richard Collins.

450. The Free State of Noland: or the Frame and Constitution of that happy, noble, powerful, and glorious State. In which all sorts and degrees of people find their condition better'd. Printed for D. Brown, at the Black Swan and Bible without Temple-Bar. 1701. (Quarto, in thirty-two leaves.)

451. An Account of the last Bartholomew-Fair, and the late City Order for regulating the same. With two letters to a citizen of London on that occasion. 1702. (Quarto, in two sheets.)

Those letters, written by G. S. were occasioned by the late 'City order for prohibiting interludes, drolls, comedies, lotteries, and musick-booths, in Bartholomew fair,' &c. Nevertheless, the strollers found some expedient to maintain their customary revels, or triumph in a fortnight's carnival of debauchery, and marched off unmolested with the spoils of vice, and trophies of vanity. Whereupon the letter-writer observes—'I presume not to determine how far some amusements and diversions may be tolerated, to draw company to the fair, for the profit of honest

'wareshops; but certainly, even this can be no equivalent for such pastimes and places, as make Smithfield, for that season, a congress of all impiety; and the wickedness of a fortnight sufficient, by modest computation, to stock a nation with calamities and judgments, for an age.'

452. King William's Affection to the Church of England examin'd. 1703. (Quarto, in fourteen leaves.)

There is a note written with a black lead pencil in the title-page of this copy, that the author of it was the Lord Somers.

453. Spiritual Wickedness in High Places: or, the corruption and oppression in the spiritual courts laid open, in the case of Peter Slynehead, of the parish of Prescott, in the county of Lancaster, and diocese of Chester. Printed by R. Tookey, &c. 1704. (Quarto, in twenty-two leaves.)

This tract is divided into ten chapters: shewing, 1. The defectiveness of a pretended spiritual law, and the illegal and corrupt practice therein. 2. The profane and vexatious practice of the spiritual judges. 3. The grievous practice of the lords spiritual. 4. The reasonableness of the statute law, and the excellent use of a jury. 5. The corrupt practice of the spiritual courts, by many suitable comparisons. 6. The evil practice of spiritual officers, set forth in rhyme both human and divine. 7. The uncertainty of lewd women's accusations, and the prodigiousness thereof. 8. A precedent for a more regular and safe filiation of bastard children, under the penalty of such a law. 9. The reasonableness of such a law. 10. The reasonableness of this book. It appears, (page 33, &c.) That the author had been falsely accused by a certain woman, with getting her a bastard child; and, though she afterwards confessed that one Holland was the true father of it, the churchwarden, who was become a common promoter of the spiritual office, so prosecuted him by false witnesses, &c. and the spiritual judges gave such false judgment against him; never shewing any lawful proof, cause, or reason whereby they condemned him; that, after he had continued in suit above five years, he was excommunicated for non-payment of fifty shillings, caused to travel backwards and forward three thousand miles, obliged to spend above two hundred pounds: besides other unspeakable damages thereby sustained.

454. An Accompt Current betwixt Scotland, and England, ballanced: together, with an essay of a scheme of the product of Scotland, and a few remarks on each. As also a view of the several products of the parts or nations we trade to, by comparing and holding forth, how our products and manufactures may ballance theirs, with returns. By J. S. a lover of our protestant queen, country, and trade. Edinburgh, printed by the heirs and successors of Andrew Anderson, printer to the queen's most excellent majesty, city and college. 1705. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

VOL. X.

The author dedicates this work to John Duke of Argyle, her majesty's high commissioner; and the right honourable the estates of parliament: and subscribes himself, at the end of his dedication, John Spruel. Therein he offers, by his schemes and remarks following, to prove: 'That Scotland's products and manufactures are able to ballance our trade with any, or all parts and kingdoms we do, or need trade to. So that it may be seen plainly, that, though England join with us in union, or communication of trade, they will not be married to a beggar, with whom they should find nothing but a louse in our bosom the first night, as Sir Edward Seymour was pleased to reflect on us; yet that this land is full of product, if by your wisdoms and care we be stirred up to improve it, abroad and at home; and not always suffer ourselves to be served, as is fabled of the two crows, hopping on the sea-shore, where shell-fish were; which they liked, but knew not how to open them; till the Royston crow (which was cunning as E ———,) advised the plain country crow (which I compare to S ———,) to fly up very high with the shell-fish in his bill, and let it fall on the rocks, and it would open; which the country crow did; but no sooner lets she the fish fall, that it opened, but the Royston crow picked the fish out of the shell, before the country crow got down. And may I not say, so does England with Scotland; both as to profit, honour, and glory, of all wherein we are concerned with them; abroad in their armies and navies, and at home in our trade; as is evidently shown forth in the schemes following, and the remarks on them.'

No. XXVIII.

455. A Position maintained by J. B. before the late Earle of Huntingdon: viz. priests are executed, not for religion, but for treason. Newly imprinted. 1600. (Octavo, in fifteen pages.)

456. Certaine Rules, Directions, or Advertisements, for this Time of pestilentiall Contagion: with a caveat to those that weare about their neckes impoisoned amulets as a preservative from the plague. Published for the behoofe of the city of London, and all other parts of the land at this time visited. By Francis Hering, D. in phisicke, and fellow of the colledge of phisitians in London. Printed by William Jones. 1603. (Quarto, in two sheets.)

457. The Bachelers Banquet: or a Banquet for Bachelers: wherein is prepared sundry daintie dishes to furnish their tables, curiously drest, and seriously served in. Pleasantly discoursing the variable humors of women; their quicknesse of wittes, and unsearchable deceits. Printed by T. C. and sold by T. Pavier. 1604. (Quarto, in thirty-nine pages, black letter.)

458. Falshood in Friendship: or Union's Vi-
zard: or Wolves in Lambskins. 1. Discovering
the errors in unjust leagues. 2. That no subject
ought to arm himself against his king, for what

pretence soever. 3. An advertisement to those few of the nobilitie which take part with infamy. Printed for Nat. Fosbroke. 1605. (Quarto, in seventy-three leaves.)

This sharp and learned discourse is otherwise called — 'The Masque of the League, and the Spaniard discovered.' It is written wholly against the Spaniards, and their league, by a French author, who subscribes himself at the end, A. M. He exhorts the nobility and gentry of France to unite themselves to their king, to extirpate this rebellion, and chase away their entertained evils, the Spaniards; thereby to restore the afflicted realm to tranquillity, and prevent their wading any further in the love of this unlawful league. In the 13th leaf of this work, the author gives a most horrid character of that Don Pedro, who perjured himself to the valiant Black Prince, son of King Edward III. of England; who re-seated this faithless king in his throne, when he had lost it: the same Don Pedro, the first and only of that name, surnamed the Cruel; he being the fourth King of Castile, and the thirty-fifth of Leon, who began his reign in the year 1350, by cruelty; and therein continued all his life-time. In an unhappy hour he espoused fair Blanch of Bourbon, whose life he shortened by poison, in the prison of Medina Sidonia; and her body was afterwards taken up by the French, (who, on this occasion, entered into Castile in the behalf of Don Henry,) and so was buried at Tudela in Navarre, &c.

459. A Letter of a Baker of Boulougne, sent to the Pope. Translated out of the Italian copy (printed at Florence) into French and Dutch, and now into English. Printed for William Ferebrand. 1607. (Quarto, in seven leaves, black letter.)

This smart bantering letter was written upon the breach between the Pope and the Venetians; who had pulled out of his hand his temporal sword, and so dulled and blunted the other, that henceforth it should not cut but in measure and reason; advising him to suffer them to bear a large pair of shears in their arms, to witness to posterity, that they were the first amongst his faithful massmongers, who durst curtail and clip his garment, which daggled too long on the ground. After having also shown how the Pope's power stood with regard to other princes of Europe, he concludes, with advising him to renounce all superiority over the King of England, as the Spaniards had done to those of Holland; for which his majesty might be induced to make him a great present, of all the priests and jesuites in his country, &c.

460. The New Age of Old Names. By Jos: Wib: Master of Artes, of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge. Printed for William Barret and Henry Fetherstone. 1609. (Quarto, in seventy-one leaves.)

The author's name was Joseph Wybarne, as appears at the end of his epistle dedicatory to Sir John Wentworth, knt. The work is divided into twenty-four chapters: and some of those, which seem to touch most closely upon the subject, bear these titles, — 'That nothing is known but names. — Knots sought in a bulrush. — The error by names in policie. — All

'fallacies come by names. — New names of several 'vertues: in divers chapters. — New names of false 'religions,' &c.

461. Strange Newes of a prodigious monster born on the Township of Adlington, in the Parish of Standish, in the County of Lancaster, the 17 day of Aprill, 1613. Testified by the reverend divine, Mr. W. Leigh, bachelor of divinitie, and preacher of God's word at Standish aforesaid. Printed by J. P. &c. 1613. (Quarto, in seven leaves, black letter.)

The figure of this monstrous birth is represented from a wooden print, in the title-page, having two bodies joined to one back. The parents' names are not mentioned; nor whether it came alive or dead into the world.

462. A Vision, or Dreame, contayning the whole State of the Netherland Warres; as it appeared to a lover of the Netherlands, lying in his bed, upon the 7 of November, between 3 and 4 of the clock in the morning; wherein was represented unto him a goodly country, and therein a fayre comely horse, well bridled and saddled; whereat being much amazed, he sayde, 'Behold the horse, but where is the rider?' This horse is compared to the Netherland; his chief owner the King of Spain; who, with riding thereof, had cruelly spur-galled him; hereupon appeared a cunning rider out of Orange, and took on him to manage the horse gently. This horse was, by policy and great subtlety of the Pope, sought to be betraied, as it lately appeared; who, by his bishops, can when he pleaseth change the names of men, and so they have given another name unto the warres, making the king's warres the emperour's warres; thereby with more ease, to lay hold upon the horse's bridle, by that meanes the better to inclose the Netherlands. — 'Who shall ride mee?' Imprinted at London for Edward Marchant. 1615. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

There is written in the title-page of this copy — That, 'this came from Bohemia.' And in the said title-page there is a wooden print representing an horse saddled and bridled without a rider, and before him an ecclesiastick standing in his holy robes, with a crucifix on his breast, a laurel branch in one hand, and a knotted whip in the other. This dream of the past and present state of the Netherlands is here printed in Dutch as well as in English; so is the strange dance which follows, that was made about the Holland bride.

463. A Treatise containing divers Benefits and Priviledges, and the Power and Authoritie granted to the Patentee, who hath his Majesties Licence or Grant of Charter Warren, under the Great Seal of England. Collected out of divers of the lawes and statutes of this kingdome; and viewed and allowed by Sir Henry Yelverton, knight, his

Majesties Attorney-Generall, for all those who take the graunt. To be delivered to them at the office thereof, kept at the house of Sir Henry Breton, knight, one of the commissioners for making of the said graunts, in Drury-Lane. 1617. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

464. Newes from Turkie: or a true and perfect relation sent from Constantinople, touching the death of Achmet the last Emperour of the Turkes: as also the miraculous diliverance of Mustapha, (brother to the said Achmet, then emperour) and his strange escapes from his purposed death. Together with the memorable accesse of the said Mustapha into the Turkish empire; and a narration of such things as have since happened. Printed by William Jones for Sam. Nealand and Nat. Brown, &c. 1618. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

465. The Weathercocke of Rome's Religion; with her several changes: or the World turn'd topsie-turvie by Papists. Printed by George Purslowe, for John Marriot. 1625. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

This learned work, shewing how the Roman Catholics are changed in their religion from what they anciently were, has not any author's name printed before it; but it is written with a pen in the title-page of this copy, that the author was Alexander Cooke, who wrote the famous 'Dialogue of Pope Joan.'

466. A briefe and true Relation of the Murther of Mr. Thomas Scott, Preacher of God's Word, and Batchelor of Divinitie. Committed by John Lambert, souldier of the garrison of Utrickt, the 18th of June, 1626. With his examination, confession, and execution. London, printed for Nath. Butter. 1628. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This John Lambert, whose head was turned with enthusiastical conceits, that the Queen of Bohemia would raise him to great preferment, pretended to have it suggested to him by a spirit, that Mr. Scott was an obstructor of the same, and would be, till he was killed: so he laid wait for him, in St Peter's church-yard in Utrecht; and while he was there, coming to preach, it being on Sunday in the afternoon, (accompanied by his brother, Mr. W. Scott, and his nephew Tho. Scott,) the said Lambert stabbed him in the belly with his sword, whereof he died in about an hour after, and was there buried on the Wednesday following, very honourably attended to his grave; the like train having not been seen in Utrecht, on such an occasion, or a more general lamentation for the loss of so worthy a man. The malefactor was whipped and racked; had his right hand cut off, and nailed to the gallows; then he was hanged, and his dead body was sentenced to be laid upon a wheel without any burial. What makes it the more probable that this was the same T. Scott who was the author of so many notable pamphlets against the Pope, and Spaniards, and in behalf of the Queen of Bohemia, is, a character which is given of him in one of the elegies here subjoined, as follows:

Man's life's a warfare, wayfare. Ah! good man,
Thou foundst it true: thy words, thy writings can
Witness to all, inflamed with true zeal
To God, to church, to king, to common-weal;
With valour arin'd, to thine eternal praise,
Thou warr'dst against the monsters of our days;
Oppos'd great giant's sins; great sinners, hence,
Warr'd against thee, and wrong'd thy innocence.
From war to wayfare thou didst run thy race,
In warlike lands; disposing time and place
To God's great glory, and the church's good;
Till hellish hands exhausted thy heart's blood.
Well, 'twas God's will, who had decreed it best
To call thee from thy labour to his rest.

467. Speculum Jesuiticum: or the Jesuites Looking-Glass. Wherein they may behold Ignatius, their patron, his progress, their owne pilgrimage: his life, their beginning, proceedings, propagation, and present state, or greatness. Together with a true catalogue of all their colledges, professed houses, houses of approbation, seminaries, and houses of residence in all parts of the world. And lastly, the true number of the fellowes of their society, taken out of their own books and catalogues. Which may serve as a fore-warning for England to chase away, in time, this trayterous and insociable society, or disordered jesuiticall order. By L. O. that hath been an ocular wnesse of their impostures and hipocrisie. Printed by T. C. for Michael Sparke, &c. 1629. (Quarto, in thirty-nine leaves.)

The author of this pamphlet was Lewis Owen, who had published several others, wherein he has also notably laid open the state and management of the jesuites, from his own knowledge and observation, &c. He dedicates this tract to Sir Henry Martin, judge of the court of admiralty, as a pledge of his gratitude for the manifold favours he had bestowed on him. The occasion of his writing this pamphlet, as we gather from his preface, was, the sight of a copper-print which had been newly set forth; wherein was engraved, in the compass of two sheets of paper, a spacious olive tree, growing out of the side of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the jesuites, as he lies sleeping, with certain books under his head, inscribed *Obedientia*; and a paper in his right hand containing some Latin words, signifying, 'I am like a fruitful olive tree in the house of God.' That tree has as many branches, as there are provinces in which the jesuites have any religious-houses; and the name of the province is at the foot of the branch: which bears as many leaves as there are colledges, &c. in that province; on which leaves are the names of the towns, cities, and villages inscribed, where those religious-houses are. And round about the tree are the portraits of all the most illustrious men of their order, as Toletus, Bellarmine, Campian, and his fellows, the English jesuits who were executed for treason; and many more, of the like merit: which coming into our author's hands produced the tract aforesaid.

468. The present State of Spayne: or a true relation of some remarkable things touching the

court and government of Spayne: with a catalogue of all their nobility and their revenues. Composed by James Wadsworth, gent. late pensioner to his Majesty of Spayne, and nominated his capitaine in Flanders. Imprinted at London, by A. M. for Richard Thrale, and Ambrose Retherdon, &c. 1630. (Quarto, in forty-five leaves.)

This relation is dedicated by the author to Sir Henry Ferrers, baronet, and his religious lady. He has made many curious observations upon the then present state of Spain, both in this, and other tracts, he wrote upon that subject; but because he was a deserter of the Spanish interest, and has discovered the shifts which some English papists were obliged to make who courted it, some favourers of the said Roman Catholics, and otherwise Espaniolized writers among us, have spoken slightly of him, and have discouraged the reading of his tracts, as written by an author of no principle, credit, or account.

469. His Majestie's Commission for giving Power to inquire of the Decayes of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, and for the repairing of the same. Printed by Robert Barker, printer to his majesty. 1631. (Quarto, in twenty-eight leaves.)

This commission is dated from Canbury, and here are above threescore commissioners named, from the lord-mayor and archbishop of Canterbury, down to the chamberlain of London, for laying out such sums as have been, and shall be given, collected, &c. in the said repairs.

470. His Majestie's Commission and further Declaration, concerning the Reparation of Saint Paul's Church. Printed by Robert Barker, &c. 1663. (Quarto, in thirteen leaves.)

471. The Constitutions of the Musæum Minervæ. Printed by T. P. for Thomas Spencer. 1636. Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)

This tract gives an account of the institution of an academy then in London, for the teaching chiefly of navigation, riding, fortification, architecture, painting, and other useful accomplishments of a gentleman (which, if taught, are not practised in the universities, or inns of court) and especially to give language and instruction, with other ornaments of travel, to our gentlemen, who shall abide some time in this academy, before their taking journies into foreign parts. It was hoped that this institution of a college, already encouraged by his majesty's gracious favour, and letters patent of donation in land, as well as goods, would, from such royal example, have inspired future benefactors to support it; but by what means it dwindled away, after a few years continuance, appears not. The faculties, sciences, arts, and languages, which were more particularly read and taught in this academy, may be seen further in the constitutions themselves, which here follow. It appears that Sir Francis Kinaston was the first regent, but none of the professors, or other members, are named.

472. A most certaine and true Relation of a strange Monster, or Serpent, found in the left Ventricle of the Heart of John Pennant, gentleman, of the Age of 21 Years. By Edward May, doctor of philosophy and physick, and professor elect of them, in the colledge of the academy of noblemen, called 'the Musæum Minervæ:' physician also extraordinarie unto her most sacred majesty, Queene of Great Brittany, &c. Printed by George Miller. 1639. (Quarto, in twenty-three leaves, besides two cuts.)

This tract is dedicated by the author to Edward, Earl of Dorset, lord-chamberlain to the queen, &c. And the treatise itself, to Sir Theodore Mayerne, chief physician to the king; who had desired the doctor to publish an account, with a sculpture, of this strange discovery. The young man died at his lodgings in St. Giles's parish, on the 6th of October, 1637; and the next day was dissected at the instance of his aunt, the Lady Elizabeth, wife of Sir Francis Heris, by Mr. Jacob Heydon, a surgeon, under the direction of our author, in presence of Mrs. Dorothy Pennant, the deceased's mother, and many other persons. It was found that the young man's liver was grown to the costall membranes; which contraction was ascribed to his writing profession: and, his heart appearing on the left side very hard and tumid, they opened it, and took out this monstrous worm, or serpent. The whole was near thirteen inches long: it had an head like a snake; its body strait; about an inch round, and six inches long; of a white colour, and very smooth: then it divided into two branches, of a flesh colour; the one, about two inches and an half long, the other, somewhat shorter: which two branches again divided, and terminated in five long, thin fibres a-piece. It was thought to have been growing three years; for so long the young man had complained of a pain in his breast: and the author had often noted an extraordinary sharpness in his eye, like the eye of a serpent, whence he argues from Friar Bacon, in his book '*De Calo et Mundo*;' and Alkindus, in his treatise '*De Radiis*;' that all things have their peculiar emanations, and irradiate their specific beams from their own centre: and that inward diseases may be discovered by such signatures sent forth from their centres, analogical to their circumferences, by which we may find the causes, if we be diligent and careful. John Stowe, in his Chronicle, anno 1586, mentions a strange animal found in the heart of a horse, belonging to Mr. Dorington of Spaldwick in Huntingtenshire, somewhat parallel to this case: but, for our author's faithful relation of that understanding and sincere man, Mr. John Whistler, one of the benchers of Grays-Inn, and recorder of Oxford: who, in his younger days, being a great cock-master, and having an old fighting cock that was worn out, he cut off his head, which was no sooner done, but there shot out, between the skins another head and neck, like that of his cock, with a very fine skin upon it, with a bill, and a little comb; but he conceived it to be a kind of jelly. As for this story, I say, if one of the benchers of Grays-Inn did affirm it, we believe scarce another could be found who would believe it; and yet our author believed it; for he endeavours to account for it, as being perhaps bred of some egg in the body of the cock, with other arguments;

but how probable, is left to the consideration of his brother-doctors in philosophy.

473. *Certaine Grievances well worthy the serious Consideration of the Right Honourable and High Court of Parliament.* 1640. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

These grievances were published upon the new orders and stirs that the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop Wren, in his book of articles, had made about the Service-book; here charged with many Pe-pish and absurd errors, relating to the publick worship of God; which made many refrain from going to church, till the said service was all read; as the author of this pamphlet, who signs himself at the end, Lewis Hughes, does assert. Towards the conclusion, he gives us the particulars of some dreadful judgments which had fallen upon churches ever since the said service-book was first established by act of parliament, and especially since the new orders concerning the same were made: more especially the accident that befell the parish church of Withycomb in Devonshire, so much torn and defaced by thunder and lightning, on the 21st of October, 1638; as may be seen more at large in the pamphlets published upon that occasion: and that no less fearful, though less hurtful storm of thunder and lightning, which maimed many of the congregation for a while, in the parish church of Anthony in Cornwall, that present year 1640. Upon which our author begs for a reformation of what was amiss in the publick worship of God, before his wrath be kindled, and come forth as a consuming fire upon the whole land.

474. *Archy's Dream, sometime Jester to his Majestie, but exiled the Court by Canterburies Malice. With a relation for whom an odd chaire stood void in hell.* 1641. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This little Archibald, the king's Scotch jester, had often provoked Archbishop Laud, who being now safe from hurting him, in the Tower, Archy published this pamphlet. There is a wooden print in the front of it, representing the archbishop in bed with a cloven foot at the bed-side, a great sword in the window, and Archy standing by. Wherefore he was exiled from court, he says few men were ignorant; and the cause is here said to be this—a nobleman asking him what he would do with his handsome daughters; he replied, 'He very well knew what to do with them; but he had sons, which he knew not well what to do with. He would gladly make schollars of them; but that he feared the archbishop would cut off their ears.' In his dream, after he had been in heaven, and seen a parson present a petition against Archbishop Laud; he descends to hell, and sees Bonner and Wolsey dancing a galliard, with the furies for their female partners; behind whom was an empty chair, which they said was for Laud, against whom many bills were preferred to Rhadamant, who pronounced his doom; and he was bound hand and foot and thrown into Charon's boat, at which Pluto's followers made such a noise, that it waked our dreamer; who, going to a noble friend, heard that Canterbury was carried to the Tower. There are some verses at the end, of which these are part:

His fool's coat now, is far in better case
Than his which yesterday had so much grace:
Changes of times surely cannot be small,
When jesters rise, and when archbishops fall.

475. *The Order of the House of Commons: Declaring the high breach of priviledge of parliament, by his majesties coming in person, attended with great numbers of persons armed with halberds, swords and pistolls, to the commons house of parliament: together with the power given to the committee of the house of commons, appointed to sit in London, to consider of vindicating the priviledge of parliament, and of the safety of the kingdom and citie. Whereunto is added the names and declaration of the said committee.* Printed for Joseph Hunscomb. 1642. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

476. *A short Treatise of the Lawes of England: with the jurisdiction of the high court of parliament: with the liberties and freedoms of the subjects. Written and collected by Walter Mantell, esq.* Printed by Richard Cotes. 1644. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

477. *Subtilty and Cruelty: or, a true relation of the horrible and unparallel'd abuses, and intolerable oppressions, exercised by Sir Sackville Crow, his majesties ambassador at Constantinople, and his agents; in seizing upon the persons and estates of the English nation resident there and at Smyrna. Together with the barbarous and tyrannical intentions to doe the like, upon their persons and estates, in all other parts of the Grand Signor's dominions. Directly contrary to the trust reposed in him by his majesty, and his own agreement with the company of merchants of England trading into the Levant seas; at whose charge he is there maintained.* Printed by R. Cotes. 1646. (Quarto, in forty-two leaves.)

This Sir Sackville Crow, baronet, had been eight years ambassador at Constantinople, and so long chosen by the Turkey company of merchants to negotiate their affairs there; for which they allowed him two thousand pounds *per annum*. Here are, in the epistle, the articles recited, which he agreed to; and withall, his frauds, exactions, and injustice to the said company. They procured the Grand Vizier's promise to hear their complaints, and determine of them according to justice; but the success thereof remained as yet unknown. In the mean time, that the world might judge of his proceedings, the said company have here caused the warrants, letters, and papers of their factors to be printed; whereby it manifestly appears, how he had conspired the overthrow of the said trade, which had been so beneficial in exporting the manufactures of this kingdom, and importing unwrought materials, and other necessary commodities, and employing many ships of force; whereby many thousands of this kingdom were maintained and set at work.

478. The King's Majestie's Declaration from Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, to all his loyall and faithful subjects within his realms and dominions, concerning a personal treaty with his two houses of parliament at Westminster; as also concerning the Scots who have entered England; and his desire to sacrifice all but conscience and honour to settle the peace and unity of his distressed people. Written with his majestie's own hand, and signed CHARLES REX. Imprinted at London, for G. Wharton. 1648. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

479. *Digitus Testium*: or a dreadful alarm to the whole kingdom; especially to the lord-mayor, the aldermen, and the common-council of the city of London: or a short discourse of the excellency of England's laws and religion: together with the antiquity of both, and the famous kings that England hath had, to defend both the religion and laws, against the heathen Romish emperours, and against the Romish power under Popes: with the several plots the Popes of Rome have used against the Kings of England, to throw them down; and how of late he hath prevailed against the magistracy and ministry of England; his new designs and manner of progress. Together with a serious view of the new oath, or ingagement; with twenty-two queries upon the same; and also objections made against the non-subscribers thereof answered. Let the ingenuous reader take so much pains as to read that incomparable piece of vindication of a treatise of monarchy, by way of discovery of three main points thereof. 1650. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves.)

In this pamphlet there is a lively display of the Pope's intrigues to increase the variance between the king, lords, and commons of England. And here are the negotiations displayed of some of our Popish courtiers to that purpose: particularly, it is set forth in page 13, how much the entrance of England and Scotland into the solemn league and covenant alarmed the Roman faction; and, as Mr. Hinderson foretold, made the very Pope and conclave of cardinals amazed and tremble; insomuch, that they doubled their diligence to work the destruction of the covenanters. The Duke of Loraine was solicited, by Sir Kenelm Digby's means, (who was then the queen's agent for the English affairs at Rome,) to help the King of England with an army, against the covenanters in England. Further, that the said Sir Kenelm was the Pope's right-hand, to promote and further all designs against that party in England. At the same time a nuncio was sent from the Pope's court into Ireland, there to make cessation with the protestants, and to further, by all means possible, the King of England against the covenanters; which was concluded with the Pope's good liking, as hath been confessed. And page 28, there are reasons laid down, why it was much credited by many rational men, that Sir Kenelm Digby, and the party which came with him from Rome into England, about the time of throwing down the lords, and cutting off the king, framed the engagement against the protestants,

and covenanters party, as also to ruin the parliament and army.

480. An Essay for Advancement of Husbandry-Learning: or, propositions for the erecting a colledge of Husbandry; and in order thereunto, for the taking in of pupills and apprentices, and also friends or fellowes of the same colledge, or society. Printed by Henry Hills. 1651. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

These propositions were imparted to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, a man famous for his zeal in communicating any such projects as might be of public benefit: and, after they had lain some time by him, he now published them, with a commendatory preface, which he subscribes with his own name.

481. *Common Good*: or, the improvement of commons, forests, and chases, by inclosure. Wherein the advantage of the poor, the common plenty of all, and the increase and preservation of timber, with other things of common concernment are considered. By S. T. Printed for Francis Tyton, &c. 1652. (Quarto, in sixty pages.)

This treatise, which does, in many parts, deserve to be taken good notice of, is inscribed to the supreme authority of the nation, the parliament of England, by the author, Silvanus Taylor; who had been of the high court of justice, and a commissioner for Herefordshire, and certain counties in Wales, for ejecting of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers, and schoolmasters, &c. It is divided into ten sections, and at the end, is an appendix, shewing 'The chief cause of wandring poor in England, and the remedies thereof.' This cause he ascribes not only to so much waste ground, as our commons, &c. consist of, but to the immoderate and unnecessary number of alehouses, throughout the kingdom; which he calls 'the two great nurseries of idleness and beggary.' He says, that, even in the year 1646, it was computed that there were not less than 6000 alehouses within the bills of mortality; and he computes himself, that there were at least an hundred thousand in England; the waste, or superfluous consumption of drink in which, and what tends to so much drunkenness and poverty, he computes at fifty thousand pounds a week, which is, twenty six hundred thousand pounds a year. He lays it down at the beginning, that this waste amounts to more yearly, than any assessment for one year, within ten years past; and yet the moderate use of the creature, whether respect be had to necessity or delight, is not brought into this accompt. As to the remedies; he would have many thousands of alehouses suppressed, and the remainder to be all licensed, &c. A second remedy, he proposes, should be the enclosing of commons; that so there may be no room left for idleness; and that all cottages may have such a competent measure of land laid to their cottages, as may invite their children to labour. His third remedy is, the erecting of workhouses, and the setting up such manufactories as may also invite to labour; not by force, unless it be of such as would be resolutely idle; man's nature being more easily drawn, than driven.

482. A true and impartial Relation of the Death of Mr. John Gerhard, who was beheaded on Tower-Hill, July 10, 1654. Printed 1654. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

This gentleman was an officer and a great royalist, brother of Sir Gilbert Gerhard, and now executed for being (as it was charged upon him) concerned in a plot against the then prevailing power.

483. The Grand Impostor Examined: or the Life, Tryal, and Examination of James Nayler, the seduced and seducing Quaker; with the manner of his riding into Bristol. Printed for Henry Brome. 1656. (Quarto, in twenty-eight leaves.)

This collection, containing the character, description, with some letters and examinations relating to James Nayler, appears, in page 45, to have been published by John Deacon (whom Nayler had before written a pamphlet against); which Deacon also there appears to have offered to prove Nayler guilty of some indecent practices with certain women, before the public meeting at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, to his face, more than once or twice; to which he could make no reply, but was put utterly to silence. The name of John Deacon is also subscribed at the end of the pamphlet.

484. A true Narrative of the Examination, Tryall, and Sufferings of James Nayler, in the Cities of London and Westminster; and his Deportment under them: with the copies of sundry petitions and other papers delivered by several persons to the Lord-Protector, the Parliament, and many particular Members thereof, in his behalf. With divers remarkable passages relating thereto, before his journey to Bristol; whither he is now gone towards filling up the measure of his sufferings. 1657. (Quarto, in thirty-two leaves.)

This tract contains a report from the committee, to whom the examination of James Nayler, blasphemer, &c. was referred. But, being published by a Quaker, who was a great champion for James Nayler, he has printed abundance of notes in the margins of that report, disputing the matters of fact therein represented, in many places, and justifying that impostor in all. The like notes there are upon the debates and resolutions of the House of Commons upon that report; as also upon their sentence, and the punishment of him. After these, the said editor has published copies of several of the papers given into the House of Parliament in the time of James Nayler's trial and sufferings, which began the 5th of December, the year before that in which this pamphlet was printed. These papers were written by one Robert Rich, here called a merchant; but whose brain seems as much turned with enthusiasm, as Nayler's, could be: also by William Tomlinson, and by George Fox, to the Protector himself. Here are also other papers and petitions to the Parliament, in behalf of Nayler, and to mitigate his punishment; also to Oliver Cromwell, which did produce a letter from him, dated Whitehall, December 25, 1656, to Sir T. Widdrington, Speaker of the House of

Commons, desiring to be acquainted with the grounds and reasons whereupon the House proceeded in that prosecution. But the house satisfied him; and, notwithstanding another petition, the sentence of Parliament took place, and was executed accordingly.

485. The Exaltation of Christmas Pye; as it was delivered in a Preachment at Ely-House. By P. C. Doctor of Divinity and Midwifery. 1659. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

As there is no year which produced so many comical and humorous pamphlets as that in which this was printed; so this is one of them. It contains also some satirical jirks upon certain persons in those times.

486. The true and perfect Speech of Mr. James Guthrey, late Minister of Sterling: as it was delivered by himself, immediately before his execution, on June the first, 1661, at Edinbrough. Sent from Edinburgh, and printed for publick satisfaction, and to prevent the dispersing of false copies. 1661. (Quarto, in fourteen pages.)

487. A Relation from Rome, of the Massacre committed on the French Ambassador and his Lady. With two letters from the French King; one to the Pope, another to the Cardinal, concerning the same. Published for satisfaction. 1662. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of France to the Pope, was the Duke of Créqui; who, with his Lady, were several times shot at, both by civil as well as military persons, who rose up against them, and seem to have had some express order. They killed several of the ambassador's servants, but he and his Lady escaped. This savage and inhospitable treatment produced the French King's letters of resentment, printed at the end.

488. The Arraignment, Tryal, and Examination of Mary Moders, otherwise Stedman, now Carleton, stiled the German Princess, at the Sessions House in the Old Baily; being brought prisoner from the Gate-house, Westminster, for having two husbands; viz. Tho. Stedman of Canturbury, Shooemaker, and John Carleton, of London, Gent. Who, upon a full hearing, was acquitted by the Jury, on Thursday June 4, 1663. Taken more largely, by special appointment. Printed by N. Brook, at the Angel, in Cornhill. 1663. (Quarto, in sixteen pages.)

489. The Examination and Tryal of Margaret Fell and George Fox, at the severall assizes held at Lancaster, the 14th and 16th days of the first month, 1663-4. And the 29th of the 6th month, 1664, for their obedience to Christ's command, who saith, 'Swear not at all.' Also something in Answer to Bishop Lancelot Andrews' Sermon concerning Swearing. 1664. (Quarto, in thirty-four pages.)

Margaret Fell was a famous Speaker among the Quakers, and Writer for them almost fifty years; for she lived till the year 1702. She was born and bred in Lancashire. Her dwelling and meeting were at Swarthmore. She published above twenty books and pamphlets: some were, 'Calls to the Universal Seed of God,' &c. and, 'To the Seed of Israel.' Two years after that trial, she published, 'A Letter sent to the King, from M. F.' But her most noted piece was entitled, 'Women's Speaking justified, proved, and allowed of, by the Scriptures.' She says, in the Tryal above, that she was separated from the general worship of the nation, when there was another set up, than that which is now; and was persecuted by that power that then was, and suffered much hardship. The occasion of this trial of them both was, because they would not take the Oath of Allegiance; the very Scripture they were to swear by, commanding them 'To swear not at all.' The account of her trial is signed by herself, and his by him. George Fox, (or somebody else for him, for he was bred a Shoemaker, and had not learning,) in his Answer to Bishop Andrews, quotes the New Testament in Hebrew, as well as Greek.

490. Reflections on the Weekly Bills of Mortality for the Cities of London and Westminster, and the places adjacent; but more especially, so far as it relates to the plague, and other most mortal distempers that we Englishmen are most subject to, and should be most careful against, in this our age. Printed for Samuel Speed, at the Rainbow, in Fleetstreet. 1665. (Quarto, in twenty-four leaves).

There are many curious particulars in this pamphlet. It begins with an account of the four great mortalities preceding that raging at the time this was printed. That in 1592, when the keeping of bills of mortality first began; that in 1603, that in 1625, and that in 1636. Then we have the bills exhibited, of all the burials occasioned by all diseases, and especially the plague, in every parish in the city of London and liberties thereof, with the nine out-parishes adjoining, and the pest-house belonging to the same, in those said four years. Then follows an account of the diseases and casualties we had been most subject to of late, and ought to provide against: with a resolution of some questions; as, 'in what time the city may be re-peopled, after a great plague? What number of people there may be in London?' Here computed to be, three hundred eighty-four thousand. 'How many fighting-men in the said city?' And these, with Westminster, Stepney, and Lambeth, are reckoned at eighty-one thousand two hundred thirty-three; besides three thousand four hundred more, computed to come up yearly out of the country; and the people in all England are reckoned to be about, four millions two hundred and thirteen thousand. 'Whether London be so obnoxious to the plague of late as formerly? Lastly, what sickly years they had for threescore years past, and in what proportion of time we are to look for sickly years?' The whole concludes with some choice receipts for the prevention and cure of the plague: as, 'The King's Receipt: Secretary Naunton's Posset-drink: the Lord Bacon's

' Drink: Dr. Butler's Preservative: the Queen's Medicine: Sir Theodore Mayerne's Cordial Water: the Lord Cecil's Perfume; and Doctor Rand's Justice: Jonas his Medicine: Dr. Harvey's Plague Water, and the Duke of Buckingham's; and the Earl of Strafford's Medicine;' who used to chew zedoar when he approached infected places.

491. A true and faithfull Account of the several Informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament to Inquire into the late dreadful Burning of the City of London. Together with other Informations touching the insolency of Popish Priests and Jesuites, and the increase of Popery; brought to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament for that purpose. 1667. (Quarto, in thirty-two pages.)

It is here first set down what mischief this dreadful fire did, which began on the 2d of September 1666, at one Mr. Farriner's, a Baker, in Pudding-Lane, between one and two in the morning, and continued till the 6th of September following; consuming, as by the Surveyor's accounts appears, three hundred seventy-three acres of building, within the city walls; and sixty-three acres, three roods, without the walls. There remained seventy-five acres, three roods, standing within the walls unburnt, or eleven parishes: but eighty-nine parish churches, besides chapels, were burnt; and thirteen thousand two hundred houses. This is attested by Sir Jonas Moore and Ralph Gatrix, Surveyors. In the Report of Sir Robert Brook, Chairman of the Committee, it appears that Robert Hubert, of Roan in Normandy, acknowledged he fired the Baker's house aforesaid, upon promise of reward by Stephen Piedloe, who came out of France with him, by putting a fire-ball, fixed at the end of a long pole, in at a window of the said house. He also confessed, that there were three and twenty complices, whereof Piedloe was the chief. And it appears, by abundance of other informations and testimonies, that French, Irish, and English Roman Catholicks, were engaged in the said horrid destruction.

492. A Poem; being an Essay on the present Ruins in St. Paul's Cathedral. By J. Wright. 1668. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

The writer of this poem, Mr. James Wright, then at New Inn, afterwards a Barrister of the Middle Temple, was also author of the 'Antiquities of Rutlandshire,' and some other pieces. It is written in stanzas of four lines, and alternate rhyme. In the conclusion, the author taking notice of the great destruction by the fire of those books, which the neighbouring booksellers had stored for safety in the vaults under that cathedral, has this encomium upon Sir William Dugdale's 'Antiquities of Paul's:'

Couldst thou not, Paul's, in all thy vaults of stone
Preserve these papers from the tyrant flame?
When thou by paper, and by it alone,
Art still preserved to triumph o'er the same.

Were't not for books, where had thy mem'ry been?
But that thou art, in Dugdale's learned story

And beautiful illustrations, to be seen;
Thy name had been as lost as is thy glory.

Brave Norroy! as thou to this fabrick's name
A living monument hast rais'd; so she
Shall prove, in spite of a prevailing flame,
An everlasting monument to thee.

There is joined, at the end of this copy, another poem, written in heroic verse, entitled — 'The Misfortunes of St. Paul's Cathedral,' in eight pages; whether written by the same author does not appear.

493. A Seasonable Proposal to the Nation, concerning a Register of Estates in this Kingdom. Tended to the consideration of the public spirited in both Houses. 1669. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

In the conclusion of this proposal, the author says, 'Four things would make this nation more happy than it is.—1. A more generous education of our children. See a little book entitled, 'The Children's Petition and remonstrance to the present Parliament.' 2. A register of estates. 3. A commutation of tithes. 4. A union of the King's protestant subjects in the business of religion.'

494. The People's ancient and just Liberties Asserted, in the Tryal of William Penn and William Mead, at the Sessions held at the Old Bailey in London, the first, third, fourth and fifth of Sept. 70, against the most arbitrary Procedure of that Court. 1670. (Quarto, in sixty-two pages.)

The indictment here sets forth, 'that W. Penn, Gent. and W. Mead, late of London, Linnen-Drapeer, gathered a congregation about them in Gracechurch-Street, of three hundred people, on the 15th of August, in the 22d year of the King, and there unlawfully and tumultuously did assemble; and the said W. Penn did there openly preach to them, to the disturbance of the peace, and of many of the King's subjects, and to the ill example of others.' But no such mischiefs being proved upon them, they were by the jury acquitted. But they were fined for contempt of the court; and, for non-payment, haled away into the Bail-Dock, from thence sent to Newgate; and so were the jury.

495. An Answer to the seditious and scandalous Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Tryal of W. Penn and W. Mead, at the Sessions held at the Old Bailey, London, the 1, 3, 4, 5 of Sept. 1670.' Contained in four sections. I. The design of the libellous pamphlet discovered. II. The scandals against the then Lord Mayor (Sir Sam. Starling) Sir Thomas Bludworth, and Sir John Hovel Recorder, answered. III. The justice and honour of that Court vindicated by a true and impartial relation of that whole Tryal. IV. The fining of that Jury that gave two contrary verdicts justified, to prevent a failure of jus-

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tice in London. Written by S. S. a Friend to Justice and Courts of Justice. 1671. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

These two letters may have been intended to signify that Lord Mayor who had applied himself to the law in Grays-Inn, before he was a trader in the city; and the rather, because he is here more particularly spoken of than was in this case necessary, and much the like aspersion is returned upon William Penn's father, as the said William had cast upon that Lord-Mayor, when he said of him, that 'one Renegado is worse than three Turks;' in allusion to his fierceness against Dissenters in King Charles's reign, after his eager prosecution of the royal party under Cromwell. To which it is here answered, that William Penn mistakes when he charges these things upon the late Lord-Mayor; and that he means his own sire deceased; who, from a Captain, was made Oliver's High-Admiral, for his great service in promoting that new instrument; who afterwards did eminent service at Hispaniola, when he delivered up the flower of the English soldiers a sacrifice to the cow killers. This was 'a Renegado worse than three Turks;' that performed such excellent service in the late Dutch wars, in plundering the two East-India Dutch ships of the prize goods, for which he was turned out of the House of Commons. It is hoped, that he leaving so great an estate of —just-gotten goods to so conscientious a son as this William Penn pretends himself to be, that the tender conscientious youth will make satisfaction to his Majesty. —As for the verdict of the Jury abovementioned; the contrariety pretended therein was this, they brought in their verdict twice, 'that William Penn was guilty of speaking in Gracious Street;' but this not satisfying the court, they were forced to go out a third time; and then being demanded, as before, whether William Penn was guilty of the matter whereof he stood indicted, in manner and form? They answered 'Not guilty.' So were fined, &c. Will. Penn did afterwards publish one pamphlet or more, to expose the partiality in the narrative of his trial above, and clear himself from the imputations therein.

496. Rebellion Rebuked: in an answer to a scandalous pamphlet, entitled 'The Quaker converted to Christianity,' &c. written by one William Haworth, an independent preacher in Hartfordshire, and William Dimsdale, a young man in the town of Hartford, a professor and hearer of the said W. H. By the friends of truth, who wish its prosperity in true love to the souls of all people, John Crook; William Bayly. 1673. (Quarto, in fifty-six pages).

There is an affirmation towards the end made by eleven Quakers, that the convert Haworth pretended to have made, was no Quaker. And after that, a letter of rebuke to the said W. Haworth, signed Mary Stout; advising him to cease striving against the Lord in his people, and repent of his evil; else he and his work will fall together.

497. A Relation of the most memorable Things in the Tabernacle of Moses, and the Temple of

3 O

Salomon, according to the Text of Scripture. By Jacob Jehudah Leon, Hebr. Author of the Model of Salomon's Temple. At Amsterdam, printed by Peter Messchaert, in the Stoof-steech. 1675. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

That Jew dedicates this scarce pamphlet to King Charles, entreating him, 'to cast a benign eye upon what is here represented; it being the exact form of the Tabernacle, as it was in the wilderness; with the structure of Solomon's Temple; the holy vessels, garments, and utensils thereof delineated, and set forth to the life. The which as it was graciously owned, with a devout affection, thirty years ago and upwards, by that Serene Queen your Majesty's Mother; so be pleased, most noble Prince, to imitate her piety,' &c.

498. Sadler's Memoirs: or, the History of the Life and Death of that Famous Thief Thomas Sadler. Giving a true account of his being fifteen times in the gaol of Newgate, and a relation of his most notorious pranks in city and country. With a particular description of the manner of his robbing the Lord High Chancellor; for which he was condemned to dye, and executed at Tyburn on Fryday the sixteenth of March, 1677. With allowance; Ro. L'Estrange. Printed for P. Brooksby, in Westsmithfield. No date. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

This robbery committed upon the Lord Chancellor, was of his mace and purse, out of a closet in his own house: and Sadler had the audaciousness to make one of his confederates, as they were marching off, over Lincoln's Inn Fields, bear the mace openly on his shoulder; and another, the purse before him; while he with hat cocked, and arms a kimbo, walked after in strutting grandeur. They carried their booty to their lodging in Knight-riders-Street, where it being discovered, he, and three more were apprehended. There is an epitaph on him at the end, which being short is here transcribed:

Here Sadler lies! reader come not too near,
The nimble ghost may pilfer still, we fear:
His presence fifteen times did Newgate grace;
But dy'd oppress'd with a too ponderous mace:
So us'd to make all doors before him flye,
His very coffin dreads a burglary,
And Pluto fears he'll jilt his treasury.

499. Ravillac Redivivus: being a Narrative of the late Tryal of Mr. James Mitchel, a Conventicle-preacher, who was executed the 18th of January last, for an attempt which he made on the sacred person of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. To which is annexed, an account of the Tryal of that most wicked Pharisee, Major Thomas Weir, who was executed for Adultery, Incest, and Bestiality. In which are many observable passages, especially relating to the present affairs of Church and State. In a letter from a Scottish to an English Gentleman. London, printed by

Henry Hills. 1678. (Quarto, in seventy-eight pages.)

We find Dr. George Hickes asserted to be the author of this pamphlet. It was afterwards enlarged, and reprinted in folio 1682. In which edition there is an appendix, containing the proceedings against Charles Maitland of Halton, for perjury in the trial of James Mitchel. Concerning this affair, we meet with the following passage, in a certain state-paper of those times, addressed to the King, containing many articles of the male-administration of the Duke of Lauderdale, in these words:—'One Mitchell being put in prison, upon great suspicion of his having attempted to murder the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, and there being no evidence against him, warrant was given by the Duke of Lauderdale, then your Majesty's Commissioner, and your Council, to promise him his life, if he would confess. Whereupon, he did confess; and yet some years after, that person, who indeed deserved many deaths, if there had been any other evidence against him, was, upon that confession, convicted of the crime; and the Duke of Lauderdale and his brother, being put to it by him, did swear, That they never gave or knew of any assurance of life given him: and when it was objected, that the promise was upon record in the council-books, the Duke of Lauderdale did, in open court, where he was present only as a witness, and so ought to have been silent, threaten them, if they should proceed to the Examination of that act of council; which, as he then said, might infer perjury on them that swore; and so did cut off the proof of that defence, which had been admitted by the court, as good in law, and sufficient to save the prisoner, if proved. Thus was that man hanged upon that confession only, though the promise, that drew it from him, doth appear upon record, and can be proved by good and clear evidence.' This is in a paper of one sheet, folio, without date, now very scarce, entitled, 'Some particular Matters of Fact relating to the Administration of Affairs in Scotland, under the Duke of Lauderdale: Humbly offered to your Majesty's Consideration, in Obedience to your Royal Commands;' pag. 3.

500. Venn and his Mermydons: or the Linen Draper Capotted: being a serious and seasonable Advice to the Citizens of London. Occasioned by the indirect Practices used in the late Election of Sheriffs. Written by a Citizen of London. 1679. (Quarto, in seven leaves.)

There is written on the top of this copy with a pen. 'Mr. Burg sent it.—*Qui etiam ejusdem erat author.*' This pamphlet appeared the next year, with a new title-page, in these words—'Study to be quiet: or a serious and seasonable advice to the citizens of London, &c. Printed for Henry Brome, 1680.' There was one John Venn (who seems to be meant in the former title) a broken Silk-man in Cheapside, who, following the prevailing party in the civil wars, was, in the beginning thereof, made a Colonel and Governor of Windsor Castle. He had also other places of profit; and had given him, for his losses, four thousand pounds, besides the plunder of the country about Windsor, and much of the King's furniture. He was

also one of his judges; and is said (through the remorse which grew upon him afterwards for the same,) to have hanged himself; at least, his friends would not let it be known, how he came by his sudden death. The Pamphlet is levelled against some tumultuary proceedings raised by the Dissenters, in the choice of a Sheriff; and also against some defamatory papers and pamphlets, which were published at that time: particularly 'Poor Robin's Intelligence,' which had been published not long before weekly: wherein it is here said, 'The author took upon him to make a laughing-stock of any person, to whom he was prompted, either by money or malice, or to fill up an empty space in his pamphlet. And though he forbore to name the persons, yet pointed at them by such notes and characters, as they were easily known by any that were of the neighbourhood, to the great disturbance of families, and breach of charity among citizens; till, for abusing a person of honour, authority took occasion to chastise his insolence, by stopping the press. Which particulars, as to him, had been omitted; but that he, or such another, hath, and still doth take upon him to traduce, and asperse the justice of the nation, in unworthy and unseemly terms; not caring whether the matter be true or false, so it will help to sell the book,' &c.

501. A Chronology of the Rise and Growth of Popery, from Vanity to Superstition, thence to worse than Heathen Idolatry. And also the time when, and who brought it in, contrary to the apostolical canon: yet, for refusing submission to popery, many thousands have been, and millions more are now designed to be, murdered besides, as we all know, and our cities burnt, &c. Faithfully collected by a son of the true church, from their own authors; who make many of their devices ancients than in truth they were; fathering them on whom they please: and, to maintain these fooleries, cursed villanies are daily practised by the black crew of papists. 1680. (Folio, in two sheets.)

502. Mr. Roger L'Estrange's Sayings: with brief notes to prevent misapprehensions: and some additional reasons to prove him no papist. Printed for Langley Curtis, on Ludgate-Hill. 1681. (Folio, in one sheet.)

These sayings are twenty-four in number, besides the additional reasons; drawn out of Sir Roger L'Estrange's printed pamphlets; as his 'Apology, Relapsed Apostate, State Divinity, a Whip, a Whip, &c. Further Discovery, Englishman's Birth-right, Caveat for Cavaliers, and L'Estrange no Papist.' And every one of his sayings out of these pamphlets, is accompanied with a Comment, in censure of them.

503. Daniel in the Den: or, the Lord-President's Imprisonment and miraculous Deliverance. Represented in a Discourse, from Heb. 11. 33. By S. J. Rector of Chinner, in the county of Oxford. Printed by J. A. for John Dunton, at the Black Raven in the Poultry. 1682. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

S. J. was Stephen Jay, author of 'The Tragedies of Sin,' and other things; who dedicates this pamphlet to the said late Lord-President of his Majesty's Privy-Council, Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury.

504. The She-Wedding: or, a Mad Marriage, between Mary, a Seaman's Mistress; and Margaret, a Carpenter's Wife at Deptford. Being the full relation of a cunning intrigue carried on, and managed by two women, to hide the discovery of a great belly, and make the parents of her sweet-heart provide for the same; for which fact, the said parties were both committed; and one of them now remains in the Round-House at Greenwich, the other being bailed out. Printed by George Croom, &c. 1684. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

[Printed in vol. vi. p. 402.]

505. The Arraignment of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, before the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord High Steward of England. Also a brief derivation of the most honourable family of the Howards: with an account of what families they were related to by marriage. Transcribed out of ancient manuscripts never before published.—Printed by Nich. Thompson, at the entrance into Old Spring-Garden, near Charing-Cross. 1685. (Quarto, in seventeen leaves.)

This pamphlet is dedicated to Henry Duke of Norfolk, by J. Lacy, who collected it from the scattered papers which had been long preserved in his Grace's family. He seems also to have been related thereto, by some of the marriages he mentions. But had he been a stranger, and in no wise dependant, he might have given us, from those papers, a more accurate account of that trial, by which the Duke suffered death in 1572, than does here appear. In the conclusion of this trial, our author has these words:—'Thus fell that illustrious Prince, whose greatness in estate and title was his only crime; for, being of an ancient and splendid family; the Blood Royal of England and France not being out of his veins; and being allied to all the considerable families of England; and having an estate to support that greatness, of an hundred thousand pounds a year; besides the fortunes he obtained by his marriages, which were also very large; all his paternal estate was disposed of by the Queen, without regard to the innocence of his children, the hard measure of his accusations, and his obedience, which led him to the pursuit of her commands upon all occurrences: which estate, as it is divided and improved, is valued at five hundred thousand pounds a year. My Lord of Leicester, who was the leading man at that time, and sat with watchful diligence at the helm, (which he managed, as his interest or passion inspired him,) first proposed the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk; which he refused, till importuned by the persuasions of those that appeared to be his friends; and assured by a letter under Queen Elizabeth's own hand of her consent; all which ensnared him, till the consummation of the marriage: which was made evident by a letter kept long in the family.

‘ from the hands of the Queen of Scots ; in which she
 ‘ subscribed herself, ‘ Your most obedient Wife, Mary
 ‘ of Scotland and Norfolk.’ And this great family,
 ‘ thus eclipsed, remained under the cloud of a severe
 ‘ deprivation, till the last King Charles, of blessed
 ‘ memory, restored them to their former titles and
 ‘ dignities : that excellent Prince considered their long
 ‘ and silent sufferings, with what forwardness most of
 ‘ them engaged their lives and fortunes in the service
 ‘ of his Royal Father ; there being but two of all that
 ‘ great and numerous family, that drew a sword
 ‘ against their King. May those two be buried in the
 ‘ dull ashes of oblivion for ever, and wiped out of our
 ‘ way, as perhaps they are, out of the book of life.’

506. Two Cases submitted to Consideration.
 I. Of the Necessity and Exercise of a Dispensing
 Power. II. The Nullity of any Act of State that
 clashes with the Law of God. Printed for R.
 Sare, and published by Randal Taylor. 1687.
 (Folio, in half a sheet.)

At the end of the preface to this paper, we see the
 letters R. L. S. which was Sir Roger L'Estrange ; and
 to let so much of his name appear to it, was more
 than himself, perhaps, would have done in the next
 reign ; seeing what slavish doctrine he has advanced
 therein, of unlimited prerogative, in one man, to
 amend the defects in a national constitution : further
 alledging, the law of the land can never oblige the
 Sovereign to do any thing contrary to the law of his
 authority : that the Prince who has it not in his power
 to oppress, has it not in his power to govern. In
 short, this paper is an abstract of twenty or thirty of
 his Observations upon the same text, to establish an ar-
 bitrary power in the Prince, breed a contempt of par-
 liaments in the people, and make freemen slaves.

507. The Schism of the Church of England,
 &c. demonstrated in four Arguments: formerly
 proposed to Dr. Gunning and Dr. Pearson, the
 late Bishops of Ely and Chester, by two Catho-
 lick Disputants, in a celebrated conference upon
 that point. Oxon, printed by Henry Crutten-
 den, one of his Majesty's Printers. 1688. (Quar-
 to, in six leaves.)

These catholic sophisters ground much of their ar-
 guments upon Archbishop Parker's consecration ; the
 validity whereof has been so sufficiently proved by
 numbers of abler writers, that there needs no more be
 said of it.

508. The late Proceedings and Votes of the
 Parliament of Scotland, contained in an Address
 delivered to the King, signed by the plurality of
 the members thereof, stated and vindicated.
 Glasgow : printed by Andrew Hepburn. 1689.
 (Quarto, in forty-six pages.)

This pamphlet was drawn up by no inconsiderable
 hand. There are many free and wholesome observa-
 tions in it, upon the late misgovernment of Scotland,
 and characters of those ministers who were employed
 in it : which would give some clear light into that
 part of history, were their names drawn out, as they

might be, of the twilight of their initial letters, into
 the open sunshine of words at length ; as the Duke of
 Lauderdale's is, whose general character, here makes
 a glaring figure, for the mischiefs he did, while he was
 Secretary in that kingdom. In page 41, the author
 has this political reflection :—‘ Having now dispatched
 ‘ all that is either historical, or argumentative, about
 ‘ the several heads in difference between the Parlia-
 ‘ ment of Scotland, and a few unadvised, or ill-design-
 ‘ ing men about his Majesty ; I shall shut up this
 ‘ discourse with some political reflections upon the
 ‘ whole. Whereof the first is, that it is not the
 ‘ having barely a good King, that renders a people
 ‘ happy ; but much of it must arise from his having
 ‘ good Ministers about him. For no nation had ever
 ‘ a better Prince than we at present have ; and yet we
 ‘ find there is cause of complaint, by reason of the ill
 ‘ Counsellors that possess his ear. We do not think,
 ‘ that he entertains them out of choice ; yet that will
 ‘ not give his People ease, though it may for a while
 ‘ suppress their murmurings. His Majesty being so
 ‘ little acquainted with men at his first coming over,
 ‘ might lay him open to be misled in the choice of his
 ‘ Officers ; but to continue to use them, after he hath
 ‘ had sufficient means, as well as opportunity of know-
 ‘ ing their characters, will leave an imputation not only
 ‘ upon his goodness, but upon his wisdom. For as
 ‘ the people have no other way of judging of the good-
 ‘ ness of their Prince, but by finding his officers and
 ‘ chief ministers to be such : so if these be not, they
 ‘ may possibly acknowledge William to be a good
 ‘ man, but they never will believe the King is so.
 ‘ And Machiavel's observation, ‘ That a wise King
 ‘ will always find wise Ministers,’ is no more than
 ‘ what every man is persuaded of, upon the first
 ‘ principles of reason and of common sense. I do ac-
 ‘ knowledge, that ill men have ways of thrusting
 ‘ themselves upon Princes, which they that are vir-
 ‘ tuous think too unworthy, and below them to use.
 ‘ For whereas the latter are always modest, and seek
 ‘ no recommendations but from their own merit ; the
 ‘ former are importunate, and can both flatter and
 ‘ bribe favourites to speak well of them. It was a
 ‘ severe prediction, as well as observation ; which
 ‘ the late Prince of Condé made upon the news of
 ‘ King Charles the Second's death, and of his Bro-
 ‘ ther's succeeding him, ‘ That he was like to be well
 ‘ served, through having none about him, but his own
 ‘ fools, and his predecessors knaves.’ ‘ How may
 ‘ wise men then imagine his present Majesty is like
 ‘ to be served, who, though he hath not the fools of
 ‘ the last reign about him, yet he hath both the
 ‘ knaves of that, and of the former !’ &c.

509. A True Representation to the King and
 People of England : how matters were carried on
 all along in Ireland, by the late King James, in
 favour of the Irish Papists there: from his ac-
 cession to the Crown, to the tenth of April,
 1689. By an impartial Eye-witness. Licensed
 Aug. 16, 1689. J. Fraser. Printed for Richard
 Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's
 Church-Yard. 1689. (Quarto, in twenty pages.)

510. A Discourse upon Usury : or, lending

money for increase (occasioned by Mr. David Jones's late farewell sermon) proving, by undeniable arguments, the lawfulness thereof; and answering the plausible objections from scripture, councils, and fathers, against it. Published at the request of several judicious and sober Christians, for the information and satisfaction of all such as have, or may be concerned in this matter of so general and weighty importance. Printed for Samuel Crouch, at the corner of Pope's-Head Alley, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1692. (Quarto, in nineteen leaves.)

The author commends Mr. Jones, as a preacher, deservedly to be respected, for his courage and fidelity, in preaching down the vices of the times; but thinks he would have done much better, to have spoken against the abuses in usury, than the thing itself; and shews, that in usury the lending of money, at such interest as our laws allow, subjects the borrower to less deceit or detriment, than in trade, the selling of goods does the buyer.

511. A Vindication of the Historiographer of the University of Oxford, and his Works, from the Reproaches of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, in his Letter to the Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning a book lately published, called, 'A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England: By Anthony Harmer. Written by E. D.' To which is added, the Historiographer's Answer to certain Animadversions, made in the before mentioned History of the Reformation, to that part of *Historia & Antiquitates Universitatis Oxon.* which treats of the divorce of Queen Catherine from King Henry the Eighth. London, printed and sold by Randal Taylor. 1693. (Quarto, in thirty pages.)

This pamphlet in vindication of the industrious Anthony Wood against the aspersions of Dr. Burnet, is reprinted in the last edition of his '*Athenæ Oxonienses*,' Oxon. 2 vol. fol. 1721; but the editor was neither so exact in the title of it, as to mention its being written by E. D. nor any date, whereby we might know that it was ever before printed.

[Mr. Oldys is incorrect in this statement, as any reader may satisfy himself, by turning to the second edition of Wood's *Athenæ*, which is now in advance towards a highly improved republication, under the care of Mr. Philip Bliss, of St. John's College, Oxford.]

512. The Tryal of Sir Godfrey M'culloch vindicated; or, a short account of the horrid oppression and cruel murder, committed by him, and his father, against the family of Cardiness. Printed at Edinburgh. 1697. (Quarto, in twenty-two pages.)

513. A full and true Account of a most dread-

ful and astonishing Fire, which happened at Whitehall, and begun in Colonel Stanley's lodgings, on Tuesday last, about four of the clock in the afternoon; continuing with great violence, till about nine a clock, the next morning; burning down and consuming the King's Chappel, the Guard-Chamber, the Long Gallery, &c. Together with near 150 Houses. An account also, how several persons were killed; with the blowing up twenty houses, &c. Licensed according to order. Printed by J. Bradford, in Little-Britain. 1698. (Folio, on a single half-sheet.)

This fire at Whitehall begun on the fourth of January, 1698, by the means of some linen which a Dutch-woman, belonging to Colonel Stanley's Lodgings (near the Earl of Portland's house) suffered to take fire, while she had left it to dry. It consumed all from the Privy-Stairs to the Banqueting-House, and from the Privy-Garden, to Scotland-Yard, except the Earl of Portland's, and the Banqueting-House; which were preserved, though much scorched and disordered. It was extinguished near the gate, by the Duke of Ormond's lodgings. The principal buildings which were consumed, were the Guard-Chamber, Council-Chamber, Secretary's Office, the King's Chappel, the Long Gallery to the gate, the Duke of Devonshire's, &c. The damage was as yet unaccountable, so much fine furniture being destroyed, plate, money, jewels, and other riches lost. About twelve persons were also killed. Thus was this renowned and magnificent palace reduced to rubbish and ashes, within the space of seventeen hours.

514. A Letter to a Country Gentleman, setting forth the Cause of the Decay and Ruin of Trade. To which is annexed, a List of the Names of some Gentlemen, who were Members of the last Parliament, and now are, or lately were, in publick Employments. 1698. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

This letter is signed at the end, G. W. There are some good discoveries in it, of the sinister practices in some officers, &c. tending to the discouragement of trade; and the ruin of those who attempt to defeat any irregular courses therein: as may sufficiently appear, both in the notes as well as text of this discourse; and that list, at the end, may yield some good intelligence, though it is but concise.

515. A Rowland for an Oliver: or, a sharp Rebuke to a saucy Levite. In answer to a Sermon preached by Edward Oliver, M. A. before Sir Humphry Edwin, late Lord-Mayor of London, at St. Paul's Cathedral, on Sunday, October 22, 1698. By a Lover of Unity. 1699. (Quarto, in twenty-four pages.)

This pamphlet was written against the Dissenters; whose manner of worship Mr. Oliver had preached against in that Sermon, before the said Lord-Mayor, though his Lordship himself was one of them. The last paragraph in the piece may give a taste of it, which is as follows:—'I shall conclude this extemporary answer to a premeditated sermon against extem-

'porary prayer, with this one reflexion: that the late Lord-Mayor may well be abused in the street, by ballad-singers, hawkers, and raskally fellows, when he was first abused to his face in the pulpit by a pedantick parson. A noble example, and as bravely followed! But if the city of London suffer their chief Magistrate, and the greatest of the kind in the whole nation, to be thus abused for going to meetings, which was neither contrary to the laws of God nor man; they do not acquit themselves according to their character. It is utterly intolerable that a gentleman, who, his very enemies must own, has acted the part of a good Magistrate, should be so scandalously abused. If this be Mr. Oliver's deference to dignities, it is a pity he should ever preach in any other place but Bedlam; where his namesake, Oliver's porter, used to rave. And thus I leave the huntsmen, who sounded the seven strokes to the field, to sound the stroke of nine to draw home the company; for I believe their ——— will scarcely recover his game; so that he may even sit down contented with the honour of being the ring-leader of those who sing such goodly ballads, as 'They were gathering grigs about the streets one day,' and cry lampoons against magistrates another.'

516. *Dum spiro spero.* An humble Representation of the Sale of our Woollen Manufactures. 1700. (Quarto in sixteen pages.)

This author seems to have been well acquainted with his subject, and has communicated some observable particulars thereon; by which our extraordinary losses, through the French, too manifestly appear. The better to manifest the loss to our poor thereby, he has inserted in page 5, a calculation made by Sir Matthew Hale, of the distinct value of the wool, and the workmanship.

No. XXIX.

517. A true Report of a straung and monstrous Child, born at Aberwick, in the parish of Eglingham, in the county of Northumberland, this fifth of January, 1580. London, imprinted for Thomas Gosson, dwelling in Pauls Church-Yard, next the gate, the corner shop to Cheape-side, at the sign of the Goshawke in the Sonn. (In one sheet, blackletter.)

This pamphlet is dated from Berwick, the same day and year abovementioned, and it was printed the same year. It is divided into two parts; the first is entitled, 'A True Report,' &c. as above: the other, 'An Admonition to the Christian Reader.' In the title-page, there is a wooden print of that monstrous child; and it is said at the end of the Report, 'that the drawer of this portrature was Raphe Cooke, Paynter, dwelling in Barwick upon Tweed.' In the Report, it appears, that the child was the offspring of Elinor Urine, aged twenty-eight years, by her husband John Urine, Piper, aged twenty-six. It was of the male sex, and shaped like two children from the shoulders upwards; only one ear of each head was shaped like an horse's, the other like an hog's. The body was larger than usual, the arms reasonably proportionable, and the legs and feet as of other children. It was still-

born; but the cause of its deformity is not accounted for, unless it were a judgment on the father, who having a goodly daughter born to him two years before, by the same woman, and the midwife telling him, what a fine child God had sent him; he angrily answered, 'if it were a daughter, the Devil might take his part, for it was none of his;' so departed murmuring, where he ought to have returned thanks.

518. *The Castle, or Picture of Pollicy:* shewing forth, most lively, the face, body, and parts of a commonwealth: the duty, quality, profession of a perfect and absolute souldiar: the martiall feates, encounters, and skermishes, lately done by our English nation, under the conduct of the most noble, and famous gentleman, M. John Noris, Generall of the army of the States in Friseland. The names of many worthy and famous gentlemen which live; and have this present year, 1580, ended their lives in that land, most honourably. Handled in manner of a dialogue betwixt Gefferay Gate, and William Blandy, souldiards. London, printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate: *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.* 1581. (Quarto, in thirty-three leaves, black letter.)

This dialogue was composed by the aforesaid William Blandy. He dedicates it 'to the noble, vertuous Gentleman, Mr. Philipp Sidney.' After his dedication, follows a letter by the said author, before his book was printed, to his friend, Captain Edward Morris, requesting his judgment of it; in which it appears also, that he was shortly after to go abroad. This is followed with Captain Morris's answer to his loving friend, William Blandy; who is described therein, to have been then but a young man: for the Captain wishes his elders in military discipline were disposed as he is, and furnished with his skill and faculty: and after this there is a copy of verses, on the author, and his work, by Lodowick Flood, (or Lloyd.) It appears in fol. 18, that the degrees in the army were, in those days, thus distinguished—'The General; High March shall, with his Provosts; Serjeant-General, Serjeant of a Regiment, Corownel, Captayne, Lieutenant, Auncient Serjeant of a Company, Corporall, Gentleman in a Company, or of the Rounde, Launcepassado.' These he says are special; the other that remain, private or common soldiers. Then he describes the duty of every one: So enters with his correspondent upon the characters and valiant behaviour of General Noris, and the officers under him in Friseland; as Captain Morgaine (afterwards a Colonel) Captain Roger Williams, (afterwards a Knight) John Seintleger, and many more, whom he names and extols for their great courage and policy in war, especially Rowland Yorke. He mentions several also who were killed in that expedition; as the valiant Captain Corne, whom he much applauds, wishing, 'The Queen had all the empty barns and houses in England full of such Corne:' besides Lieutenant Carie, who approved himself every way descended of a noble race, and the brave Master Browne, who had been a student of Lincoln's-Inn, and likewise fell in that engagement. Here are characters besides of several other officers of

our nation, as Captain Gaynsford, Sallisbury, Byshopp, Bowes, and many more. Query if this is the same William Blandie mentioned by A. Wood to have been born at Newberry; bred at New College, in Oxford, where he took a degree in arts; was expelled by the Bishop of Winton, was one of the Society of the Middle Temple, and translated 'Osorius his Discours of 'Civil and Christian Nobility,' printed 1576.

519. *De Republicâ Anglorum*: The Maner of Government, or Policie of the Realme of England; compiled by the Honorable Man Thomas Smyth, Doctor of the Civil Lawes, Knight, and Principall Secretarie unto the two most worthie Princes, King Edward the Sixt, and Queene Elizabeth. Seene and allowed. Printed by Henrie Midleton, for Gregorie Seton. 1583. (In sixty-two leaves, black letter.)

This famous tract of Sir Thomas Smyth's had afterwards several editions, with some alterations in the title, additions, and marginal notes. The editor informs us, that he thought it a part of his duty, as well for reviving of the fame of so notable a man, as for imparting to the publick so pithy a treatise, to present the same to his reader's judgment. Wherein, although the errors and rashness of scribes appearing in the contrariety and corruption of copies; happening, both by the length of time, since the first making as also by the often transcribing, might justly have been his excuse, or rather discouragement; yet weighing the authority of the author, together with the gravity of the matter, he made no doubt, but that the reverence due to the one, and the recompence deserved by the other, would easily countervail all faults committed by a clerk or writer. And whereas some terms, or other matters, may seem to dissent from the usual phrase of the common laws of this realm: yet to those who consider the author's profession was principally in the civil laws, and therefore not to be expected as one excellent in both; and also that the finishing of this work was in France, far from his library, and in an embassy, even in the midst of weighty affairs; it cannot nor ought not, without great ingratitude, be displeasing in any sort.

520. The Declaration of the Lord *de la Noüe*, upon his taking Armes for the just Defence of the Townes of Sedan and Jametz; Frontiers of the Realme of Fraunce, aud under the Protection of his Majesty. Truely translated, according to the French Copie, printed at Verdun, by A. M. London, imprinted by John Woolfe. 1589. (Quarto, in twelve leaves.)

There is a good deal of that famous French Commander's personal History in this pamphlet, relating to his bonds and promises whereby he obtained a release from above five years miserable captivity, &c. which might properly illustrate his own life, or any general history of his country in those times.

521. A Work worth the Reading: wherein is containd, five profitable and pithy Questions, very expedient, as well for parents to perceive howe to bestowe their children in mariage, and to

dispose their goods, at their death: as for all other persons to receive great profit by the rest of the matters herein expressed. Newly published by Charles Gibbon. Imprinted by Thomas Orwin, and sold by Henry Kyrkham, &c. 1591. (Quarto, in thirty-four leaves.)

The author dedicates this work to the Right Worshipful Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight, and directs his epistle to the reader, from Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk. He was a man of genius, learning, and piety; and intimates, that he had published other things which were well received. There are some singularities peculiarly studied in his style; especially what is called, 'The Hunting of the Letter,' and other quaint conformities of phrases and periods; with comparisons and applications of the fabulous properties in plants, animals, &c. very much after the manner of that new-invented rhetorick with which John Lilly, the Court-Poet, had not long before won over a great party in his Euphues, and his comedies. This style was now, and sometime after in such great request; that by many who were then called polite and courtly readers of romances especially, those were reckoned but vulgar writers, who did not imitate it.

522. Greene's Vision: written at the instant of his Death. Conteyning a penitent passion, for the folly of his pen. *Sero sed serio*. Imprinted at London, for Thomas Newman, No date. (Quarto, in thirty-one leaves, black letter.)

This tract is dedicated by the said Bookseller to Nicholas Sanders of Ewell, Esq. to whom he says, 'It was one of the last works of a well known author, therefore, hopes it will be more acceptable.' Adding, 'that many have published Repentances under his name, but none more unfeigned than this, being every word of his own; his own phrases, and his own method.' The experience of many vices brought forth this last vision of virtue, &c. whereby we may conclude, that as the author died in 1592, (as we have observed) this pamphlet was probably printed that year, or the next. The author, in his preface, expresses himself to be in great sickness and sorrow; but desires others, not to shew themselves vain, in reproaching his vanity; says, he had shot at many abuses, and overshot himself in describing of some; begs pardon if he has offended by lascivious pamphleting, and promises that, if he lives, he should be heard of, in divinity; and concludes, with,——'Yours dying, Robert Greene.' In his introduction of the pamphlet, there is a copy of verses, entitled, 'Greene's Ode, of the Vanity of wanton Writings.' The purport of what proceeds, is an account of the vision he had (as he was sitting, in a fair meadow under an oak tree,) of Chaucer and Gower, who came and sat down by him, and they fell into a colloquy upon a very important subject, the most preferable manner of communicating instruction to the world. Chaucer maintains the pleasant and humourous manner; Gower, the serious and grave. When they first sat down by him, he surveyed them so earnestly, that he could not forbear describing their persons and attire; which, because remarkable, and somewhat in their own style; and might proceed from something more authoritative

than bare invention, we shall, in respect to those two worthy bards, repeat.

THE

DESCRIPTION OF GEOFFERY CHAWCER.

- ' His stature was not very tall ;
- ' Leane he was; his legs were small ;
- ' Hos'd within a stock of red ;
- ' A button'd bonnet on his head :
- ' From under which, did hang, I weene,
- ' Silver haire, both bright and sheene.
- ' His beard was white, and trimmed round ;
- ' His count'nance blithe, and merry found ;
- ' A sleevelesse jacket, large and wide,
- ' With many pleighes and skirtes side,
- ' Of water chamlet did he weare :
- ' A whittle by his belt he beare.
- ' His shooes were corned broad before ;
- ' His inkhorn at his side he wore ;
- ' And in his hand he bore a book ;
- ' Thus did this ancient Poet look.'

THE

DESCRIPTION OF JOHN GOWER.

- ' Large he was, his height was long ;
- ' Broad of breast, his limbs were strong ;
- ' But couller pale, and wan his looke ;
- ' Such have they that ply'n their booke.
- ' His head was gray, and quaintly shorne ;
- ' Neatly was his bearde worne :
- ' His Vissage grave, and stern, and grim ;
- ' Cato was most like to him.
- ' His Bonnet was a hat of blew ;
- ' His sleeves straight, of that same hew.
- ' A Surcoat of a tawnie die,
- ' Hung in pleights over his thigh :
- ' A breeche close unto his dock,
- ' Handsomed with a long stock ;
- ' Picked before were his shoone,
- ' He wore such as others doone.
- ' A bag of red was by his side,
- ' And by that, his napkin tide.
- ' Thus JOHN GOWER did appeare,
- ' Quaint attired, as you heere.'

523. A Watch-woorde for Warre: not so new as necessary. Published by reason of the dispersed rumors amongst us, and the suspected comming of the Spanyard against us. Wherein we may learne, how to prepare ourselves to repell the enemie, and to behave ourselves all the tyme of that trouble. Compendious for the memorie, comfortable for the matter, profitable for the tyme. Ezek. xxi. 12. 'The terrors of the sword shall be upon my people, smite therefore upon thy thigh.' Printed by John Legat, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge. 1596. (Quarto, in thirty leaves.)

The learned and pious author of this discourse seems to have been a divine; in the handling of it, and the methodical divisions, he has made of its several parts. He dedicates it to the Mayor of King's Lynne, and the

aldermen of that town, for their curtesies to him; and signs himself their worships, always in the Lord, C. G.

524. Honour's Conquest: wherein is conteined the famous Hystorie of Edward of Lancaster; recounting his honourable Travailes to Jerusalem; his hardy Adventures and Honours in sundrie Countries gained; his Resolutions and Attempts in Armes. With the famous Victories performed by the Knight of the Unconquered Castle his admirable forces, and sundrie conquests obtained: with his passions and successes in love: full of pleasant discourses, and much varietie. Written by H. R. Printed by Tho. Creede. 1598. (Quarto, in seventy leaves, black letter.)

This is a romance, and only a second part, as appears in the entrance; and the author promises a third, at the end. There is this useful admonition in the preface, to all readers of such writings; where speaking of that Edward of Lancaster (as one who deserved not the least praise, among all those who lived in honour, and after death in fame,) he says, 'If any will alledge that, in this poetical praising of him, there be any fictions; let such learn to read these manner of books, as Socrates wished women to use their looking-glasses: namely, fair women to look on their glasses, to beware that their good manners may shine as well as their beauty; and ill-favoured women to endeavour, that their inward vertues might make gracious their outward deformities: so let gentlemen, by reading these bookes, observe therein only those things, the practise whereof may innoble them more and more; and the baser and cowardly sort, here learn only, what may promote them.'

525. A Treatise of the Canker of England's Commonwealth: divided into three parts: wherein the author, imitating the rule of good physicians, first declareth the disease: secondarily, sheweth the efficient cause thereof: lastly, a remedy for the same. By Gerrard de Malynes, Merchant. Imprinted at London, by Richard Field, for William Johnes, Printer, dwelling in Red-Cross-Street, in Ship Allie. 1601. (Octavo, in seventy-two leaves.)

The author, though a foreigner, had now been many years in England; and writes the language very well. He had first presented the substance of this treatise to the Queen, and now dedicates it to her Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil. It is written upon the consumption of our wealth and coin, in traffick, through the abuse of the exchange for money. And he has many observations upon bankers; the course and price of exchange; weight, fineness, and value of our coin; and the alterations that have been in it, to prevent some disadvantages in trade. So proposes at last, as a remedy, some reformatations of the exchange. At the end, we have a short discourse on the prices of precious stones, spices, and other commodities, as the Portuguese had lately bought them in the East-Indies. He begins with diamonds, found in the kingdoms of Decan and Narsinga, and the Isle of Zeiloin; and says, the most per-

fect were called Nayfe, or pointed on both sides; sold by a weight called the Mangelin, at so many pardaos of gold. That the best rubies were called Noncuplo; of a high colour, spotless, the hardest, and coldest on the tongue: sold by the weight called Fanan; found most'y in the river called Pegu: those in the isle of Zeilan, being of a flesh colour, but of one third the value, are called by the Indians, Manecas; which, being mundified by the fire, are made Carbuncles: another kind they called Caropus, but of half the value of the first: another kind, which we called Spinnell; and another, found in Balassia, of a rose colour, called the Balase ruby, of the like estimation. The sapphire, from the island of Zeilan; the hardest are best, and of a clear azure colour. The topaz, from the same island, the colour of beaten gold; sold for its weight in gold, in times past. The Turquese, from Malabar, being of Turquys colour (blue) by day, and light green by night; they grow on a black stone, whereof those were accounted best, which retained some little veins. The jacinth, of Zeilan, are tender yellow stones, having commonly little pimples in them. The emerald, a hard and green stone found in Babylon, &c. were much esteemed, before so many were brought from the West-Indies; and many are counterfeited, discoverable through the light, by the bubbles or specks in them, as in a glass. The true ones, rubbed on a touchstone, leave a copper colour behind. As for the pearls of the East-Indies, he observes, they are not of that colour, which preposterously are called oriental, as the pearls of the West-Indies. Of the spices, and other commodities, he gives no other account than the prices.

526. A blessed Balme, to search and salve Sedition. Written by Thomas Churchyard, esq. Printed by Simon Stafford, &c. 1604. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This is a poem, written, in stanzas of seven lines, to the king; upon the plot, for which the two priests Watson and Clark were executed. He inveighs most against the jesuits, on this occasion; and also points at some sectaries, which stood aloof and looked for a change in the government. In his dedication to the king, he has these words: 'The first seeking of your majesty's favour in Scotland, for a fault committed heere, in mine own defence, bound me, by tasting your gracious goodnesse, ever in obedience and duty; which my book, of the true honouring of a king, there testifies; to whom then I was sworn a servant (before all the kings and queenes of the world) for the which first of the twenty-two yeres past, I was sore imprisoned and tormented heere at home: but by the queen's clemency, and Monsieur's means, set at liberty again, and received to such favour, as, in her good grace, I was employed about matters profitable to my countrey, and to her commodity great. Which yet I can redouble and unfold to your majesty, if I be favourably well heard. The good queen gave me a poor pension for that service; and so, calling to mynd, in four princes times, I have given a great push for preferment, yet I was never advanced, I bethought me of the fifth king, (since the other four left me only to a poor pension,) to whom now, in hope of some bountifull consideration, I present a book called, 'A Balme;' because all precious balmes search and heale many sore diseases, which a bad

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world wants not. Thus, in the end of my pylgrimage, passing towards the court of heaven, I pray to the King of kings, for the long life and preservation of your majesty. There is joined to the copy of that poem before us, another, by the same author, intituled, 'A Pæan Triumphall; upon the king's publick entry from the Tower of London to Westminster, on March the fifteenth, 1603.' This poem is written in heroick verse, and is printed in ten pages. But there was a large account of all the pageants, pyramids, speeches, songs, &c. in this splendid procession soon after set forth by Thomas Decker, in a book called, 'The magnificent entertainment given to King James, &c. upon the day of his tryumphant passage from the Tower, through this honourable city of London, &c.'

527. The Ploughman's Tale: shewing by the doctrine and lives of the Romish clergie, that the Pope is Antichrist, and they his ministers. Written by Sir Geffrey Chaucer, knight, amongst his Canterburie Tales: and now set out apart from the rest, with a short exposition of the words and matters, for the capacite and understanding of the simpler sort of readers. Printed by G. E. for Samuel Macham and Mathew Cooke, in Paul's Church Yard. 1606. (Quarto, in thirty-one leaves.)

Here is no preface, or editor's name to this edition, but he has very industriously given us many marginal notes throughout, which in many places do notably explain the obsolete words of the author; who would be more read, and better understood, if his whole works were so published. For it is, surely, more commodious for the reader, to turn his eye to the side of the page, than to tumble over the leaves to a glossary, at the end of the book, for every word he wants. We know not, by what authority he gives Chaucer the title of knight-hood as above; but several other writers, of this editor's time, did the like. He speaks of Mr. Spight's edition of Chaucer, and his commendable pains in it, in the second page; and in the fifth, says, 'he has seen this plowman's tale, or complaint against the pride and covetousness of the clergy, (made no doubt by Chaucer,) in an ancient manuscript in John Stowe's library.' Lastly, it may be observed, that there is in this edition, before the plowman's prologue, 'A Description of the Plowman;' which, as we remember, is wanting in Mr. Urry's edition.

528. The Jesuites Miracles, or new Popish Wonders: containing the straw, the crowne, and the wondrous child; with the confutation of them and their follies. Printed at London, for C. P. and R. J. and are to be sold at his shop in Fleet-street, neere the Conduit. 1607. (Quarto, in twenty-three leaves.)

This is a poem upon Father Garnet's Straw-miracle, in stanzas of six lines; written by one who was a military man, and signs himself, R. P. In the title-page, there is a print, taken from a copper-plate, representing an ear of corn, and in the middle of it, the face of a man, with the rays of glory about it, a kind of pointed crown upon his head, a cross on his forehead, and a little face of a child, with wings like a cheru-

bim, on the chin (which concerns another miracle, too long to repeat); and about the whole, in an oval, this inscription: 'Miraculosa Effigies R. P. Henrici Garneti, Societatis Jesu, Martyris Angliæ, 3. Maii 1606.' Garnet was then hanged, in St. Paul's churchyard, for his share in the Gunpowder-Treason: and at the quartering of his limbs, a straw, with its ear at the end, sprinkled with the traitor's blood, flew off from the scaffold, or out of the basket into which his head was thrown, upon a Popish waiter for some relique. About five months after, there appeared upon one of the grains the face of a man (Garnet's no doubt) specked out in miniature. And not only all England, but all Europe, at least as far as Rome, was belittered with the news of this miraculous straw. It was so fruitful, that it multiplied many hundred fold, and not without the improvement of many officious engravements; as may be seen above. Copper-plates were engraved of it; volumes, pamphlets, and poems have been written of it, in Latin and in English. Four years after, a jesuit, who calls himself Jack Andrew, published an apology for this brother of his, under this title, '*Andree Eudæmon Joannis Cydonii & Societate Jesu, ad Actionem Proditoriam Edouardi Coqui Apologia pro R. P. Henrico Garneto Anglo, ejusdem Societatis Sacerdote. Permissu Superiorum. Col. Agrip. Octavo, 1610.*' Before which is the like glorifying copper print of this graceless traitor; but there is most presumptuously added to it, in large capitals, the letters I. H. S. and the top of the cross behind, and the nails on the side. In answer to this, the learned Dr. Robert Abbot, afterward Bishop of Sarum, published his '*Anologia*,' in quarto, 1613, in which he has, beyond all confutation, defended the justice of his country, for the execution of Father Garnet; and laid open all the imposture of this chaffy miracle. But to conclude with a distich out of our poem above:

'Their painted straw may for Rome's emblem serve:
'On painted fruit who feeds, shall, feeding, starve.'

529. Two most strange Births. London, printed for R. B. and are to be sold at the sign of the Red Lion on London Bridge. 1608. (Quarto, in eight leaves, black letter.)

One of these children was a girl born on the twenty-seventh of November, 1608, at Modbury in Devonshire, without eyes, nose, or ears; and all the body scored full of red strokes like bloody stripes; and the breast of it joined together, where the ribs met, with a great seam of flesh. The face carried the resemblance of death. The other child was a boy, brought forth by Susan, the wife of Andrew White, a butcher of Plymouth in the same county. He, being a bad husband, had left her; and she so grieved at her destitute condition, that she brought the child forth dead; well proportioned in all parts, but the head, face, and neck; having above the forehead, just to the full half circle of it, a broad thin bone growing out of the skull, covered with flesh, much like those caps or head-cloaths then worn by the women; rising up hollow on each side of their temples, like two half moons. The mouth, with teeth in it, were also mis-shapen; and it had a little pipe, or gut, growing out of the pit of its throat. This came into the world, on the third day of December, 1608.

530. A Discoverie of the most secret and subtle Practises of the Jesuites. Translated out of the French. Printed for Robert Boulton, and to be sold at his shop in Smithfield. 1610. (Quarto, in ten leaves.)

This tract was written by one who was a student in the college at Gratz in Stirria, and has made several discoveries out of his own knowledge and observation, and the confessions of the fraternity to him, not of the simple jesuits, but the arch-jesuits themselves; the regents, fathers, provincials, and generals of their order, who have such communication in all sorts of wickedness, especially whoredom, treason, and murders, as of one of his fellow-students, and the women and children, they murdered at Fulda. Their disguising and frightful attires to try the temper and resolution of their novices, by which that notorious accident happened at Prague in September 1602, where, as five chief jesuits were busied in terrifying their youth under the form of devils, a sixth (thought to be devil indeed) came in, and so embraced one of them, that he died in three days. It tells ye further, of Father Coton's black arts, and his magical looking-glass, wherein the French king beheld whatever he wanted to know. He leads you through their dark practises in the caves they have under their temples, to the orders they hold in their library; and from thence, to their propositions in their councils, for the subversion of the Roman empire, assassinating heretical princes, and poisoning the doctors of the Lutheran churches, as well as Calvinists. In the last leaf but one, he is for having the emperor make Henry of Brunswick, a learned and vigilant prince, administrator of the Electorship of Saxony, till the family of Weinmar should be at age; and the Elector, then living, deprived; he being drunk every day.

531. A plaine Description of the Barmudas, now called Sommer Islands: with the manner of their discoverie, anno 1609, by the shipwreck and admirable deliverance of Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Sommers; wherein are truly set forth, the commodities and profits of that rich, pleasant, and healthfull countie. With an addition, or more ample relation, of divers other remarkable matters concerning those islands, since then experienced; lately sent from thence, by one of the colonie now there resident. 1613. (Quarto, in twenty-six leaves, black letter.) Printed by W. Stansby, for W. Welby.

This tract is dedicated to the truly honourable and right worthy knight, Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer for the colonies and companies of Virginia; and governor of Muscovia, East-India, North-west Passage, and Sommer Islands companies. It is published by W. C. as he signs himself, at the end of the dedication; whereby 'tis to be understood, perhaps, William Crashaw. Therein we are informed, that those two brave commanders, with one hundred and fifty persons more, were on the 25th of July, 1609, in a terrible tempest, driven from their fleet and cast away, three days after, upon these islands; so found a delightful and plentiful country, when they were far enough from thinking of making any such discoveries. And though they suffered shipwreck, upon the rocks that surround those

islands; yet were they preserved every man, which never before befel any but themselves. There, without any human creature to molest them, they lived in health and safety near a twelve-month, till, having built two little ships of the cedar that grew there, in them they went to Virginia, leaving only two men behind; whom Sir George Sommers, returning again the same year, and the English colony, sent thither in 1612, found in good plight. From some of that colony, consisting of threescore men and women, came over this narration; who, as they were the first inhabitants of the Sommer Islands, so this is the first book published to the world concerning them. But a more full and exact account both of the country and its products, with the history of its discovery, is promised by this editor, who says, 'this short narration, in the mean time, shall rather prepare us for, than prevent us of it.' This tract was reprinted, if we remember right, in one of Samuel Purchas's volumes of voyages.

532. *Quo vadis?* A just Censure of Travell; as it is commonly undertaken by the gentlemen of our nation. By Joseph Hall, D. of Divinity. London, printed by Edward Griffin, for Nathaniel Butter. 1617. (Octavo, in fifty-four leaves.)

The learned and ingenious author of this discourse, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, &c. dedicates it to the right honourable, Edward Lord Denny, baron of Waltham. To whom he says, 'If any men had reason to be in love with the face of a foreign entertainment, those are they who were admitted to the attendance of the truly generous and honourable Lord Hay, your most noble son, in his late embassy to France; in which number, my unworthiness was allowed to make one, who can therefore well witness, that no man could either receive more honour from a strange country, or do more honour to his own.' But a little further, he says, 'Whilst others were enjoying the noble courtesies of the time, my thoughts entertained themselves with searching into the proof of that ordinary travell, wherewith I saw men commonly affected; which, I must needs confess, the more I saw, the less I liked.' A little further, that he looked not at earthly commodities in travel, but at the soul; 'which, I well saw, uses not only to gather no moss in this rolling, but suffers the best graces it hath to molder away insensibly, in such unnecessary agitation. I have now been twice abroad; both times, as thinking myself worthy of nothing but neglect, I bent my eyes upon others, to see what they did, what they got. My inquiry found our spiritual loss so palpable, that, now at last, my heart could not chuse but break forth at my hand, and tell my countrymen of the dangerous issue of their curiosity.' A little further acquainting us with his design in this treatise, he says, 'I deal only with those that profess to seek the glory of a perfect breeding, and the perfection of that which we call civilitie in travell; of which sort I have, not without indignation, seen too many lose their hopes, and themselves in the way; returning as empty of grace and other virtues, as full of words, vanity, and misdispositions. I dedicate this poor discourse to your lordship; as, besides my daily renewed obligations, congratulating to you the sweet liberty and happy use of your home, who, like a fixed

star, may well overlook these planets, and, by your constant settledness, give that aim to inferiour eyes, which shall be in vain expected from a wandering light, &c.' From the treatise itself, many strong arguments might be extracted, to demonstrate the greater likelihood of corrupting our morals, than improving our behaviour, by the ordinary course of travel; but no where more than in the twenty-first section, from page 81, to 85; where he asks, 'What mischief have we among us, that we have not borrowed?' So runs through a long train of them; beginning at our skin, and the variety of our vain disguises; as if we had not wit enough to be foolish, unless we were taught it. Our butcherly duelling; perfumed diet, to feast the nose, as well as the palate; ceremonious drinking, to make Gods of others, and beasts of ourselves; censorious politicks, change of noble attendance, and ancient hospitality, for trundling coaches, and gaudy liveries. 'Where did we learn (says he) the art of dishonesty in practical Machiavelianism in false equivocations? Where the slight account of that filthiness, which is but condemned as venial, and tollerated, as not unnecessary? Where the skill of civil and honourable hypocrisy, in those formal complements, which do neither expect belief from others, nor carry any from themselves? Where that unnatural villany, which though it were burnt with fire and brimstone from heaven, and the ashes of it drowned in the dead sea, yet hath made shift to revive, and calls for new vengeance upon the actors, &c. Lo! here, dear countrymen, the fruit of your idle gaddings. Better, perhaps, might be had; but he was never acquainted at home, that knows not our nature to be like fire, which, if there be any infection in the room, draws it straight to itself; or like unto jet, which, omitting all precious objects, gathers up straws, and dust, &c.' So, in the end, he makes a double suit: first, to our gentry, that they would learn to be happy at home; and lastly, to the supreme authority, for a more strict restraint of that dangerous liberty, whereof too many are bold to carve themselves in going abroad.

533. *A Treatise of Blazing Starres in generall: as well supernaturall as naturall; to what countries, or people soever, they appeare in the spacious world.* London, imprinted by Bernard Alsop, &c. 1618. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves, black letter.)

This work is divided into seventeen chapters, and there are three stanzas of verses before it, entitled, 'A Prognostication of Blazing Starres, according to the opinion of the Poet Pontanus.' In the beginning of the last chapter, it should seem to be a translation from some German author, who there addresses himself to the emperor. And, in the foregoing page, he mentions the last blazing star seen in our horizon; which blazed from the west to the north. Moreover, that it continued under Saturn and Mars; planets and signs of unlucky influence. There was a blazing star appeared in our horizon, that year this pamphlet was printed, but not till after the middle of November, so perhaps too late to be that in this pamphlet described. Arthur Wilson, in his 'History of Great Britain,' (page 128,) says, of the mighty blazing comet, seen in England

that year: 'That it appeared in Libra, and that its bearded beams covered the Virgin sign. It began on Wednesday morning, the eighteenth of November, and vanished on Wednesday, the sixteenth of December following; making, in twenty-eight days motion, its circumgiration over most parts of the known world; extending its radiant looks sometimes forty five degrees in length: and, as our Dr. Bainbridge observed, towards the declination of it, about the eleventh of December, it passed over London in the morning, and so hasted more northwards, even as far as the Orcades, &c.' The pamphlet which Dr. Bainbridge published on this occasion, bears this title: 'An Astronomicall Description of the late Comet, from the eighteenth of November, 1618, to the sixteenth of December following. With certain morall prognosticks, or applications, drawne from the comets motion and irradiation amongst the celestiall hieroglyphicks. By vigilant and diligent observations of John Bainbridge; doctor of physicke, and lover of the mathematicks. London, printed by Edward Griffin, for John Parker, 4to. 1619,' with a dedication before it, by the author, to King James. In which he says, 'I beganne, not long since, the Description of Great Britaine's Monarchy, in three columnes; historicall, panegyricall, and prophylacticall: intending thereby to stir up your leige people to a religious admiration of God's wonderfull providence, in uniting these two famous kingdomes into one monarchy, &c.' In the mean while, to manifest his zeal to his majesty, upon this occasion he humbly offers 'his Astronomicall Description of that Comet, deliniated in a Celestiall Plannisphere, with some brief touches in the prognosticks and morall applications thereof.' And this is all we are here able to say of the doctor's pamphlet: our copy being all (beyond the said title and dedication) disjoined and mislaid, or it might have appeared in a separate and distinct article.

534. *The Reformed Spaniard*. To all reformed churches, embracing the true faith, wheresoever dispersed on the face of the earth: and especially to the most reverend archbishops, and worshipfull reverend byshops, doctors, and pastors, now gathered together, in the venerable synode at London, this year of our Lord 1621: John de Nicholas & Sacharles, doctor of physicke, wisheth health in our Lord. First published by the author in Latine; and now thence faithfully translated into English. London, printed for Walter Burre, and to be sold at his shop in St. Paul's churchyard, at the sign of the Crane. 1621. (Quarto, in eighteen leaves.)

This Spaniard put on the cowl before he was seventeen years of age, and was of the order of St. Jerom. To perfect his studies, he was sent to the college of St. Laurence in the Escorial. But it was at the publick lectures he heard at Ilerda, in Catalonia, anno 1596, that he first imbibed a suspicion of the fallacy of transubstantiation. He had been, at his first setting out in the study of divinity, a doating devotee to the Virgin Mary; but, when he read that impudent story fathered upon her, by Allen of the Frock, a Dominican Friar, as it was quoted from 'the Rosary of our Lady,' which he composed in 1470, of her marrying him, with a

ring made of her own hair; and in short, conversing with him, as familiarly as a wife could do with her husband; his devotion to her grew key-cold. He went to Rome, to see if religion flourished better there, than in Spain; but was worse pleased there. From thence he passed over to Montpelier in France; where, about the year 1613, he put off his monkish cowl, and abjured the errors of the Romish church, and applied himself to the study of physick; and, five years after, was made doctor in that faculty, in the university of Valance in Daulphine: had a publick pension, and practised with repute, in many places about Nismes and Arles. But his disputes with the papists in France drew upon him such expectations of their bloody revenge; and having been assured, that even six bigotted brothers, which he had in Spain, had declared they would reward any man, who would make an end of him; he came to England, and presented his translation out of French into Spanish of Peter du Moulin's 'Buckler of Faith,' to Prince Charles; who received it very graciously. Yet here he met with his narrowest escape from death. For, in the February preceding his publication of this pamphlet, a person unknown to him accosted him as he was walking in St. Paul's, carried him to a patient, where they supped; and this stranger, who said grace in Latin, would needs guide the doctor back to his lodgings, but led him about the streets, from eight till ten of the clock at night; then, in the midst of St. James's fields, stabbed him in the breast with a naked dagger. The wound was slanting, but in depth, eight fingers breadth. Thus in a cold dark night, in a place he knew not, nor how to ask for help, being quite ignorant of the English tongue, he says, 'he should never have seen the morning light; had not a certain good Samaritan, that very night, poured wine and oyl into my wound: that is, unless the renowned doctor Mayern, his majesty's most worthy principall physician, being as much replenished with mercy and charity as with knowledge and experience, had reached forth unto me his helping hand; and, for three weeks space, entertaining me in his house, had speciall care of my recovery.'

535. *The Countrie Gentleman Moderator*. Collections of such intermarriages, as have been between the two royal lines of England, and Spaine, since the conquest: with a short view of the stories of the lives of those princes. And also some observations of the passages: with divers reasons to moderate the country people's passions, fears and expostulations, concerning the prince his royall match, and state-affaires. Composed and collected by Edmund Garrard. Printed by Edward All-de. 1624. (Quarto, in thirty-eight leaves.)

Some have thought, that the name ascribed to this pamphlet, as the author of it, is a fictitious one, or one occasionally made use of; and that the pamphlet was really written by the Lord Cottington, with assistance of the Lord Digby, or other Hispaniolised courtiers of those times. He was a temporizer, whosoever he was; and, perhaps, a Roman Catholick.

536. Sir Thomas Overbury his Observations in his Travailes, upon the State of the Seventeen

Provinces, as they stood in 1609: the treatie of peace being them on foote. 1626. (Quarto, in fifteen leaves.)

These observations are divided into three parts. 1. On the United Provinces. 2. On the state of the Archduke's country. 3dly, and lastly, which is the greater half of the tract, on the state of France, under Henry the Fourth. These observations appear to have been written in the year mentioned in the title. And, if Sir Thomas Overbury was in those countries, at that time, not improbably by him; however some things may pass under his name, which he was not the author of.

537. The Planter's Plea: or the Grounds of Plantations examined, and usuall Objections answered. Together with a manifestation of the causes moving such as have lately undertaken a plantation in New-England: for the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulness of the action. Printed by William Jones. 1630. (Quarto, in forty-four leaves.)

This pamphlet has many good arguments and remarks in it, in answer to the objections usually made to such undertakings; however, the author modestly thinks in his preface, that they are not filed and smoothened enough for the press. The whole is divided into ten chapters: in the first, he explains what a colony is. 2. What ends may be proposed in planting colonies. 3. The English nation fit to undertake this task. 4. That New-England is a fit country for the seating of an English colony, for the propagation of religion. What persons may be fit to be employed in this work of planting a colony. 6. What warrant particular men may have to engage their persons, and estates, in this employment of planting colonies. 7. Answering objections against the maine bodie of the worke. 8. A digression, manifesting the successe of the plantation intended by the westerne men. 9. The undertaking and prosecution of the colony by the Londoners. 10. The conclusion of the whole treatise. In which it appears, the conditions in this undertaking were, that besides the immunities and privileges granted by his majesty, the planters were each to have an hundred or two acres of land, upon disbursing five and twenty pounds a-piece; and so forth, more proportionably, for the raising of the common stock.

538. The humble Request of his Majesties loyal Subjects, the Governour and the Company late gone for New-England; to the rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England: for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removall of Suspensions, and Misconstructions of their Intentions. London, printed for John Bellamie. 1630. (Quarto, in six leaves.)

This request of the said planters is dated from Yarmouth, aboard the Arabella, April the seventh, that year, and signed, Jo. Winthrop, governour; Charles Fines, Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, and William Coddington. There is also a folding sheet stitched in, containing 'The proportion of provisions needfull for such as intend to plant themselves in New England, for one whole year, printed at London, for Fulk Clifton, 1630.' By which

it appears, that any planter might, at the charge of little more than ten pounds, besides that of his transportation, supply himself with the necessaries required.

539. A Catalogue of certaine Books, which have been published, and by authority printed in England, both in Latine and Englishe, since the year 1626, untill November, this present year 1631. Now published for supply, since the intermission of the English catalogue, with intention hereafter to publish it exactly every year. Imprinted at London. 1631. (Quarto, in nine leaves.)

This catalogue was probably compiled by the printer or vender of it. It is indeed very imperfect, not only as to that common defect, in almost all catalogues, the lazy and blinding retrenchment of titles, but in the number of books and pamphlets published in that space; as also, in omitting the names of many authors to be found in those which are mentioned, as well as the sizes of many, and often their dates; though in such a circumscribed period of years. But as all catalogues of books are of great use in literary pursuits, so might this have informed some writers, who have attempted to revive several of the authors preserved therein, of many articles, which would have rendered their account of them more complete. We mean not here to enter into all the other conveniences of a more improved catalogue; for it would require a volume to display them, and shew all the reasons, why a work of such vast variety, sudden intelligence, copious instruction, and choice of entertainment, as a catalogue might be, has been so much disregarded, and, though so often begun, so soon discontinued. If it be the first 'Catalogue' of English books, we have in print, which was set forth by Andrew Maunsell, a bookseller, in a thin folio, anno 1595, he seems to have set the pattern of imperfection in works of this nature, and his deficiencies in the names of authors, with the sizes, and especially dates of their books, seem to have been contagious to his followers. His work is limited to two or three sciences, whereof history is no part, but the old controversial divinity fills up, as we remember, the greatest part of the book. About the middle of the next century, came out another shopman's 'Catalogue' of the most vendible Books in England. By William London. Quarto, 1658; in which this author has been, not negligently, or ignorantly, but studiously more defective in the chronology of his 'Walking Library,' as he calls it: for you may read from end to end, and not know exactly the year, in which any one book throughout the volume was printed, so being rendered as useless as he could make it in that point, it is no wonder it was so soon turned to waste paper. As for catalogues of higher name and port, we shall not here offer at any character of them; but must, at present, leave their errors to speak for themselves. But certainly, all authors, who have published any among us, might go to school to a quaker. I mean honest John Whiting, who was, as we have heard, a linnen-draper in Holborn, and published a 'Catalogue of Friends' Books: written by many of the people, called Quakers, from the beginning or first appearance of the said people. London, printed and sold by J. Sowle in White Hart Court, in Gracechurch-street. Octavo, 1708; containing 238 pages. He

has surely in this work quite borne away the garland ; and left it a choice legacy to painful librarians ; and as a looking-glass, even to learned academies. This is a sketch of his accurate and incomparable method : ' The authors surnames are carried on alphabetically, ' and the places of their birth or habitation as far as ' known : then the titles of the book, or first words at ' least to the break (which is indeed enough for most of ' them) and then contracted, for brevity and further ' explanation. And all that are not printed in quarto, ' as most are, noted 8vo., 12mo., or fo. for folio ; and ' B. for broadside ; at the end of the title : next, the ' dates of them, that have any, when printed ; and the ' several editions, as near as I could ; and, if any have ' two dates, the first is, when written, and the second ' when printed, in order of time, under every author's ' name, and not always perhaps, as they stand in some ' of their authors' works : then the number of sheets ; ' and lastly, the time and place of the author's death, if ' known. Some are set down twice, for the more ' ready finding them ; as some that have two authors, ' under both their names ; and some not only under ' the authors' names, but also under the title, ' King ' and parliament, sufferings and testimonies of and ' concerning friends deceased ;' because they fall pro- ' perly under those heads ; and there they may be found ' all together what have been written on those sub- ' jects. And such as have no authors' names may be ' found under the titles, ' Nameless, Friends and Qua- ' kers ;' being in the names or behalf of the said peo- ' ple.' See the advertisement to the said catalogue.

540. *The King and Queene's Entertainment, at Richmond ; after their departure from Oxford : in a masque, presented by the most illustrious Prince, Prince Charles, Sept. 12, 1636. Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, 1636. (Quarto, in sixteen leaves.)*

The interlocutors in this mask, especially those who spoke the clownish parts, were mostly Wiltshire men : they are named, Thomas Cheffinch, Thomas Steeling, John Quinne, and John Foxe. The speaking and action, performed by the Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Edward Sackville, shewed that genuine action was not so much confined to the stage, (says the author) but a gentleman might reach it, if not transcend it ; who also says, ' that much admiration was conceived, at the ' great quickness and aptness of the prince, in his danc- ' ing ; who, varying figures so often, was so far from ' being out, that he was able to lead the rest.'

541. *A Voyage into the Levant. A briefe relation of a journey lately performed by master H. B. gentleman, from England, by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo. With particular observations, concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people, under that empire. The second edition. Printed by J. L. for Andrew Crooke, &c. 1637. (Quarto, in sixty-four leaves.)*

The author of this well known, and often printed work, was Sir Henry Blount ; who, not being yet a

knight, prints his name at the end of this edition, without that title.

542. *English Villanies, seven several times prest to death, by the printers ; but still reviving again, are now, the eighth time, as at first discovered by lanthorne and candle-light, and the help of a new cryer, called O-per-se-O : whose loud voice proclaims, to all that will hear him, another conspiracy of abuses, lately plotting together to hurt the peace of this kingdom ; which the bellman, because he then went stumbling in the dark, could never see till now. And, because a company of rogues, cunning and canting gypsies, and all the scumme of our nation fight heere, under their tattered colours ; at the end is a canting dictionary, to teach their language : with canting songs. A book to make gentlemen merry ; citizens warie ; countrimen carefull. Fit for all justices to read over ; because it is a pilot, by whom they may make strange discoveries. London, printed by M. Parsons. 1638. (Quarto, in black letter.)*

On the back of this title, is the wooden print of a bellman, with some verses under it. The work is divided into nineteen or twenty chapters ; we cannot say which, the latter part of this copy being defective. It is dedicated to the justices of the peace, in the county of Middlesex, by Thomas Dekker, author of many plays, poems, and pamphlets ; he being then aged threescore years. That O-per-se-O is nothing but the burden of a canting song, appears in chapter 18, where the meetings, manners, and language of the gypsies, vagabonds, and thieves of those times, are as perfectly described, as if the author of that part of the work had been one of their gang, and lived among them all his life : for master Dekker avoids being thought the author himself ; by telling us, in the margin of that chapter, that ' this discourse was sent from a stranger,' who, in the entrance of it, says—' he had served in ' the office of high-constable, and drew from the exa- ' mination of such lewd persons, as came before him, ' the truth of all those villanies, which here he pub- ' lishes.'

543. *England's Looking in and out. Presented to the High Court of Parliament, now assembled. By the author R. M. Knight. Printed by T. Badger, for H. Mosley. 1640. Quarto, in seventeen leaves.)*

This author was Sir Ralph Maddison, as he writes himself, in his humble request to the said honourable house ; wherein he moves the same, to take into their consideration the decay of our kingdom's commodities, especially our wool ; and prevent the leaking out of our money into other lands, by way of overballancing in trade, or merchandising exchange ; nourished and directed by the bankers, or lenders of monies beyond seas, for unconscionable gain. Therefore, he desires they would cause the ballance of trade to be truly laid before them, in order to have it brought under such regulations, as had been or might be made.

And, to further the same, he has published this treatise: 'Wherein, I shall (says he) observe the method of the wisest instructor, who first created the light, to enlighten the succeeding world, and after manifested the creatures by the same: so I shall, God willing, first open the use of the merchant-exchange, and after set forth some abuses of the same, and lastly the remedy.'

544. The Petition and Articles of several Charges, exhibited in Parliament, against Edward Finch, Vicar of Christ's Church in London; and Brother to Sir John Finch, late Lord Keeper; now a fugitive, for Fear of this present Parliament, 1641. London, sold by R. Harford, at the Bible in Queen's Head Alley, in Paternoster Row. 1641. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

There is a wooden print in the front, representing this vicar in his surplice, which he commonly preached in, pointing to a coach, in which he appears again with one of his women, driving away for Hammersmith; while another is looking out of a window, and beckoning to him. The petition of the parishioners, is for relief against him; and the articles annexed, are twenty-one in number; by which, and the proofs following them, it appears, he was very extortionate in his church dues, yet seldom or ever did any duty there; that he would be drunk very frequently in the week days; and sometimes twice on a Sunday, and had administered the sacrament in that pickle. Two of his females are mentioned, Mrs. Valentine, at the Chequer in Dowgate, and Mrs. Stevenson, at Christ's hospital. His pulpit he called his shop, and he did make the best advantage of it; exacting sometimes five pounds for a funeral sermon; and some of the doctrine he preached there was, 'That he would ride an hundred miles, to make a man a cuckold, who had an handsome wife, and was jealous of her without a cause.'

545. Chillingworthi Novissima: or the sickness, heresy, death and burial of William Chillingworth; in his own phrase, clerk of Oxford; and, in the conceit of his fellow-souldiers, the queen's arch-engineer, and grand-intelligencer. Set forth in a letter to his eminent and learned friends: a relation of his apprehension at Arundell, a discovery of his errors in a brief catechism, and a short oration at the buriall of his heretical book. By Francis Cheynell, late fellow of Merton Colledge. Published by authority. Printed for Sam. Gillibrand, at the Brazen Serpent, in Paul's Churchyard. 1644. (Quarto, in thirty-two leaves.)

This Francis Cheynell was, (says Dr. Calamy) a man of considerable learning, and great abilities; and, according to the Bishop of Bangor, a rigid presbyterian; which, with the rough treatment he met with from the cavaliers, who drove him out of his house, and out of a living, exasperated him to a degree of religious madness, as Mr. Des Maizeaux terms it. As for this pamphlet, Mr. Locke, in one of his letters to Mr. Anthony Collins, calls it 'one of the most villainous books, that ever was printed;' and says, that 'it is the quint-essence of railing, and ought to be kept, or regarded,

'as the pattern and standard of that sort of writing; as the man he spends it upon, for that of good nature, and clear and strong arguing.'

546. Forresta de Windsor, in Com. Surrey. The meers, meets, limits and bounds of the forest of Windsor, in the county of Surrey, as the same are found, set out, limited and bounded by inquisition; taken by vertue of his majesties commission, in pursuance of one act, made in the parliament begun at Westminster, in the sixteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King Charles, intituled, 'An act for the certainty of forrests, and of the meers, meets, limits and bounds of forrests;' as the same now remains upon the record, in his majesties high court of chancery. London, printed for Matthew Walbancke. 1646. (Quarto, in eight leaves.)

547. A Common Writing: whereby two, although not understanding one the other's language, yet, by the helpe thereof, may communicate their minds one to another. Composed by a well-willer to learning. Printed for the author. 1647. (Quarto, in twenty leaves.)

This extraordinary invention has brought forth a new character, or form of writing, that may be common to all languages; so that one, skilled therein, shall have no need to learn any other, than his mother tongue, though the writing were written by one who understood not the reader's language, and wrote the said writing in his own. Whence whatsoever is written in this character, will be legible and intelligible in all languages, although the reader, in any, understood but his own, provided he understands this manner of writing. A general consent to the practice of some such invention would certainly produce a vast advancement of knowledge, by qualifying us for a general or universal communication: and this our author proposes to bring to pass, by this scheme. The said form of writing having no reference to letters, or their conjunctions in words, according to the several languages; but being rather a kind of hieroglyphical representation of words, by so many several characters, for each word a character; and that, not at random, but as each word is either radical or derivative: the radical have their radical characters; the derivatives bear the character of the radix of their descent, with some differential addition, whereby they may be differenceed from other derivatives proceeding from the said radix. The feasibility is illustrated by two familiar instances: the first is, of the arithmeticians whose numerical characters are still the same, although described by those of different languages; as the figure of five (5) is still alike described whether written by a Dutchman, Englishman, Frenchman, &c. The second instance is, of the physicians; whose medicinal weights are alike characterised, whether in French, English, or Latin authors. But our author seems rather to follow the musical plan, by the parallel lines in which he disposes his characters. This discourse is divided into three parts. The first contains the ground-work of the fabrick, wherein the grammatical distinctions are treated of, to shew where the radix remains simple, and where it requires distinc-

tional additions, in respect of verb or noun. The second contains the characterical description of the distinctional additions, with their manner of application; also a characterical description of the undeclined parts of grammar. The third contains a practical application of the whole, in an exemplary demonstration of the writing itself, with notes referring to the two first parts; which are so divided, that they answer one another in number of sections, and in their order. The author informs us, that this work comes not from a scholar, but a mechanic; and signs himself, at the end of his preface, (chiefly here extracted) F.L.W. At the end, he gives us to understand that he proposes to publish a lexicon, to complete his scheme, and he sets forth his intended method therein: and by an index to refer each word, by numbers, to the same word, with its character in the lexicon: with another index to contain all the radical characters, with their significations annexed. For, by finding the radix in your index, you are directed to the lexicon, and under that radix, you find the word desired. This project has been thought so practicable, so considerable, and of such extensive benefit to mankind, by many learned men; that they have, with great study and labour, endeavoured to improve upon, and render it still more commodious and prevailing. Cave Beck, master of arts, published his 'Universal Character,' in 8vo. 1657. George Dolgarne, a Scotsman, published his 'Ars Signorum, vulgo Character Universalis, & Lingua Philosophica, London, 8vo. 1660,' which has been enlarged and improved upon, by Bishop Wilkins, in his 'Essay towards a real character, and a philosophical language, folio, 1668:' an account of which may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 35. Quere, whether some, or all of these authors, have not consulted, and been beholden to the pamphlet above?

548. A Declaration concerning the newly-invented Art of Double Writing. Wherein are expressed the reasons of the author's proceedings, in procuring a privilege to the same. As also of the time, manner, and price of the discovery of the said art; and of the instruments belonging thereunto. For the satisfaction of all that desire to be partakers of the great benefit of the same, before they adventure any thing towards the reward thereof. Whereunto is annexed a copie of an ordinance of both houses of parliament, approving the feasibility and great use of the said invention; and allowing a privilege to the inventor for the sole benefit thereof, for fourteen years, upon the penalty of one hundred pounds. Printed by R. L. for R. W. at the Star, under St. Peter's Church, in Cornhill. 1648. (Quarto.)

We cannot make such observations upon this remarkable invention, as we would; all the copy of our pamphlet, except this title, and a little part of the preface, being mislaid. I think, I have read it to be, the product of Sir William Petty's fruitful brain, however it may have escaped Anthony Wood, in his catalogue of that noted person's works. This invention was afterwards assumed, or revived, with some improvements, by Mr. George Ridpath, a Scots writer of news, and other things, in King William's time. It certainly seems of great use, that one man can set two pens at work, or make two copies of a writing, at one time; by which, transcripts may be made as soon again as otherwise; and many errors prevented. But whether such engines would be greater friends or enemies, if brought into public use, by depriving half the hands in public offices, &c. of employment, should be first considered.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOL. I.

P. 48.—The Poem of *Robin Conscience* was written by Martin Parker, and printed in London as early as 1635. See the *British Bibliographer*, II. 548.

P. 281.—The 'Sermon' mentioned in Note 4, is printed in Vol. IV. p. 176.

P. 287.—Note 7. For *Watkin's* read *Walker's*.

Ibid.—The *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, is believed to have been written by Sir Slingsby Bethel, an Independent and staunch Republican. See Scott's *Dryden*, Vol. IX. p. 280.

P. 505.—Another Tract, by R. Boreman, will be found in Vol. X. p. 23.

VOL. II.

P. 285.—The Story of the Exposure of King Charles's Corpse is remarked by Walter Scott to be unworthy of credit, and seems to have been grounded upon the circumstance that Cromwell's body, being in a very corrupted state, was buried privately before the grand procession. The restoration of the house of Stuart, seemed then to be an event much out of the reach of calculation; even to persons less sanguine than Cromwell. Scott's *Dryden*. IX. 24. The fallacy of the account has since this been further indicated by the discovery of the corpse of Charles the First, at Windsor, of which Sir Henry Hallford has lately (1813) published a circumstantial detail.

VOL. III.

P. 18.—"In an extant letter of Lord Bacon to the Duke of Buckingham, dated Nov. 22, 1618, he writes, 'We have put the *Declaration touching Raleigh* to the press, with his Majesty's additions, which were very material, and fit to proceed from his Majesty.' This sufficiently discovers the labour bestowed upon it, and it may only be further necessary to remark here, that the authors have not neglected the advantage which they enjoyed of culling a plain and plausible tale from the superficial circumstances of the case.—*Cayley's Life of Sir W. Raleigh*, I. 178. 8vo.

P. 375.—Further 'Ordinances concerning Swans, will be found in the *Archaeologia*, xvi. 153.

P. 427.—Note 2. For *Dr. Buch* read *Dr. Birch*.

P. 440.—"Sure it is (says Anth. Wood) that the au-

VOL. X.

thor [of the *Narratives of the late Parliament*] borrows several things from the *History of Independency* and the *List* [of Members prefixed] or the *Two Centuries* [by Walker and Wharton] and from them all put together, doth borrow the author of another book, entitled *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause, &c.* *Athen. Oxon.*

VOL. IV.

P. 13, line 1.—It is said that the first time Pryn's ears were cut off, he had them stitched on again, and they grew. See Lord Strafford's *Collection of Letters*. 1739. I. 266.

P. 14, line 6.—A. B. probably means the Arch-Bishop, i. e. Laud. The *News from Ipswich* mentioned immediately after, was intended, says Anth. Wood, chiefly against Dr. Wren, then Bishop of Norwich, who had taken up his dwelling in that town. *Athen. Oxon.* II. 435.

P. 60.—Concerning the Sherborn estate in Dorsetshire, torn from Sir Walter Raleigh by James I. further particulars are inserted in the *Somers' Tracts*, II. 451. *edit. nov.* Mr. Cayley states that the Case and Petition of Carew Raleigh were laid aside by Parliament, for what reason does not appear. *Life of Raleigh*, II. 215. Consult also the *Indices to the Journals of Parliament under Sherborn and Rawleigh*.

P. 192, line 44.—The sect of which Milton is here styled the Founder, was "a band (says Mr. Todd) not perhaps very formidable, called *Divorcers*, and even *Miltonists*," who took rise from the publication of the *Tractates of Divorce*. Todd's *Milton*, I. 53.

P. 280.—Some information concerning the proceedings upon the death of Anthony Ascham, may be gleaned from the *Journals of the Commons*, viz. Letter concerning his Death, read and referred to the Council of State. VI. 428. Report. Order for Letter to the King of Spain to demand Justice upon the Murderers, 434.

P. 333.—This piece has been confounded (in the note) with another on the same subject, and by the same author; entitled *The Life and Death of our late most incomparable and heroique prince Henry Prince of Wales*, 1641. Written by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knt. &c. Printed in the *Somers' Tracts*. II. 225. *edit. nov.*

P. 340.—Herbert remarks that the date of 1586, affixed by the compiler of the *Harleian Miscellany* to *The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, &c.* must be erroneous, as the book was plainly not printed till after the

deaths of the prisoners. Penrie's examination was not till the 10th of April, 1593. Barrow and Greenwood were executed at Tyburn on the 6th of April, *eod. an.* and Penry at St. Thomas Waterings, 29th May following. (See Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, I. 555, 567.) Herbert's *Typograph. Antiq.* p. 1724.

P. 515.—The *Century of Names and Scantlings* was reprinted at London, in 1746, 1778, and at Glasgow, 1767, 1786. The 72d article, (p. 524) is explained in the *Transactions of the Society of Arts*, &c. III. 160. And see other notices of these inventions in *Gent. Mag.* 581; xviii. 9, 61, 107; liii. 306; liv. 264. 350.

P. 576.—Leicester's Commonwealth, an epitome of which is here given, was published in 1641, with the name of Robert Parsons affixed to it. At the end of *The English Mercurie*, No. 24, Nov. 24, 1588, there is the following announcement: "4thly, Father Parsons' Coat well dusted: or short and pithy animadversions on that infamous Fardle of Abuse and Falsities, entitled *Leicester's Commonwealth*." There are MS. copies of this seditious piece in Harl. MSS. 2245, 4020, 4282.

VOL. V.

P. 41.—Note. For 1685 read 1661.

P. 55.—This account of the inhuman method of dragging the French Protestants, is evidently taken from Seckend. *Hist. Luth.* lib. ii. p. 116.

P. 98.—"Before Sir John Birkenhead's *Assembly Man*, which contains a general and very satirical character of a fanatic Divine belonging to the assembly at Westminster, is a frontispiece by Faithorne, which is supposed to have been intended for Hugh Peters, or some active zealot of that period. The figure is a whole length, in a cloak, treading on the Fathers, Councils, Common Prayer, &c." Granger's *Biog. Hist.* III. 53.

P. 99.—Note 5. After *Chancellor* read of *Oxford*.

P. 112.—This witty skit upon the Earl of Pembroke, is the production of Sir John Birkenhead, of whom see p. 99, and *Biographia Britan.*

P. 114.—Qu. Is this what Dunton calls the *Parable of the Magpies*? See his *Life and Errors*, p. 242.

P. 123.—Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* has lately been republished by the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, in the first volume of his *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 1810, 8vo. with such considerable additions from a MS. in the Archbishop's library at Lambeth, as almost to deserve the name of a new work.

P. 136.—Note 29. Quære, whether the "Account of Queen Anne Bullen" here mentioned, was not an extract from some MS. copy of Cavendish's *Negotiations*?

P. 176.—Note 46. After *M. Mason* add *Note on Shakespeare's Henry VIII.*

P. 178.—Note 48. For *there were two* read *there were only two*.

P. 226.—Essynge's *Manner of holding Parliaments in England*, was published by Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq. in 1768. Small 8vo. "Corrected and revised from the author's original MS."

P. 314.—This tract was written by Mr. Neville, son of Sir H. Neville of Billingbear, one of Harrington's club of Commonwealth men, and the principal opponent of Berkenhead. See an account of him in the *Athenæ Oxon.* II. 918.

The following Table of Errata in the fifth section of the *Travels of three English Gentlemen*, being inserted in an obscure part of the former edition of the *Harl. Misc.* were not discovered till it was too late to correct them.

P. 342, l. 18. for *Taye* read *Taya*.

P. 344, l. 22. for *Moravia* read *Morava*.

P. 349, l. 23. for *he* read *we*.

Ibid. l. 24. ditto.

P. 356, l. 49. dele *even*.

P. 363, l. 34. for *than might* read *might then*, and for *this time* read *the time*.

P. 364, l. 48. for *palace* read *palaces*.

Ibid. l. 52. for *in the Bohemian language*, read *by the Bohemian in our language*.

P. 880.—A *Refutation of the Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius*, was published at Oxford in 1692, by the Rev. Edmund Elys, M. A. of whom see the *Athenæ Oxon.* II. 943.

VOL. VI.

P. 36.—Note 1. The Editor was not aware, when he wrote this note, that one of the tracts alluded to, viz. *St. Edward's Ghost*, &c. was printed in Vol. VIII. p. 94.

P. 185.—Note 2. l. 12. for *for the ringing* read *by the ringing*.

P. 365.—The 'Act of Parliament' mentioned in the note is of 3 Geo. I. c. 15. s. 10.

P. 390.—Note 1. For *Presby's Memoirs* read *Reresby's Memoirs*.

P. 532.—Note 1. line 8. For *permanebites* read *permanebitis*.

VOL. VII.

P. 377.—Note 2. For *Hopwith* read *Hepwith*.

P. 535.—Note 1. For *Morton* read *Thomas Norton*.

VOL. VIII.

P. 586.—Concerning the allodial cultivators of waste lands in the time of the interregnum, see the *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*. 4to. 1806, p. 286.

VOL. IX.

P. 1.—The book made by *Fries Royes* against the Seven Sacraments, is among the names of books prohibited, delivered to the Curates, anno 1542, 'to the intent that they shall present them, with the names of the owners, to the ordinary, if they find any such within their parishes.' Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I. Book III. Collection of Records.

P. 105.—In 'A most excellent Offer of a certaine Invention for a new kind of Fire, being both cheape and good, and most necessary for all Men, especially in these deare Times of Fuell. Printed at London, by J. C. for M. S. 1628;' (folio broadside) it is said that "this fire was first found out by a most worthy gentleman, *Mr. Hugh Platte*, sometimes of Lincolne's Inne (in the year of our Lord God 1594) a famous artist, and by him a shadow of it shewed to the world

in his book intituled *The Jewel House of Art and Nature*."

P. 123.---In Lansdowne MS. No. 159, (236) there is a 'Discourse about the Court of Requests at Whitehall, by *Edw. Hake*.'

P. 377.---'A Collection of Moral and Religious Poems by *W. Tipping*, Gent. with curious plates,' occurs in the Lansdown MS. 377.

P. 310.---*Lupton's Emblems of Rarities*, or choice observations out of worthy histories, 1636, 8vo. occurs in Pearson's Sale Catalogue, lot 1380.

VOL. X.

P. 23.---Hardress's Reports in the Exchequer, 488. 'Attorney General *v.* Sir George Sonds.

'Sir Ralph Freeman purchased lands for the term of 99 years in his own name, and afterwards purchased the inheritance of the same lands in trust: and then by his will disposed of these lands to the sons of Sir George Sonds, his grandchildren born, or which should be born in his life time; and directed conveyances to be made accordingly by his trustees, and died. At

that time Sir George Sonds had two sons, Freeman and George, and Freeman died, and after the death of Sir Ralph, Sir George had another son Freeman, who killed his brother George, for which he was attainted and executed, and no conveyances were made by the trustees pursuant to Sir Ralph Freeman's will.' Concerning the questions arising out of this case, see the Reporter, *ut supra*.

P. 204, line 2. For *out* read *cut*.

☞ In the additional notes to the early Volumes of this work, two or three tracts having been pointed out for insertion in the Supplement, which yet are not to be found there, the Editor feels himself called upon to state, that this omission arose from the circumstance of the Supplemental portion of the work having been brought to a close much sooner than was expected, it having been at one time the intention of the proprietors to print *three* additional volumes, though motives afterwards occurred which induced them to depart from it.

1871
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the membership of the Society since the last meeting of the Council, held on the 10th of January, 1871.

1. Mr. J. H. [Name]
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100. Mr. J. H. [Name]

A

CLASSED CATALOGUE,

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED,

OF

THE TREATISES AND ESSAYS

CONTAINED IN THE TEN VOLUMES OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

*** *Tracts of uncertain Date, or of which the Dates can only be conjectured, are included in Crotchets [].*

I.

THEOLOGY

AND

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

1531.—**THE** Praier and Complaynte of the Plowman unto Christe: Written not long after the Yere of oure Lorde, a Thousande and thre hundred, Vol. VI. p. 92.

1538.—The very Beggars' Petition against Popery. Wherein they lamentably complain to King Henry the Eighth of the Clergy: 1. Of their abominable Covetousness and Oppression, in several Particulars; from § 3, to § 13. 2. Of their insatiable Lechery, being Devils at Women; and how they apply themselves, by all Sleights they may, to have to do with every Man's Wife, Daughter, and Maid (as well Ladies, as meaner Persons, when they come in their Way); from § 13, to § 17. 3. They brought in Theft with them, and nourished it under them; § 17. 4. That they baffled all Laws, that none could take hold of them, though they ravished Men's Wives and Daughters, (which that cursed Crew would be at again, though not in that seeming holy Method, but now in an open, odious, debauched way, like infernal Incubusses, who have now naturalized Succubusses for their Turn, &c.) for the Law was too weak to hold them; they making such as begin with them quickly to cease prosecuting them; § 18. 5. An Ex-

ample hereof, see in the Bishop of London; § 19. 6. Though the Statute of Mortmain was made to prevent giving them any more, yet still they got more than any Duke; § 20 and 21. 7. Their yearly exactions came by Cursed Pretensions of praying People's Souls out of Purgatory, &c.; § 22. 8. This Doctrine of Purgatory was always opposed by godly learned Men; § 23 and 24. 9. Their hellish Policy, in not suffering the New-Testament to be translated in the Mother-Tongue, lest their Hypocrisy and Cheating should be discovered; § 25, 26. 10. The Impudence of Dr. Allen and Dr. Horsey, fined to the King, but afterwards therefore amply rewarded by the Clergy; § 27. 11. The Reason of this was because the Chancellor was one of them, viz. a Clergyman; § 28. 12. The Cheat of giving Lands, or Money, to the Church for the Poor, or Masses; § 30. 13. They petition to turn these Blood-suckers out to labour, and get them Wives of their own; § 31. 14. The Benefits and Advantages of so doing, &c. § 31, 32. (These Arguments, and the like, prevailed with this King to cast off the Pope's Authority, and why any should be so foolishly wicked, as to think to return us to it, I know not; most

certainly they will find themselves deceived, with a vengeance, &c.)

Presented to King Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-ninth year of his Reign, Anno Dom. 1538, eight years before his Death; and now printed, verbatim, from a very old Copy, not only mending the Authorship, for the Ease of the Reader, making the several Sections, and collecting the foregoing Contents. (Worth perusing by both Papist and Protestant, for the one to see how his Fore-Fathers and he have been, and are, gulled; and the other to see how he is like to be eternally abused, if he either through Fear of Death, or otherwise, embrace Popery). Vol. II. 538.

1544.—A Supplication to our moste Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight, King of England, of Fraunce, and of Ireland, and most earnest Defender of Christe's Gospell, supreme Head under God here in Earth, next and immediately of his Churches of England and Ireland. Now newly imprinted and set forth for the special Use thereof, that may be made in our time. 'The harvest is great, but the labourers are few: wherefore pray the Lorde of the Harvete to send forth the more Laborers into his Harvest.' Matthew ix. Vol. IX. p. 451.

[15—].—The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner, made by the most vertuous and right gracious Ladie, Queene Catherine; bewailing the ignorance of her blind Life, led in Superstition; very profitable to the Amendment of our Lives, Vol. V. 293.

1569—1558.—Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland, during the Reigns of King Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary. Wherein are several material Passages, omitted by other Historians, concerning the Manners, how that Kingdom was first converted to the Protestant Religion; and how, by the Special Providence of God, Dr. Cole, a bloody Agent of Queen Mary, was prevented in his Designs against the Protestants there. Set forth in the Life and Death of George Browne, some time Archbishop of Dublin, who was the first of the Romish Clergy in Ireland that threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and forsook the Idolatrous Worship of Rome; with a Sermon of his on that Subject. Printed in 1681. Vol. V. 595.

1567.—A Disclosing of the great Bull, and certain Calves that he hath gotten, and especially the Monster Bull, that roared at my Lord Byshop's Gate. Vol. VII. p. 535.

[15—].—Information of Abuses in the Suppression of Abbeys M. S.

To Queen Elizabeth. Vol. X. p. 270.

1590.—The English Romaine Life: discovering the Lives of the Englishmen at Rome; the Orders of the English Seminarie, the Dissention between the Englishmen and the Welchmen; the banishing of the Englishmen out of Rome; the Pope's sending for them again; a Reporte of many of the paltrie Reliques in Rome; their Vautes under the Ground; their holy Pilgrimages, and a Number of other Matters, worthie to be read and regarded of every one. There unto is added the cruel Tyranny, used on an Englishman at Rome; his Christian Suffering, and notable Martirdome, for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in Anno 1581. Written by A. M[unday] sometime the Pope's Scholler in the Seminarie among them. Vol. VII. p. 136.

1625.—Pope Joan: A Dialogue between a Protestant

and a Papist; manifestly proving, That a Woman, called Joan, was Pope of Rome; against the Surmises and Objections made to the contrary, by Robert Bellarmine and Caesar Baronius, Cardinals; Florimondus Roemondus, N. D. and other Popish Writers, impudently denying the same. By Alexander Cooke. Vol. IV. p. 63.

1641.—The Greek Postscripts of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, cleared in Parliament. By Sir Simonds D'Ewes. Vol. IX. 257.

1641.—Camilton's Discovery of the devilish Designs, and killing Projects, of the Society of Jesuits, of late Years projected, and by them hitherto acted, in Germany, intended, but graciously prevented in England. Translated out of the Latin Copy, dedicated to the High Court of Parliament, by W. F. X. B. Minister of Christ's Gospel. Vol. VIII. p. 172.

1641.—A Description of the Sect called 'The Family of Love:' with their common place of Residence. Being discovered by one Mrs. Susanna Snow, of Pirford, near Chertsey, in the County of Surrey, who was vainly led away for a time, through their base Allurements, and at length fell mad; till by a great Miracle shewn from God she was delivered. Vol. III. p. 568.

1642.—A Warning for England, especially for London; in the famous History of the frantic Anabaptists, their wild Preachings and Practices in Germany. Vol. VII. p. 382.

[1643?].—Some small and simple Reasons delivered in a hollow Tree, in Waltham Forest, in a Lecture on the Thirty-third of March last. By Aminadab Blower, a devout Bellows-mender of Pimlico. Shewing the Causes in general and particular, wherefore they do, might, would, should, or ought, except against and quite refuse the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer. Printed, Anno Millimo, Quillimo, Trillimo. Vol. VII. p. 189.

1644.—Two Ordinances of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the speedy demolishing of all Organs, Images, and all manner of superstitious Monuments, in all Cathedral or Parish Churches and Chapels, throughout the Kingdom of England and the Dominion of Wales; the better to accomplish the blessed Reformation so happily begun, and to remove all Offences and Things illegal in the Worship of God.

Die Jovis, 9 Maii, 1644.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that these Ordinances shall be forthwith printed and published.

Jos. BROWN, *Cler. Parliamentorum*. Vol. VIII. p. 107.

1649.—A most learned, conscientious, and devout Exercise, or Sermon, held forth the last Lord's Day of April, in the Year 1649, at Sir P. T.'s House in Lincoln's Inn Fields, by Lieutenant General Oliver Cromwell; as it was faithfully taken in Characters by Aaron Guerdon. Vol. IV. p. 176.

1649.—A Case of Conscience resolved: Concerning Ministers Meddling with State Matters in their Sermons: and how far they are obliged by the Covenant to interpose in the Affairs of Civil Government. By J. D. Minister of the Gospel. Vol. II. p. 545.

1655.—A Narrative of the Proceedings of a great Council of Jews, assembled in the Plain of Ageda in Hungary, about thirty leagues distant from Buda, to examine the Scriptures concerning Christ, on the 12th of October, 1650. By Samuel Brett, there present. Also, a Relation of some other Observations of his Travels beyond the Seas; and particularly in Egypt, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Calabria, Apuleia, Sicily, Assyria, Sclavonia,

France, Spain, and Portugal; the Islands of Cyprus, Candia, Patmos, and Delphos; the Cities of Carthage, Corinth, Troy, Constantinople, Venice, Naples, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, Rome, Bottonia, Mantua, Genoa, Paris, &c. Vol. I. p. 379.

1659.—Peter's Pattern: or, The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness; as it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon, preached at the Interment of Mr. Hugh Peters, lately deceased. By J. C. Translator of Pineda upon Job, and one of the Triers. Vol. VI. p. 181.

1661.—A general Bill of the Mortality of the Clergy of London: Or, A brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painful Ministers of the City of London, who have been imprisoned, plundered, and barbarously used, and deprived of all Livelihood for themselves, and their Families in the late Rebellion; for their Constancy in the Protestant Religion, established in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their King, under that grand Persecution. Vol. II. p. 391.

[16—].—Two Letters written by the Right Hon. Edward Earl of Clarendon, late Lord High Chancellor of England. One to his Royal Highness the Duke of York: the other to the Duchess; occasioned by her embracing the Roman Catholic Religion. Vol. III. p. 555.

1675.—A Treatise of Human Reason. By Sir Matthew Clifford. Vol. IX. p. 375.

1676.—A true Relation from Germany, of a Protestant Shepherd's killing a counterfeit Devil, that would have perverted him to Popery; July the 29th, N. S. 1676. Being a Contrivance of two Monks, that dressed themselves, one in the likeness of an Angel, the other of a Devil; and so, in the Night, how the Shepherd killed him that acted the Devil, and buried him; and the Trouble he has been like to come into since for the same. Vol. IV. p. 590.

1679.—A Narrative of the wicked Plots carried on by Signior Gondamore, for advancing the Popish Religion, and Spanish Faction, heartily recommended to all Protestants, by Richard Dugdale, Gent. Vol. III. p. 327.

1680.—A Narrative of unheard-of Popish Cruelties towards Protestants beyond Seas: or, a new Account of the bloody Spanish Inquisition. Published as a Caveat to Protestants. By Mr. Dugdale. Vol. VII. p. 103.

1680.—The Papists' bloody Oath of Secrecy, and Litany of Intercession, for the carrying on of this present Plot; with the manner of taking the Oath upon the entering into any grand Conspiracy against the Protestants. As it was taken in the Chapel belonging to Barmbow Hall, the Residence of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, from William Rushton, a Popish Priest, by me Thomas Bolron. Together with some further Informations relating to the Plot, and Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Vol. VII. p. 285.

1681.—The Pope's Dreadful Curse. Being the Form of Excommunication of the Church of Rome. Taken out of the Ledger-Book of the Church of Rochester, now in the Custody of the Dean and Chapter there, writ by Ernulphus the Bishop. Vol. VI. p. 533.

1685.—A Letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving an Account of Cardinal Pool's Secret Powers; from which it appears, that it never was intended to confirm the Alienation that was made of the Abbey Lands. To which are added two Breves, that Cardinal Pool brought over, and some other of his Letters, that were never before printed. Vol. VII. p. 272.

1688.—Father La Chaise's Project for the Extirpation

of Heretics, in a Letter from him to Father P[ete]rs. Vol. VII. p. 173.

1689.—The Quakers' Remonstrance to the Parliament, &c. touching the Popish Plot, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Murder. Much of which being not unseasonable at this juncture, it is now reprinted; as also to shew that the Quakers were formerly as zealous against Popery, as any others; notwithstanding they have so much appeared to the contrary of late. Vol. VII. p. 608.

[1689?].—The Protestants Doom in Popish Times. Vol. I. p. 29.

1697.—Contemplations upon Life and Death; with serious Reflections on the Miseries that attend Human Life, in every Station, Degree, and Change thereof. Written by a Person of Quality in his Confinement, a little before his Death; shewing the Vanity of the Desire of long Life, and the Fear of Death; with a true Copy of the Paper delivered to the Sheriffs upon the Scaffold at Tower-hill, on Thursday, January 28, 1696-7. By Sir John Fenwick, Baronet. Vol. I. p. 542.

1700.—Reasons humbly offered for a Law to enact the Castration of Popish Ecclesiasticks, as the best way to prevent the Growth of Popery in England. Vol. IV. p. 415.

1700.—A List of the Monasteries, Nunneries, and Colleges, belonging to the English Papists, in several Popish Countries beyond Sea; published to inform the People of England of the Measures taken by the Popish Party for the re-establishing of Popery, in these Nations. In a Letter to a Member of Parliament. Vol. I. p. 437.

1708.—The Mighty Miracle; or, the Wonder of Wonders at Windmill Hill; being the Invitation of John Lacy, Esq. and the rest of the inspired Prophets, to all Spectators, to come on Tuesday next the 25th Day of this instant May, where, to their exceeding Astonishment, they may (without any Prejudice to their Eye-sight) behold Dr. Emms rise out of his first Grave, and dress himself in his usual Habit to all their View, and with a loud Voice relate Matters of Moment, preaching a Miraculous Sermon, giving a strange Account of past and future Events; the like never seen or heard in England before, exceeding any Wonder or Show that ever was seen on Windmill Hill at any Holiday Time. Licensed according to Order. Vol. VII. p. 194.

1708.—Esquire Lacy's Reasons, why Doctor Emms was not raised from the dead, on the Twenty-fifth of May, according to the French Prophets' Prediction. Vol. VII. p. 195.

1711.—A Representation of the present State of Religion, with regard to the late excessive Growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness: Drawn up by the Upper House of Convocation, of the Province of Canterbury, and transmitted to the Lower House for their Approbation. Vol. II. p. 19.

1739.—A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Cloyne. By a Gentleman in the Army. (M.S.) Vol. III. p. 177.

TRACTS WITHOUT DATE.

Natural and Revealed Religion explaining each other. In two Essays. The first shewing what Religion is essential to Man. The second, the State of Souls after Death, as discovered by Revelation. MS. Never before published. Vol. VI. p. 42.

A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Brother

in the Neighbourhood, touching some Reproaches cast upon the Bishops. Vol. VI. p. 520.

Advice to a young Clergyman, how to conduct himself in the common Offices of Life; in a Letter from a late Right Reverend Prelate. Vol. III. p. 366.

An Enquiry into the Physical and Literal Sense of that Scripture, (Jeremiah viii. 7.) 'The Stork in the Heaven knoweth her appointed Times; and the Turtle,

and the Crane, and the Swallow, observe the Time of their coming,' &c.

Written by an eminent Professor for the Use of his Scholars, and now published at the earnest Desire of some of them. Vol. II. p. 578.

Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius, Vol. V. p. 381.

II.

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND FOREIGN.

1542.—A lamentable and piteous Treatise, verie necessarye for everie Christen Manne to reade: wherein is containd not onely the high Enterprise and Valeauntness of the Emperour Charles the V. and his Army (in his Voyage made to the Town of Argier in Affrique, against the Turches, the Enemyes of the Christen Fayth, th' Inhabitours of the same) but also the myserable Chaunces of Wynde and Wether; with dyverse other Adversities, hable to move even a stonye Hearte to bewaile the same, and to pray to God for his Ayde and Succoure. Whiche was written and sent unto the Lord of Langest. Truly and dylygently translated out of Latyn into Frenche, and out of Frenche into English. Vol. IV. p. 532.

1573.—A true and plaine Report of the furious Outrages of Fraunce, and the horrible and shamefull Slaughter of Chastillion the Admirall, and divers other noble and excellent Men, and of the wicked and straunge Murther of godlie Persons, committed in many Cities of Fraunce, without any respect of Sorte, Kinde, Age, or Degree. By Ernest Varamund, of Freseland. Vol. VII. p. 336.

1584.—The true Report of the lamentable Death of William of Nassawe, Prince of Orange; who was trayterouslie slayne with a Dagge, in his owne Courte, by Balthazar Serack, a Burgunian, the first of July, 1584. Herein is expressed the Murtherer's Confession, and in what manner he was executed upon the tenth of the same Month. Whose Death was not of sufficient Sharpness for such a Caytife, and yet too soure for any Christian. Vol. III. p. 200.

1588.—Orders set down by the Duke of Medina, Lord General of the King's Fleet, to be observed in the Voyage towards England. Translated out of Spanish into English, by T. P. Vol. I. p. 115.

1589.—The whole and true Discourse of the Enterprises and secrete Conspiracies, that have bene made against the Person of Henry de Valois, most Christian King of Fraunce and Poland: Whereupon followed his Death, by the Hand of a young Jacobin Frier, the first Day of August, 1589; whereby the Enemies of the Crown, thought to have reduced, and brought all Fraunce to their Will and Devotion. Together with the Assembly, that the King, before his Death, made of the Princes of the Blood, Lordes, and Gentlemen, that

were in his Armie, with the Heads of the Straungers, to whom he declared his last Will. Englished out of the French Copie. Vol. IV. p. 240.

1599.—A briefe and true Declaration of the Sicknesse, last Wordes, and Death of the King of Spaine, Philip the Second of that Name; who died in his Abbey of St. Lawrence at Escuriell, seven Miles from Madrill, the thirteenth of September, 1598. Written from Madrill in a Spanish Letter; and translated into English, according to the true Copie. Vol. II. p. 395.

1602.—The true History of the late and lameutable Adventures of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, after his Imprisonment in Naples, unto the present Day; being now in Spain, at St. Lucar de Barrameda. Vol. IV. p. 423.

1603.—A Continuation of the lamentable and admirable Adventures of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, with a Declaration of all his time employed since the battle in Africk against the Infidels, 1571, until this present year, 1603. Vol. V. p. 461.

1607.—The Causes and Manner of deposing a Popish King in Sweden, truly described. Vol. VII. 532.

1610.—The terrible and deserving Death of Francis Ravilliack, shewing the manner of his strange Torments at his Execution, upon Fryday, the twenty-fifth of May last past, for the Murther of the late French King, Henry the Fourth. Together with an Abstract out of divers Proclamations and Edicts, now concerning the State of France. As it was printed in French in three several Books published by Authoritie. Vol. VI. p. 607.

1621.—A true Relation of the bloody Execution, lately performed by Commandment of the Emperor's Majesty, upon the Persons of some chief Statesmen and others, in Prague, the chief City of the Kingdom of Bohemia, the 11th of June, 1621, with the Manner and Proceedings therein observed. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch Copy. Vol. VII. p. 320.

1631.—A Chronological Catalogue, or short Remembrance of the Princes Electors Palatine of the Rhine, that have been of the House of Bavaria unto this Day; together with their Succession and Lives. The second Edition. Vol. III. p. 68.

1633.—The great and famous Battle of Lutzen, fought between the renowned King of Sweden and Walstein. Wherein were left dead upon the place be-

between Five and Six Thousand of the Swedish Party, and between Ten and Twelve Thousand of the Imperialists, where the King himself was unfortunately slain, whose Death counterpoised all the other. Pappenheim, Merode, Isolani, and divers other great Commanders were offered up like so many Sacrifices on the Swedish Altar, to the Memory of their King. Here is also inserted an Abridgment of the King's Life, and a Relation of the King of Bohemia's Death, faithfully translated out of the French Copy. Vol. IV. p. 197.

1642.—The wicked Plots, and perfidious Practices of the Spaniards, against the Seventeen Provinces of the Netherlands, before they took up Arms. Being gathered out of several Dutch Writers, by a Lover of Truth, and an unfeigned Hater of Oppression and Tyranny, the Bane of Commonwealths. Vol. II. p. 411.

1642.—The Strangling and Death of the Great Turk, and his two Sons; with the strange Preservation and Deliverance of his Uncle Mustapha, from perishing in Prison with Hunger and Thirst; the young Emperor, three days before, having so commanded. A wonderful Story, and the like never heard of, in our modern times; and, yet all to manifest the Glory and Providence of God, in the Preservation of Christendom in these troublesome Times. Vol. IV. p. 33.

1644.—Mock-Majesty: Or, the Siege of Munster; being a true Story of those fine Things, wherewith King John Becock, at first a Botcher of Leyden by Profession, and his Companions the Anabaptists, pleased themselves after they were become Masters of that City. You shall here have the Issue of the whole Mock-Shew.

Eleutheropoli, ANNO 'ANABAPTISTOMANTIAS. C. XIIIX. Vol. VIII. p. 258.

[1648?].—The Declaration of the Most Christian King of France and Navarre, against the most horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-men and Soldiers, in England, against their King and Country. Translated out of the French by P. B. Vol. III. p. 422.

1665.—The Character of Holland. Vol. V. p. 613.

1672.—The Dutch Usurpation: Or a brief View of the Behaviour of the States-General of the United Provinces, towards the Kings of Great Britain: with some of their Cruelties and Injustices exercised upon the Subjects of the English Nation. As also, a Discovery of what Arts they have used to arrive at their late Grandeur, &c. By William de Britaine. Vol. III. p. 1.

1672.—The Dutch Remonstrance concerning the Proceedings and Practices of John de Witt, Pensionary; and Ruwaert Van Putten, his Brother; with others of that Faction. Drawn up by a Person of Eminency there, and printed at the Hague. And translated out of Dutch. Vol. II. p. 602.

1676.—A true Narrative of the great Solemnity of the Circumcision of Mustapha, Prince of Turkey, eldest Son of Mahomet, present Emperor of the Turks: together with an Account of the Marriage of his Daughter

to his great Favourite Mussaip, at Adrianople; as it was sent in a Letter to a Person of Honour by Mr. Coke, Secretary of the Turkey Company, being in Company with his Excellency the Lord Ambassador, Sir John Finch. Vol. V. p. 365.

1678.—The Catholic Cause; or the horrid Practice of Murdering Kings, justified and commended by the Pope, in a Speech to his Cardinals, upon the barbarous Assassination of Henry the Third of France; who was stabbed by Jacques Clement, a Dominican Friar. The true Copy of which Speech, both in Latin, and also faithfully rendered into English, you have in the following Pages. Vol. VII. p. 122.

1680.—Discourses upon the Modern Affairs of Europe, tending to prove that the illustrious French Monarchy may be reduced to Terms of greater Moderation. Vol. I. p. 423.

1681.—The Emperor's Concessions to his Protestant Subjects of Hungary; as they were sent from Vienna in Latin, and are now translated out of the original Copy. Vol. II. p. 482.

1689.—The Great Bastard, Protector of the Little One. Done out of the French. And for which a Proclamation, with a Reward of 5000 Louis-d'ors, to discover the Author, was published. Vol. IV. p. 232.

1690.—A true Account of a late horrid Conspiracy to betray Holland to the French. And of the Trial, Confession, Condemnation, and Execution of Jacob Martinet, Sheriff of the Town of Sluys; and Cornelius Reolands, Master of the Ship called the Argle of Amsterdam; who were executed for the said Conspiracy, the sixth of this instant May. Vol. II. p. 502.

1690.—An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies; and of the great Advantages they are to England, in respect to Trade. Licensed according to Order. Vol. II. p. 357.

1696.—A View of the Court of St. Germain, from the year 1690 to 95. With an Account of the Entertainment Protestants meet with there. Directed to the Malecontent Protestants of England. Vol. VI. p. 390.

1699.—A true and just Relation of Major-general Sir Thomas Morgan's Progress in France and Flanders, with Six Thousand English, in the Years 1657, and 1658, at the taking of Dunkirk, and other important Places; as it was delivered by the General himself. Vol. III. p. 341.

1701.—The Rights of the House of Austria to the Spanish Succession. Published by Order of his Imperial Majesty, Leopold, and translated from the Original, printed at Vienna. Vol. I. p. 202.

1713.—Europe a Slave, when the Empire is in Chains: shewing the deplorable State of Germany, from the Invasion of the French, and the fatal consequence of it to us and all Europe. Vol. I. p. 357.

[1714?].—An Epitaph on Bonâ fide, the French King Louis XIV. (MS.). Vol. III. p. 176.

III.

BRITISH HISTORY,

INCLUDING THE

TOPOGRAPHY, CIVIL HISTORY, RIGHT OF SUCCESSION TO THE
CROWN, CONSTITUTION, AND POWERS OF PARLIAMENT.

SECT. I.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND.

[1585?].—A BOOKE conteyning the Manner and Order of a Watche to be used in the Cittie of London, upon the Even at Night of Saint John Baptist and Saint Peter, as in tyme past hath bene accustomed. (MS.) Vol. IX. p. 389.

1607.—God's Warning to his People of England, by the great overflowing of the Waters or Floudes, lately hapned in South-Wales, and many other Places. Wherein is described the great Losses, and wonderfull Damages, that hapned thereby; by the Drowning of many Townes and Villages, to the utter Undooing of many Thousandes of People. Vol. III. p. 379.

1628.—The Baths of Bath: Or, a necessarie compendious Treatise, concerning the Nature, Use, and Efficacy of those famous hot Waters; published for the benefit of all such, as yearly, for their Health, resort to those Baths. With an Advertisement of the great Utility, that cometh to Man's Body, by the taking of Physick in the Spring; inferred upon a Question moved, concerning the frequency of Sickness, and Death of People, more in that Season, than in any other. Whereunto is also annexed a Censure, concerning the Water of St. Vincent's Rocks, near Bristol; which begins to grow in great Request and Use, against the Stone. By Thos. Venner, Doctor of Physick in Bath. Vol. II. p. 311.

1632.—London and the Countrey carbonadoed and quartered into severall Characters. By D. Lupton. Vol. IX. p. 310.

1638.—A Second, and most exact Relation of those sad and lamentable Accidents, which happened in and about the Parish Church of Wydecombe, near the Dartmoors in Devonshire, on Sunday the 21st of October last. Vol. III. p. 220.

1641.—Antient Customs of England. Vol. I. p. 239.

1643.—Die Lunae, 22 Jan. An Ordinance for regulating the University of Cambridge, and for removing of scandalous Ministers in the seven associated Counties. Vol. III. p. 246.

1649.—Chorographia: Or, a Survey of Newcastle-upon-Tine. The Estate of this Country under the Romans. The Building of the famous Wall of the Picts by the Romans. The ancient Town of Pandon. A Brief Description of the Town, Walls, Wards, Churches, Religious Houses, Streets, Markets, Fairs, Rivers, and Commodities, with the Suburbs. The ancient and present Government of the Town. As also, a Relation of

the County of Northumberland, which was the Bulwark of England, against the Inroads of the Scots. Their many castles and towers. Their ancient Families and Names. Of the Tenure of Cornage. Of Cheviot Hills. Of Tinedale and Reedsdale with the Inhabitants. Vol. III. p. 267.

1656.—The most lamentable and dreadful Thunder and Lightning, in the County of Norfolk, and the City of Norwich, on July 20, being the Lord's Day in the Afternoon, the Whirlwind and thick Darkness, and most prodigious Hailstones, which being above five Inches about, did so violently batter down the Windows of the City, that Three Thousand Pounds will hardly repair them. Diverse Men and Women struck dead. The Firing of some Towns, and whole Fields of Corn, by Lightning, which also destroyed the Birds of the Air, and Beasts of the Field.

Together with another most violent Storm, which happening on Saturday last, in the same County, for almost Thirty Miles together, performed the like terrible Effects. Attested by Ten Thousand Witnesses, who were either Spectators or Partakers of the Loss. Vol. II. p. 288.

1659.—Sundry Things from several Hands concerning the University of Oxford, viz. I. A Petition from some well-affected therein. II. A Model for a College Reformation. III. Queries concerning the said University, and several Persons therein. Vol. VI. p. 86.

1659.—A Character of England: as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France. Vol. X. p. 189.

1676.—The Queen's Wells: That is, a Treatise of the Nature and Virtues of Tunbridge Water. Together with an Enumeration of the chiefest Diseases, which it is good for; and against which it may be used; and the Manner and Order of taking it. By Lodowick Rouzee, Doctor of Physic. Vol. VIII. p. 328.

1673.—News from the Channel: Or, the Discovery and perfect Description of the Isle of Serke, appertaining to the English Crown, and never before publicly discoursed of. Truly setting forth, the notable Stratagem whereby it was first taken, the Nature of the Place, and People; their Governments, Customs, Manufactures, and other Particulars, no less necessary, than pleasant to be known. In a Letter from a Gentleman, now inhabiting there, to his Friend and Kinsman in London. Vol. III. p. 503.

1679.—A brief Relation of a wonderful Accident, a Dissolution of the Earth, in the Forest of Charnwood,

about two miles from Loughborough in Leicestershire; lately done, and discovered, and resorted to, by many People, both old and young. Published by two Lovers of Art, J. C. and J. W. Vol. II. p. 194.

1690.—A Dialogue between Francisco and Aurelia, two unfortunate Orphans of the City of London. Vol. IV. p. 584.

1698.—A full and true Account of a most dreadful and astonishing Fire, which happened at Whitehall, and begun in Colonel Stanley's Lodgings, on Tuesday last, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, continuing with great Violence till about Nine o'Clock the next Morning, burning down and consuming the King's Chapel, the Guard Chamber, the Long Gallery, &c. together with near 150 Houses. An Account also how several Persons were killed, with the blowing up Twenty Houses, &c. Vol. VI. p. 398.

1700.—A Discourse of Sea Ports; principally of the Port and Haven of Dover: Written by Sir Walter Raleigh, and addressed to Queen Elizabeth. With useful Remarks, &c. on that Subject; by Command of his late Majesty King Charles the Second. Never before made public. Vol. IV. p. 305.

SECT. II.

CIVIL HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

1. *During the Time of the Romans.*

The History of England. The first Book: declaring the State of the Isle of Britain under the Roman Empire. London, printed 1602. Vol. VII. p. 1.

B. C. 52.—Nennius, a worthy Briton, the very Pattern of a valiant, noble, and faithful Subject, encountering with Julius Cæsar at his first coming into this Island, was by him Death-wounded; yet nevertheless he got Cæsar's sword, put him to flight, slew there with Labienus, a Tribune of the Romans, endured Fight till his Countrymen won the Battle, died fifteen Days after; and now encourageth all good Subjects to defend their Country from the Power of foreign and usurping Enemies. Vol. VIII. p. 87.

2. *History of England during particular Reigns, and Memoirs relative thereto.*

WILLIAM I. TO HENRY I.

[1066—1135].—The Lives of the three Normans, Kings of England; William the First, William the Second, and Henry the First. Written by J. H[ayward]. Printed 1613. Vol. II. p. 438 IX. 264.

[1154—1189].—The Life of Henry the Second, King of England. Shewing what Troubles befel in his Reign, concerning the Wars between him and his Subjects; and also the Manner how he set up his Standard near Rudland, Henry of Essex being General; and the Manner how he left his Crown: necessary to be observed in these dangerous and distracted Times of ours. Printed 1642. Vol. V. p. 502.

EDWARD II.

[1307—1326].—The History of the most unfortunate Prince, King Edward the Second; with choice Political Observations on him and his unhappy Favourites, Gaveston and Spencer: containing several rare Passages of those Times, not found in other Historians; found among the Papers of, and (supposed to be) writ by the Right Honourable Henry Viscount Faulkland, sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland. Printed 1680. Vol. I. p. 67.

EDWARD III.

1345. The French King conquered by the English: the King of France and his Son brought Prisoners into England (besides divers Earls, Lords, and above Two Thousand Knights and Esquires) by the victorious Edward the Black Prince, Son to Edward the Third.

Wherein is given an Account of several great Battles fought, and wonderful Victories obtained over the French, when they had Six to one against the English; to the Honour and Renown of England's unparalleled Valour, Conduct, and Resolution. Written by a Person of Quality. (Printed 1678). Vol. III. p. 142.

RICHARD II.

[1386?].—The Bloody Parliament, in the Reign of an Unhappy Prince. (Printed 1643). Vol. II. p. 25.

1386.—An Historical Narration of the Manner and Form of that memorable Parliament which wrought Wonders. Begun at Westminster, 1386, in the Tenth Year of the Reign of King Richard the Second. Related and published by Thomas Fannant, Clerk. Printed in the Year 1641. Vol. VII. p. 256.

HENRY VIII.

[1509—1553].—The Flower of Fame. Containing the bright Renowne and most fortunate Raigne of King Henry the VIII. wherein is mentioned of Matters by the rest of our Cronographers overpassed. Compyled by Ulpian Fulwell: Hereunto is annexed (by the Author) a short Treatise of iii. noble and vertuous Queenes: and a Discourse of the worthie Service that was done at Hadington in Scotlande, the second yere of the Raigne of King Edward the Sixt. (Printed, 1575). Vol. IX. p. 337.

1538.—An Epistle of the moste myghty and redouted Prince, Henry the VIII.; by the Grace of God, Kyng of England, and of Fraunce, Lorde of Irelande, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Heed of the Church of England, nexte under Christe; written to the Emperour's Majestie, to all Christian Princes, and to all those, that trewly and sincerely profess Chryste's Religion.

In this Epistle bothe the Causes are playnely declared, why the Kynges Hyghnes ought neyther to send, nor go to the Councill indicted at Vincence, and also how peryllouse a Thing it is for all suche, as professe the trewe Doctrine of Christ, to come thether.

Hereunto also is annexed the Protestation made the last Yere, by the Kynges Hyenes, his holle Counsayle and Clergye, as touchinge the Councille indicted at Mantua, &c.

Rede both, O Christen Reader, Truthe is comynge Home, longe afore beyng in Captivytie; steppe forth and meet her by the Waye: Yf thou see her presente, embrace hir, and shewe thy self gladde of her Retourne. Vol. III. p. 170.

[1528—33?].—Love-Letters from King Henry the Eighth to Anne Boleyn: And two Letters from Anne Boleyn, to Cardinal Wolsey; with her last to Henry the Eighth. Vol. III. p. 47.

MARY I.

1553.—The Instrument, by which Queen Jane was proclaimed Queen of England, &c.; setting forth the Reasons of her Claim, and her Right to the Crown. Vol. I. p. 402.

[1553—58].—Memoirs of Queen Mary's Days; wherein the Church of England and all the Inhabitants may plainlie see (if God hath not suffered them to be infatuated) as in a Glass, the sad Effects which follow a

Popish Successor enjoying the Crown of England. (Printed, 1681.) Vol. I. p. 212.

ELIZABETH.

1562.—A Declaration of the Queene's Majestie, Elizabeth, Queene of England, Fraunce, and Irelaunde, Defender of the Fayth, &c. Contayning the Causes which have constrayned her to arme certeine of her Subjectes, for Defence both of her own Estate, and of the moste Christian Kyng, Charles the Nynth, her good Brother, and his Subjectes. Vol. III. p. 185.

1575.—A Commemoration of the most prosperous and peaceable Raigne of our gracions and deere Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Irelaunde Queene, &c. how newly set forth this xvii. Day of November, being the first Day of the xviii. Yeere of her Majestie's sayd Raigne. By Edw. Hake, Gent. Vol. IX. p. 123.

[1571—90?].—The Plots of Jesuits (viz. of Adam Contzen, a Moguntine; Thomas Campanella, a Spaniard; and Robert Parsons, an Englishman, &c.) how to bring England to the Roman Religion, without Tumult. (Printed 1648.) Vol. I. p. 23.

1583.—The Execution of Justice in England, for maintenance of publique and Christian Peace, against certain Stirrers of Sedition, and Adherents to the Traytours and Enemies of the Realme, without any Persecution of them for Questions of Religion, as is falsely reported and published by the Fautors, and Fosterers of their Treasons. Vol. II. p. 137.

1583.—A Declaration of the favourable Dealing of her Majestie's Commissioners, appointed for the Examination of certain Traitors, and of Tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them, for Matters of Religion. Vol. III. p. 565.

[1584].—A true Copy of the Association, that the Protestants of England entered into, in the twenty-seventh Year of Queen Elizabeth, against a Popish Conspiracy; with an Act, made upon the same, for the Security of the Queen's most Royal Person. (Printed, 1679). Vol. VII. p. 132.

1584.—A Discoverie of the Treasons practised and attempted against the Queene's Majestie, and the Realme, by Francis Throckmorton; who was for the same arraigned and condemned in Guyld-hall in the Citie of London, the one-and-twentie Day of May last past. Vol. III. p. 190.

1584.—The Act of Parliament of the Twenty-seventh of Queen Elizabeth, to preserve the Queen's Person, the Protestant Religion and Government, from the Attempts of the Papists, then big with Hopes of a Popish Successor: With the Association the Protestants then entered into, to the Ends aforesaid, till the Parliament could meet, and provide for their necessary Preservations. Together with some sober and seasonable Queries upon the same. By a sincere Protestant, and true Friend to his Country. (Printed, 1679). Vol. I. p. 454.

1586.—The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, and John Penrie, before the High Commissioners, and Lordes of the Counsel. Penned by the Prisoners themselves, before their Deathes. Vol. IV. p. 340.

1588.—A Packe of Spanish Lyes, sent abroad in the World; first printed in Spaine, in the Spanish Tongue, and translated out of the Originall. Now ripped up, unfolded, and, by just Examination condemned, as contayning false, corrupt, and detestable Wares, worthy to be damned and burned. Vol. III. p. 385.

1588.—An Exhortation to stir up the Minds of all her Majesty's faithful Subjects to defend their Country, in this dangerous Time, from the Invasion of Enemies. Faithfully and zealously compiled, by Anthony Maiten, Sewer of her Majesty's most honourable Chamber. Vol. I. p. 164.

1588.—The Copy of a Letter sent out of England, to Don Bernardin Mendoza, Ambassador in France for the King of Spain, declaring the State of England, contrary to the Opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his Partizans, Spaniards and others; found in the Chamber of one R. Leigh, a Seminary Priest, who was lately executed for High Treason. With an Appendix. Vol. I. p. 142.

1588.—Certain Advertisements out of Ireland, concerning the Losses and Distresses happened to the Spanish Navy, upon the West Coasts of Ireland, in their Voyage intended from the Northern Isles beyond Scotland, toward Spain. Vol. I. p. 132.

1590.—A Discourse concerning the Spanish Fleet invading England in the Year 1588, and overthrown by her Majesty's Navy, under the Conduct of the Right Hon. the Lord Charles Howard, High Admiral of England. Written in Italian, by Petruccio Ubaldino, Citizen of Florence. Vol. I. p. 119.

1591.—Declaration of great Troubles pretended against the Realme, by a Number of Seminarie Priests and Jesuits, sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to work great Treasons, under a false Pretence of Religion. With a Provision very necessarie for Remedie thereof. Published by this her Majestie's Proclamation. Vol. III. p. 95.

1593.—A Speech made by Queen Elizabeth (of famous Memory) in Parliament, in the thirty-fifth Year of her Reign, concerning the Spanish Invasion. Vol. I. p. 436.

1601.—The Golden Speech of Queen Elizabeth to her last Parliament, Nov. 30. Vol. I. p. 377.

[1602].—England's Mourning Garment; worn here by plain Shepherds, in Memory of their sacred Mistress Elizabeth: Queen of Virtue, while she lived; and Theme of Sorrow, being dead. To which is added, the true Manner of her Imperial Funeral: After which, follows, the Shepherds' Spring Song, for Entertainment of King James, our most potent Sovereign. Dedicated to all that love the deceased Queen, and honour the living King. Vol. III. p. 524.

[1536—1602].—England's Elizabeth: Her Life and Troubles, during her Minoritie, from the Cradle to the Crown; historically laid open and interwoven with such eminent Passages of State, as happened under the Raigne of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary; all of them aptly introducing to the present Relation. By Th. Haywood. (Printed, 1641). Vol. X. p. 302.

[1558—1602].—Fragmenta Regalia: Or, Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, her Times and Favourites. Written by Sir Robert Naunton, Master of the Court of Wards. (Printed, 1641). Vol. II. p. 81.

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[1602—1607].—The Five Years of King James; or, the Condition of the State of England, and the Relation it had to other Provinces. Written by Sir Fulk Greville, late Lord Brook. Vol. VII. p. 407.

1603.—King James's Speech to his first Parliament, Monday, March 19th, 1603. Vol. VIII. p. 27.

1605. His Majesty's Speech in this last Session of Parliament, concerning the Gunpowder Plot; as near

his very Words, as could be gathered at the Instant. Together with a Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of this late intended Treason, joined with the Examination of some of the Prisoners. Vol. IV. p. 245.

1606.—The History of the Gunpowder Treason: Collected from approved Authors, as well Popish as Protestant. (Printed, 1678). Vol. III. p. 119.

1606.—The Arraignment and Execution of the late Traitors; with a Relation of the other Traitors which were executed at Worcester, the Twenty-seventh of January last past. Vol. III. p. 131.

1606. The most royall and honourable Entertainment of the famous and renowned King Christian the Fourth, King of Denmark, &c. who with a Fleet of gallant Ships arrived on Thursday the 16th Day of July, 1606, in Tylbery-Hope, near Gravesend. With a Relation of his Meeting, by our Royall King, the Prince and Nobles of our Realme: the Pleasures sundry Times shewed, for his gracious Welcome, and most famous and admirable Entertainment at Theobalds. With the royall Passage on Thursday the 31st of July, thorough the City of London, and honourable Shewes there presented them, and Manner of their passing. By H. R. [oberts]. Vol. IX. p. 431.

1606.—England's Farewell to Christian the Fourth, famous King of Denmark. With a Relation of such Shewes and severall Pastimes, presented to his Majestie, as well at Court the fift Day of August last past, as in other Places, since his honourable Passage thorow the Citie of London. The most honourable Entertainment of his Highnesse aboard his Majestie's Ships in the Road of Gyllinghame, nere the Citie of Rochester in Kent: with the King's Entertainment aboard the Denmarke Ships at Gravesend: as also their honourable Leave-taking and Farewell, setting sayle from Gravesend on Monday Night, the eleventh of August, 1606. By H. Roberts. Vol. IX. p. 440.

[1621?].—A Relation of the Carriage of the Mariages, that should have been made with the Prince of England and the Infanta Major, and also after with the younger Infanta of Spain. Written by Sir Chas. Cornwallis to the Lord Digby. Vol. VIII. p. 1.

1622.—Tom Tell-Troath: or, A free Discourse touching the Manners of the Time. Directed to his Majestie, by Waye of humble Advertisement. Vol. II. p. 419.

[1626].—A Discourse of the most Illustrious Prince, Henry, late Prince of Wales. Written, Anno 1626, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knight; sometimes Treasurer of his Highness House. (Printed, 1641). Vol. IV. p. 333.

CHARLES I.

[1626].—The Fore-runner of Revenge. Being two Petitions: The one, to the King's most excellent Majesty; the other to the most honourable Houses of Parliament. Wherein are expressed divers Actions of the late Earl of Buckingham; especially concerning the Death of King James, and the Marquis of Hamilton, supposed by Poison. Also may be observed the Inconveniences befalling a State, where the noble Disposition of a Prince is misled by a Favourite. By George Eglisam, Doctor of Physick, and one of the Physicians to King James of happy Memory, for his Majesty's Person above ten years space. (Printed, 1642). Vol. II. p. 69.

1627.—A true and most exact Relation of the taking of the goodly Ship, called the *Saint Esprit*, belonging unto the French King; which was built in Holland, and furnished with fifty-four pieces of great Ordnance; was

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surprised on the twenty-eighth day of September, by Sir Sackville Trevor, Knight; and since brought over by him, unto Harwich, in Essex. Likewise, the Proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham's Grace, in the Isle of Ree; the killing of the base Brother of the French King, at the new Fort, before Rochelle, with a Shot from one of our Ships; and also, the appointed Place of Rendezvous of the great Fleet, threatened from Foreign Parts to raise the Siege at the Isle of Ree: with many other Particulars. Vol. V. p. 108.

1629.—Considerations touching a War with Spain. Written by the Right Hon. Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount of St. Albans. Vol. V. p. 81.

1633.—The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects, concerning lawful Sports to be used. Vol. V. p. 75.

1638.—A brief Relation of certain special and most material Passages, and Speeches in the Star-chamber; occasioned and delivered June the 14th, 1637, at the Censure of those three worthy Gentlemen, Dr. Bastwicke, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne; as it hath been truly and faithfully gathered from their own Mouths, by one present at the said Censure. Vol. IV. p. 12.

1641.—An occasional Speech touching the Bill of Acapitation or Poll-Money. By Sir Simonds D'Ewes. Vol. IX. p. 257.

1641.—A Discourse, shewing in what State the three Kingdoms are in, at this present. Vol. V. p. 79.

1641.—A Conference between the two great Monarchs of France and Spain, concerning these our present Proceedings in England. Wherein is discoursed of the being of our Runaways under their Dominions, with a Consideration of their Dangers past, in the Wars betwixt England and them. Vol. VIII. p. 218.

[1641]. Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1641, omitted in his other Works, and never before printed, and very seasonable for these Times. (Printed, 1681). Vol. V. p. 576.

1641.—A true Copy of the Petition of Gentlewomen, and Tradesmen's Wives, in and about the City of London, delivered to the honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, assembled in Parliament, on February the fourth, 1641; together with their several Reasons why their Sex ought thus to petition as well as the Men; and the Manner how both their Petitions and Reasons were delivered. Likewise the Answer, which the honourable Assembly sent to them, by Mr. Pym, as they stood at the House Door. Vol. VII. p. 605.

1641.—The Speech of the Lord Digby, in the High Court of Parliament, concerning Grievances. Vol. V. p. 441.

1641.—A Speech spoken in the House of Commons, by the Reverend Father in God, Robert, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. Being brought to the Bar to answer for himself. Vol. VI. p. 280.

1641.—The Copy of an Order agreed upon in the House of Commons, upon Friday the eighteenth of June, wherein every Man is rated according to his Estate, for the King's Use. Vol. I. p. 278.

1641.—An honourable Speech made in the Parliament of Scotland, by the Earl of Argyle (being now Competitor with Earl Morton for the Chancellorship), the thirtieth of September, 1641; touching the prevention of National Dissension, and perpetuating the happy Peace and Union betwixt the two Kingdoms. Vol. V. p. 41.

1641.—*Ovatio Carolina*; the Triumph of King Charles; or, the triumphant Manner and Order of receiving his Majesty into his City of London, on Thursday the twenty-fifth Day of November, *Anno Dom.* 1641, upon his safe and happy Return from Scotland. With Mr. Recorder's Speech to his Majesty: and his Majesty's most gracious Answer. Vol. VII. p. 495.

1642.—The Vindication of the Parliament and their Proceedings: Or, their Military Design proved loyal and legal. A Treatise, wherein these Things are ingenuously and sincerely handled; to wit,

1. That the Militia, as settled by the Parliament, is lawful.
2. That it is lawful for us to obey it, so settled by them.
3. That the Parliament is not by us to be deserted.
4. That in aiding the Parliament, the King is not opposed.
5. That the Parliament, as the Case stands, may not confide in the King.
6. That this necessary defensive War of theirs is indubitably justifiable. Vol. VIII. p. 47.

1642.—Two Speeches, spoken by the Earl of Manchester, and John Pym, Esq. as a Reply to his Majesty's Answer to the City of London's Petition; sent from his Majesty, by Capt. Hearne, and read at the Common-hall, on Friday, the thirteenth of January, 1642. Also, a true Narration of the Passages of that Day. Vol. V. p. 119.

1642.—A Speech made by Alderman Garraway, at a Common Hall, on Tuesday the seventeenth of January; upon occasion of a Speech delivered there the Friday before, by Mr. Pym, at the reading of his Majesty's Answer to the late Petition. Vol. V. p. 179.

1642.—Certain Orders meet to be observed upon any foreign Invasion, for those Shires that lie upon the Sea-Coasts. With a Direction to the Justices of the Peace. Vol. VII. p. 63.

1642.—Behold! two Letters, the one written by the Pope to the (then) Prince of Wales, now King of England: The other, an Answer to the said Letter, by the said Prince, now his Majesty of England. Printed in the year of Discoveries, 1642. Vol. VI. p. 131.

1642.—Strange Apparitions; or, the Ghost of King James: With a late Conference between the Ghost of that good King, the Marquis of Hamilton's, and George Eglisham's, Doctor of Physick; unto which appeared the Ghost of the late Duke of Buckingham, concerning the Death and Poisoning of King James and the rest. Vol. IV. p. 528.

1642.—A humble Declaration of the Apprentices and other young Men of the City of London, who were Petitioners for Peace; shewing the Causes of their petitioning, and the Passages concerning it. Together with a true Copy of their Petition, as it was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, disclaiming those in print, which were without their Knowledge. Vol. VIII. p. 593.

1642.—The Petition of the Gentlemen and Students of the University of Cambridge. Offered to both Houses, upon Wednesday, being the fifth Day of January, 1642, upon the Arrival of that News to them of the Bishops' late Imprisonment. With their Appeal to his most excellent Majesty. Vol. VI. p. 196.

1642.—A worthy Speech, spoken in the honourable House of Commons, by Sir Benjamin Rudyard; for accommodation betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament. Vol. V. p. 77.

[1643?].—A Dialogue between Sam, the Ferryman

of Docket, Will, a Waterman of London, and Tom, a Bargeman of Oxford. Upon the King's calling a Parliament to meet at Oxford. (Printed, 1681). Vol. II. p. 111.

1643.—Articles and Ordinances of War, for the present Expedition of the Army in the Kingdom of Scotland. By the Committee of Estates, and his Excellency the Lord General of the Army. Vol. VII. p. 475.

1644.—England's Tears for the present Wars; which, for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of Strength, the Diversity of Battles, Skirmishes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in so short a Compass of Time, cannot be paralleled by any precedent Age. Vol. VIII. p. 249.

1644.—A Nest of perfidious Vipers: or, the Second Part of the Parliament's Calendar of black Saints. Pictured forth in a Second Arraignment, or Gaol-delivery of Malignants, Jesuits, Arminians, and Cabinet-Counsellors: being the fatal Engineers, Plotters, and Contrivers of Treasons against the Parliament, our Religion, Laws, and Lives. Condemned according to their several Crimes. Vol. V. p. 590.

1645.—The King's Cabinet opened; or certain Pacquets of secret Letters and Papers. Written with the King's own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Naseby Field, June 14, 1645, by victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax; wherein are many Mysteries of State, tending to the Justification of that Cause (for which Sir Thomas Fairfax joined Battle that memorable Day) clearly laid open; together with some Annotations thereupon. Published by special Order of that Parliament. Vol. VII. p. 544.

1645.—A Speech of the Right Honourable the Earl of Loudon, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, to a grand Committee of both Houses of Parliament, upon the twelfth of September, 1641. Published by Authority. Vol. VII. p. 176.

1645.—The Irish Cabinet: or, his Majesty's Secret Papers for establishing the Papal Clergy in Ireland, with other Matters of high Concernment, taken in the Carriages of the Archbishop of Tuam, who was slain in the late Fight at Sleigo, in that Kingdom. Together with two exact and full Relations of the several Victories obtained by the Parliament's Forces, through God's blessing, in the same Kingdom. Vol. IV. p. 494.

1645.—The Earl of Glamorgan's Negotiations, and colourable Commitment in Ireland demonstrated: or, The Irish Plot, for bringing ten thousand Men and Arms into England, whereof three hundred to be for Prince Charles's Life-guard. Discovered in several Letters, taken in a Pacquet Boat by Sir Thomas Fairfax's Forces at Padstow in Cornwall. Which Letters were cast into the Sea, and, by the Sea coming in, afterwards regained, and were read in the Honourable House of Commons. Together with divers other Letters, taken by Captain Moulton at Sea, near Milford Haven, coming out of Ireland, concerning the same Plot and Negotiation. Vol. VIII. p. 490.

1646.—A Letter from the Marquis of Worcester to the Committee of Parliament sitting in the County of Monmouth, concerning his Son's landing with Irish Forces: and the Committee's Answer thereto. Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that this Letter and Answer be forthwith printed and published. H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com. Vol. IX. p. 334.

1647.—The Plague at Westminster: Or, an Order for the Visitation of a Sick Parliament, grievously troubled with a new Disease, called 'The Consumption of their Members.' The Persons visited are:

The Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of

Middlesex, the Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Barkley, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Maynard, Sir John Maynard, Master Glyn, Recorder of London.

With a Form of Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies to be used for their Recovery: strictly commanded to be used in all Cathedrals, Churches, Chapels, and Congregations throughout his Majesty's three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Vol. II. p. 388.

1647.—A Word for the Army: and two Words to the Kingdom. To clear the one, and cure the other. Forced in much Plainness and Brevity, from their faithful Servant, Hugh Peters. Vol. V. p. 607.

1648.—All the several Ordinances and Orders, made by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning sequestering the Estates of Delinquents, Papists, Spies, and Intelligencers. Together with Instructions for such Persons as are employed in sequestering of such Delinquents' Estates. Very useful for those whom it doth or may concern. Vol. IX. p. 519.

1648.—The Cuckow's Nest at Westminster; or the Parliament between the two Lady-birds, Queen Fairfax and Lady Cromwell, concerning Negotiations of State, and their several Interests in the Kingdom; sadly bemoaning the Fate of their Deer, and abhorred Husbands. By Mercurius Melancholicus. Vol. V. p. 586.

1648.—The Dissenting Ministers' Vindication of themselves, from the horrid and detestable Murder of King Charles the First, of glorious Memory. With their Names subscribed about the twentieth of January. Vol. II. p. 534.

1648.—News from Pembroke and Montgomery; or Oxford Manchestered, by Michael Oldsworth and his Lord, who swore he was Chancellor of Oxford, and proved it in a Speech made to the new Visitors, in their new Convocation; April 11, 1648. As here it follows Word for Word, and Oath for Oath. Vol. V. p. 112.

[1626-48].—A View of the Reign of King Charles the First, wherein the true Causes of the Civil War are impartially delineated, by Strokes borrowed from Lord Clarendon, Sir Philip Warwick, H. L'Estrange, and other most authentic and approved Historians. Vol. II. p. 484.

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1650.—A Relation of the Execution of James Graham, late Marquis of Montross, at Edinburgh, on Tuesday the Twenty-first of May instant. With his last Speech, Carriage, and most remarkable Passages upon the Scaffold. Also a Letter out of Ireland, more fully, concerning the taking of Clonmell. Vol. V. p. 336.

1651.—The Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Ascham, Resident for the Parliament of England; and of John Baptista Riva, his Interpreter; who were killed by John Guillim, Wm Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Hensy Progers: Who are all in close Prison in Madrid for the said Fact, except Henry Progers, who fled to the Venetian Ambassador's house, and so escaped. Sent from Madrid, by a Person of Quality, and made English. Vol. IV. p. 280.

1651.—An Answer to the Propositions made by the English Ambassadors, as they stile themselves; the nineteenth of March; in the great Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the States-General of the United Provinces. As also, to their Memorials of the sixteenth of April, and the ninth of May, 1651, respectively. And

likewise, to the thirty-six Articles of the desired Treaty. As it was delivered by the Honourable Sir William Macdowal, Knight, Resident for his Majesty of Great Britain, after his Return to Holland, in the said Great Assembly. June the seventeenth, 1651. Vol. V. p. 251.

1652.—A great Victory obtained by the English against the Dutch; and the pursuing of the Dutch Fleets, by General Blake, and Sir George Ayscue, with one hundred and eighty Men of War towards the Downs; and their Resolution to engage them between Dover and Calais. The Manner how Sir George Ayscue, with great Policy; obtained the Wind; the Number sunk and taken; and two gallant Ships, surprized by Captain Stoaks, laden with Gold and Elephants' Teeth. Also the Number of Ships coming up the River of Thames for London, richly laden from the East Indies, the Streights, Virginia, and Barbadoes. Vol. IV. p. 330.

1654.—The Lord General Cromwell's Speech, delivered in the Council Chamber, upon the fourth of July, 1653, to the Persons there assembled and intrusted with the Supreme Authority of the Nation. This is a true Copy, published for Information, and to prevent Mistakes. Vol. VI. p. 55.

1654.—A true Account of the late bloody and inhuman Conspiracy against his Highness the Lord Protector, and this Commonwealth; for the Subversion of the present Government thereof, and an involving this Nation in Blood. Manifested by the Examinations and Confessions upon Oath of some of the principal Conspirators themselves; as also by the Depositions of several Witnesses which were taken concerning the same. Published by special Command. Vol. X. p. 210.

1655.—A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Success of the English Army in the West Indies, continued unto June the 24th, 1655. Together with some Queries inserted and answered. Published for Satisfaction of all such, who desire truly to be informed of these Particulars. By J. S. an Eye-witness. Vol. III. p. 510.

1655.—The Protector's Declaration against the Royal Family of the Stuarts, and the true Worship of the Church of England. Printed and published by his Highness's special Commandment. Vol. V. p. 268.

1656.—A Narrative of the late Proceedings at Whitehall, concerning the Jews; who had desired, by Rabbi Manasses, an Agent for them, that they might return into England, and worship the God of their Fathers here in the Synagogues, &c. Published for Satisfaction to many in several Parts of England, that are desirous and inquisitive to hear the Truth thereof. Vol. VII. p. 617.

[1656].—A true Narrative of the Occasions and Causes of the late Lord General Cromwell's Anger, and Indignation against Lieutenant Colonel George Joyce (sometimes Cornet Joyce, who secured the King at Holmby), and his Proceedings against him to cashier him from the Army, and imprison and destroy him in his Estate. Vol. VIII. p. 304.

1657.—*Nuntius a Mortuis*: or, a Messenger from the Dead; that is, A stupendious and dreadful Colloquy, distinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the Ghosts of Henry the Eighth and Charles the First (both Kings of England) who lie entombed in the Church of Windsor. Wherein, as with a Pencil from Heaven, is liquidly, from Head to Foot, set forth the whole Series of the Judgments of God upon the Sins of these unfortunate Islands. Translated out of the Latin Copy, by G. T. Vol. VI. p. 474.

[1657].—A Catalogue of Petitions ordered to be drawn

up and presented to the Honourable House at their next Session. Vol. IV. p. 382.

1657.—A Narrative of the late Parliament (so called) their Election and appearing; the Seclusion of a great Part of them; the Sitting of the rest: With an Account of the Places of Profit, Salaries, and Advantages which they hold and receive under the present Power. With some Queries thereupon, and upon the most material Acts and Proceedings passed by them. All humbly proposed to Consideration, and published for Information of the People, by a Friend to the Commonwealth, and to its dear-bought Rights and Freedom. Vol. III. p. 448, 449.

1658.—A Second Narrative of the late Parliament (so called). Wherein, after a brief reciting some remarkable Passages in the former Narrative, is given an Account of their second Meeting, and Things transacted by them: As also, how the Protector (so called) came swearing, 'By the living God;' and dissolved them after two or three Weeks sitting. With some Queries sadly proposed thereupon. Together with an Account of three and forty of their Names, who were taken out of the House, and others that sat in the other House, intended for a House of Lords; but, being so unexpectedly disappointed, could not take Root; with a brief Character and Description of them. All humbly presented to public View. By a Friend to the good old Cause of Justice, Righteousness, the Freedom, and Liberties of the People, which hath cost so much Blood and Treasure to be carried on in the late Wars, and are not yet settled. Vol. III. p. 470.

1658.—A brief Relation containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, against the Government of this Nation by a King or a single Person; to convince Men of the Danger and Inconvenience thereof. Urged by him to many of the Army at St. Alban's, Windsor, and White Hall, a little before the King was beheaded, and at several other Places. Published for the good and Information of Parliament, Army, and People. Vol. VIII. p. 604.

1658.—The Speech of his Highness the Lord Protector, made to both Houses of Parliament at their first Meeting, on Thursday the 27th of January. Vol. I. p. 20.

1659.—His late Highness' Letter to the Parliament of England; shewing his Willingness to submit to this present Government: Attested under his own Hand, and read in the House on Wednesday the 25th of May. Vol. I. p. 22.

1659.—An Expedient for the preventing any Difference between his Highness and the Parliament. About the Recognition, the Negative Voice, and the Militia. By a Lover of his Country that desires at this time to be nameless. Vol. V. p. 333.

1659.—A Rod for the Lawyers: who are hereby declared to be the grand Robbers and Deceivers of the Nation; greedily devouring yearly many Millions of the People's Money. To which is added, a Word to the Parliament, and a Word to the Army. By William Cole, a Lover of his Country. Vol. IV. p. 319.

1659.—Twenty-five Queries: modestly and humbly, yet sadly and seriously propounded, to the People of England and their Representatives; and likewise to the Army, in this Juncture of Affairs. Vol. IX. p. 424.

1659.—A seasonable Speech, made by a worthy Member of Parliament in the House of Commons, concerning the other House. Vol. III. p. 490.

1659.—Cromwell's Complaint of Injustice; or his

Dispute with Pope Alexander the Sixth, for Precedency in Hell. Vol. VII. p. 375.

1657.—Let me speak too: or, Eleven Queries, humbly proposed to the Officers of the Army, concerning the late Alteration of Government. 'The last Testimony among Men, both Greeks and Barbarians, which no Time will abolish, is that which, by Death, calleth the Gods to be Sureties of their Covenants' Procopius. Vol. VIII. p. 583.

1659.—The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament: Or a Collection of the Acts, Orders, Votes, and Resolves, that have passed in the House. By Samuel Butler, Author of Hudibras. Vol. V. p. 422.

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1659.—A short, legal, medicinal, useful, safe, and easy Prescription to recover our Kingdom, Church, and Nation, from their present dangerous, distractive, destructive Confusion, and worse than Bedlam Madness; seriously recommended to all English Freemen, who desire Peace, Safety, Liberty, Settlement. By William Prynne, Esq.; a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. Vol. VIII. p. 82.

1659.—Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing, in a Game at Piquet: Being acted from the Year 1653 to 1658, by O. P. and others, with great Applause. Vol. V. p. 314.

1659.—Democritus turned Statesman: or, Twenty Queries between Jest and Earnest, proposed to all true-hearted Englishmen. Vol. VI. p. 192.

1659.—The Leveller: Or, the Principles and Maxims concerning Government and Religion, which are asserted by those that are commonly called 'Levellers.' Vol. IV. p. 543.

1660.—The Institution of a Gentleman, in three Parts. By William Higford, Esq. Vol. IX. p. 580.

1660.—The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's Book, intitled, 'The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth,' &c. Vol. IV. p. 188.

1661.—An Historical Discourse of the first Invention of Navigation, and the additional Improvements of it. With the probable Causes of the Variation of the Compass, and the Variation of the Variation. Likewise some Reflections upon the Name and Office of Admiral. To which is added a Catalogue of those Persons that have been, from the first Institution, dignified with that Office. By Thomas Philipott, M. A. formerly of Clarehall, in Cambridge. Vol. II. p. 338.

1662—3.—The Assembly-man, written in the Year 1647. Vol. V. p. 98.

1664.—The Examination and Trial of Margaret Fell, and George Fox, (at the several Assizes held at Lancaster, the fourteenth and sixteenth Days of the first Month, 1663-4, and the twenty-ninth of the sixth Month, 1664) for their Obedience to Christ's Command, who saith, 'Swear not at all.' Also, something in Answer to Bishop Lancelot Andrews's Sermon, concerning Swearing. Vol. VI. p. 282.

1666.—Experimented Proposals, how the King may have Money to pay and maintain his Fleets, with Ease to his People; London may be rebuilt, and all Proprietors satisfied; Money to be lent at Six per Cent. on Pawns; and the Fishing Trade set up, which alone is able and sure to enrich us all. And all this without altering, straining, or thwarting any of our Laws or Customs now in use. By Sir Edward Forde. Vol. IV. p. 195.

1667.—Observations both historical and moral, upon the burning of London, September, 1666. With an Account of the Losses; and a most remarkable Parallel between London and Moscow, both as to the Plague and Fire. Also, an Essay touching the Easterly Wind. Written by way of Narrative; for Satisfaction of the present and future Ages. By Rege Sincera. Vol. III. p. 295.

1668.—The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell: Or, a short Political Discourse, shewing that Cromwell's Male-Administration (during his four Years and nine Months pretended Protectorship), laid the Foundation of our present Condition, in the Decay of Trade. Vol. I. p. 287.

1670.—The Royal Fishing Revived. Wherein is demonstrated from what Causes the Dutch have upon the Matter ingrossed the Fishing Trade in his Majesty's

Seas, wherein the Principles of all the Trades they drive in the World are chiefly founded. As also, from what Causes the English have lost the Fishing Trade, to the endangering the small Remainder of Trades they yet enjoy. Together with Expedients by which the Fishing Trade may be redeemed by the English; and Proposals for carrying on so great a Work. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the King and Parliament. Vol. III. p. 409.

1671.—Reasons and Proposals for a Registry or Remembrancer of all Deeds and Incumbrances of real Estates, to be had in every County, most necessary and advantageous, as well for Sellers and Borrowers, as Purchasers and Lenders. To the advance of Credit and the general Good, without Prejudice to any honest-minded Person, most humbly offered to Consideration. By Nicholas Philpot, of New Inn. Vol. III. p. 316.

1673.—Honour's Invitation: Or, a Call to the Camp. Wherein the triumphant Genius of Great Britain, by a Poetical Alarm, awakens the Youth of the three Nations, to generous Attempts for the Glory of their Country. Written by a young Gentleman of Quality, now in the Service. Vol. I. p. 355.

1673.---The Grand Concern of England explained; in several Proposals offered to the Consideration of the Parliament. 1. For Payment of public Debts. 2. For Advancement and Encouragement of Trade. 3. For raising the Rents of Lands.

In Order whereunto it is proved necessary,

- I. That a Stop be put to further Buildings in and about London.
- II. That the Gentry be obliged to live, some Part of the Year, in the Country.
- III. That Registers be settled in every County.
- IV. That an Act for naturalizing all foreign Protestants, and indulging them, and his Majesty's Subjects at home, in Matters of Conscience, may be passed.
- V. That the Act, prohibiting the Importation of Irish Cattle, may be repealed.
- VI. That Brandy, Coffee, Mum, Tea, and Chocolate, may be prohibited.
- VII. That the Multitude of Stage-coaches and Caravans, may be suppressed.
- VIII. That no Leather may be exported unmanufactured.
- IX. That a Court of Conscience be settled for Westminster, and all the Suburbs of London; and in every City and Corporation of England.
- X. That the extravagant Habits and Expence of all Persons may be curbed, the excessive Wages of Servants and Handicraftsmen may be reduced, and all foreign Manufactures may be prohibited.
- XI. That it may be made lawful to assign Bills, Bonds, and other Securities; and that a Course to be taken to prevent the Knavery of Bankrupts.
- XII. That the Newcastle Trade for Coals be managed by Commissioners; to the Ease of the Subjects, and the great Advantage of the Publick.
- XIII. That the Fishing Trade may be vigorously prosecuted, all poor People set at Work to make Fishing Tackle, and be paid out of the Money collected every Year for the Poor in the several Parishes in England. By a Lover of his Country, and Well-wisher to the Prosperity, both of the King and Kingdoms. Vol. VII. p. 547.

1675.---A Letter to a Member of Parliament; with two Discourses inclosed in it: 1. The one shewing

the Reason why a Law should pass to punish Adultery with Death. 2. The other shewing the Reasons why the Writ, *de Hæretico Comburendo* should be abolished. Vol. III. p. 91.

1677.---A perfect Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Confession of the five several Persons that were Confederates in stealing the Mace, and the two Privy Purses from the Lord High Chancellor of England. As it was attested at the Sessions held at Justice-hall in the Old Bailey, the seventh and eighth of March, Anno 1676-7. With Permission. Vol. V. p. 505.

1677.---The present State of Christendom, and the Interest of England, with a Regard to France. In a Letter to a Friend. Vol. I. p. 248.

1677.---Proposals for building, in every County, a working Alms-house, or Hospital, as the best Expedient to perfect the Trade and Manufactory of Linen Cloth. Whereby, 1. All poor People, and their Children, from five or six Years old, may be employed and maintained; as also, all Beggars, Vagrants, &c. restrained, and for ever prevented, and so all Parishes eased of that intolerable Burden. 2. Many hundred thousand Pounds kept at home, which now every Year go out of the Kingdom for Linen, whereby our Wealth becomes a Prey to other Nations. 3. Much Land improved in every County, to great Advantage of Landlord and Tenant. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the great Wisdom of the whole Nation now assembled in Parliament. Vol. IV. p. 489.

1679.---A Disputation; proving, that it is not convenient to grant unto Ministers secular Jurisdiction; and to make them Lords and Statesmen in Parliament. Vol. VII. p. 527.

1680.---Advice to a Soldier, in two Letters, written to an Officer in the English Army. proper to be exposed at the present Time, while the Peace of Christendom (if not the Liberty of it) seems to be very short lived. Vol. I. p. 477.

1681.---The Character of a disbanded Courtier. Vol. I. p. 366.

[1684---6?].---The Character of an ill Court Favourite: Representing the Mischiefs that follow from Ministers of State, when they are more great than good; the Arts they use to seduce their Masters, and the unhappiness of Princes that are cursed with such destructive Servants. Translated out of French. Vol. II. p. 56.

1686.—The Designs of France against England and Holland discovered: Or, the Intrigues of that Crown, for the utter Ruin of both those Nations laid open. With Allowance. Vol. II. p. 512.

1687. --A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hospital, and raising a Revenue of five or six thousand Pounds a Year, by and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of skilful Midwives, and such Foundlings, or exposed Children, as shall be admitted therein: as it was proposed and addressed to his Majesty King James II. by Mrs. Elizabeth Collier in the Month of June, 1687. Now first published from her own MS. found among the said King's Papers. Vol. IV. p. 142.

1688.-- The Original and Design of Magistracy: Or, a modest Vindication of the late Proceedings in England. Vol. I. p. 3.

[1688].---*Vox Regis*: Or, the Difference between a King ruling by Law, and a Tyrant by his own Will; with a Declaration of the English Laws, Rights, and Privileges, by King James the First. Vol. I. p. 10.

1688.--An Enquiry into the Measures of Submission

to the Supreme Authority; and of the Grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for Subjects to defend their Religion, Lives, and Liberties. Vol. I. p. 442.

1689.—The present State of Enrope briefly examined and found languishing; occasioned by the greatness of the French Monarchy. For Cure whereof a Remedy (from former Examples) is humbly proposed. Wrote upon Occasion of the House of Commons' Vote, to raise 800,000 Pounds to equip a Fleet for the Year 1671, moved thereunto by the pretended March of the French Army, towards the Marine Parts of Flanders. By Thomas Manley, Esq. Vol. I. p. 194.

1689.—The Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Jure Divino disproved; and Obedience to the present Government proved from Scripture, Law, and Reason. Written for the Satisfaction of all who are dissatisfied at the present Government. By a Layman of the Church of England. Vol. VII. p. 295.

1689.—A Treatise of Monarchy, containing two Parts: I. Concerning Monarchy in general.

II. Concerning this particular Monarchy. Wherein all the main Questions occurrent in both, are stated, disputed, and determined. Done by an earnest Desire of his Country's Peace. Vol. V. p. 323.

1689.—Killing no Murder: briefly discoursed in three Questions. By William Allen. Vol. IV. p. 280.

1690.—Reasons for settling Admiralty Jurisdiction, and giving Encouragement to Merchants, Owners, Commanders, Masters of Ships, Material-Men, and Mariners. Humbly offered to the Consideration of his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament. Vol. VIII. p. 371.

1690.—Taxes no Charge: In a Letter from a Country Gentleman to a Person of Quality: shewing the Nature, Use, and Benefit of Taxes, in this Kingdom, and compared with the Impositions of foreign States; together with their Improvements of Trade in Time of War. Vol. VIII. p. 513.

1690.—A new Looking-glass for the Kingdom: Wherein those that admire the late Governments, may have a true Prospect of Liberty and Slavery, and take their Choice. Vol. I. p. 607.

1691.—A Proposal for an equal Land Tax; humbly submitted to Consideration. Vol. II. p. 506.

1691.—The Case of Clandestine Marriages stated. Wherein are shewn the Causes from whence this Corruption ariseth, and the true Method whereby it may be remedied. In a Letter to a Person of Honour. Vol. I. p. 371.

1694.—A compendious History of the Taxes of France, and of the oppressive Methods of raising them. Vol. V. p. 271.

1695.—Encouragement for Seamen and Mariners: In two Parts. Being a proposed Method for the more speedy and effectual furnishing their Majesties' Royal Navy with able Seamen and Mariners: And for saving those immense Sums of Money yearly expended in attending the Sea-Press. In order to prevent those many Mischiefs and Abuses daily committed, by disorderly Press-masters, both at Sea and Land; to the great Prejudice of their Majesties, and Injury of the Subject. By George Everett, Shipwright. Vol. IV. p. 392.

1696.—England's Calamities discovered: With the proper Remedy to restore her ancient Grandeur and Policy. Humbly presented by James Whiston. Vol. VI. p. 360.

1696.—A Letter of Advice to a Friend, upon the modern Argument of the Lawfulness of simple Fornication, Half-Adultery, and Polygamy. Vol. II. p. 294.

1702.—The Royal Gamesters; or, the old Cards new shuffled, for a conquering Game. Vol. I. p. 177.

1703.—The Levellers: a Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony; proposing an Act for enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and taxing single Persons: with the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament. Vol. V. p. 444.

1703.—An Account of the Arraignments and Trials of Colonel Richard Kirkby, Captain John Constable, Captain Cooper Wade, Captain Samuel Vincent, and Captain Christopher Fogg, on a Complaint exhibited by the Judge-Advocate on behalf of her Majesty, at a Court-martial, held on board the Ship Bredab, in Port-Royal Harbour in Jamaica in America, the eighth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth Days of October, 1702, for Cowardice, neglect of Duty, Breach of Orders, and other Crimes, committed by them in a Fight at Sea commenced the 19th of August, 1702, off St. Martha, in the Latitude of ten Degrees North, near the main Land of America, between the Honourable John Benbow, Esq. and Admiral Du Casse, with four French Ships of War; for which Colonel Kirkby and Captain Wade were sentenced to be shot to Death. Transmitted from two eminent Merchants at Port Royal in Jamaica to a Person of Quality in the City of Loodon. Vol. I. p. 396.

1704.—A good Expedient for Innocence and Peace. Being an Essay concerning the great Usefulness and Advantage of laying aside public Oaths. Vol. VIII. p. 10.

1707.—Reasons humbly offered to both Houses of Parliament, for passing a Bill for preventing Delays and Expences in Suits in Law and Equity. Vol. VIII. p. 414.

1710.—A Letter to a new Member of the Honourable House of Commons, touching the Rise of all the Embezzlements and Mismanagements of the Kingdom's Treasure, from the Beginning of the Revolution unto this present Parliament. With an Account from Time to Time of the many Oppositions the House of Commons met with about redressing the said public Grievances. And, lastly, a Proposal humbly offered to their Consideration how to prevent the like Miscarriages for the future. To which is added a parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, to November, 1659; and from November 5, 1688, to Michaelmas 1700. Vol. VI. p. 304.

1711.—King William's Ghost. Vol. p. 408.

How to advance the Trade of the Nation, and employ the Poor. Vol. IV. p. 385.

A Treatise concerning Registers to be made of Estates, Bonds, Bills, &c. with Reasons against such Registers, by the Honourable Mr. William Pierrepont. (MS.) Vol. III. p. 320.

V.

BIOGRAPHY,

BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

[1419?].---A BREVE Chronycle concerning the Examination and Death of the blessed Martir of Christ, Sir Johan Oldcastell, the Lord Cobham; collected together by Johan Bayle. Imprinted at London, by Anthony Scoloker, and Wylliam Seres, dwelling wythout Aldersgate. *Cum gratia et privilegio ad Imprimendum solum.* Vol. II. p. 249.

[1530?].---The Atheistical Politician: or a brief Discourse concerning Nicholas Machiavell. (Printed 1641.) Vol. III. p. 232.

[1530?].---The Vindication of that Hero of Political Learning, Nicholas Machiavel, the second Tacitus. Vol. VII. p. 449.

1530.---Machiavel's Vindication of himself and his Writings against the Imputation of Impiety, Atheism, and other high Crimes: extracted from his Letter to his Friend Zenobius. Vol. I. p. 57.

[1531?].---The Negotiations of Thomas Wolsey, the great Cardinal of England; containing his Life and Death, viz.

I. The Original of his Promotion.

II. The Continuance in his Magnificence,

III. His Fall, Death, and Burial.

Composed by (Mr. Cavendish) one of his own Servants, being his Gentleman Usher. Vol. V. p. 123.

1533.---The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Osorie in Ireland, his Persecucions in the same, and small Delyuerance. Vol. VI. p. 437.

1553.---The Communication betwene my Lorde Chauncelor, and Judge Hales, being among other Judges to take his Oth in Westminster-hall, Anno 1553, the 6th October. Vol. III. p. 174.

1553.---The Copy of a Pistel or Letter sent to Gilbard Potter, in the Tyme when he was in Prison, for speakinge on our most true Queene's Part, the Lady Mary, before he had his Eares cut of, the xiii. of Julye. Vol. III. p. 615.

1554.---An Epistle of the Lady Jane, a righte vertuous Woman, to a learned Man of late falne from the Trath of God's most holy Word, for fear of the Worlde.

Read it, to thy Consolacion.

Whereunto is added, the Communication that she had with Master Feckenham, upon her Faith and Belefe of the Sacraments. Also, another Epistle which she wrote to her Sister, with the Words she spake upon the Scaffold, before she suffered. Vol. III. p. 112.

1569.---An Epitaph, or rather, a short Discourse made upon the Life and Death of Dr. Bonner, sometime unworthy Bishop of London, whiche dyed the 5th of September in the Marshalse. Vol. I. p. 614.

[1571?].---The Case of the Bishop of Ross, Resident of the Queen of Scots; who was seized and committed to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth, for traitorous Prac-

tices, and endeavouring to raise a Rebellion against her. Vol. II. 480.

1571.---A Declaration of the Life and Death of John Story, late a Romish Canonical Doctor, by Professyon. Vol. III. p. 100.

1571.---A Copie of a Letter, lately sent by a Gentleman, Student in the Laws of the Realme, to a Frende of his, concerning D. Storie. Vol. VIII. p. 608.

1588.---A Sparke of Friendship and warme Goodwill, that shews the Effect of true Affection, and unfolds the fineness of this World. Whereunto is joined the Commodity of sundry Sciences, and the Benefit that Paper bringeth. With many rare Matters rehearsed in the same. With a Description, and Commendation of a Paper Mill, now of late set up (near the Town of Dartford) by an High-German, called M. Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen's most excellent Majesty. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. Vol. III. p. 260.

1591.---A Letter from Sir Henry Sidney, to his Son Sir Philip Sidney, consisting of Rules in his Conduct in Life. Vol. VII. p. 603.

1591.---A very godly Letter made by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord Deputie of Ireland, and Lord President of Wales; now xxv Years past; unto Philip Sidney his Sonne, then of tender Yeeres, at Schoole in the Towne of Shrowesbury, with one M. Astone: Most necessarie for all young Gentlemen, to be carried in Memorie: With an excellent Epitaph of the Life and Death of the said President. Both of which being put in Print, at the humble Request of one William Griffith of Core-daney, in the County of Angles; sometime Clerk of his Kitchen. Vol. IX. p. 447.

1592.---The Nine Worthies of London: Explaining the honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertue of the Valiant, and the memorable Attempts of magnanimous Minds; pleasaunt for Gentlemen, not unseemly for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises. By Richard Johnson. Vol. VIII. p. 437.

1604.---A Discourse plainly proving the evident Utilitie and urgent Necessitie of the desired happy Union of the two famous Kingdoms of England and Scotland; by Way of Answer to certain Objections against the same. [By Bishop Thornborough]. Vol. IX. p. 95.

1607.---A true Report of the Arraignment, Tryall, Conviction, and Condemnation of a Popish Priest, named Robert Drewrie; at the Sessions House in the Old Baylie, on Friday and Wednesday the twentieth and twenty-fourth Day of February; the extraordinary great Grace and Mercie offered him, and his stubborne, traitorous, and wilfull refusall. Also the Tryal and Death of Humphrey Lloyd, for maliciouslie murdering one of the Guard. And, lastly, the Execution of the said Robert

Drewrie, drawn in his priestly Habit, and as he was a Benedictine Fryer, on Thursday following, to Tiborne, where he was hanged and quartered. Vol. III. p. 38.

1609.—Sir Robert Sherley, sent Ambassadour, in the Name of the King of Persia, to Sigismund the Third, King of Poland and Swecia, and to other Princes of Europe. His Royall Entertainment into Cracovia, the chiefe Citie of Poland; with his pretended coming into England. Also, the honourable Praises of the same Sir Robert Sherley, given unto him in that Kingdom, are here likewise inserted. Vol. V. p. 434.

1609.—The Examinations, Arraignment, and Conviction of George Sprot, Notary, in Ayemouth, together with his constant and extraordinary Behaviour at his Death, in Edinburgh, Aug. 12, 1608. Written and set forth by Sir William Hart, Knight, Lord Justice of Scotland. Whereby appeareth the treasonable Device betwixt John late Earl of Gowry, and Robert Leogane of Restalrig (commonly called Lesterig) plotted by them for the cruel murdering of our most gracious Sovereign. Before which Treatise is prefixed also a Preface, written by G. Abbot, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Winchester, who was present at the said Sprot's Execution. Vol. IX. p. 560.

1615.—The Lieutenant of the Tower's Speech and Repentance, at the Time of his Death, who was executed upon Tower-hill, on the 20th of November, 1615, for the Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. Vol. V. p. 546.

1616.—Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision; with the Ghosts of Weston, Mistress Turner, the late Lieutenant of the Tower, and Franklin. By R. N. Oxon. VII. 178.

1618.—The true and wonderful History of Perkin Warbeck, proclaiming himself Richard the Fourth. Vol. VI. p. 534.

1618.—A Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in, and sithence his Return; and of the true Motives and Inducements which occasioned his Majesty to proceed in doing Justice upon him, as hath been done. Vol. III. p. 18.

1618.—The humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stukely, Knight, Vice-Admiral of Devon, touching his own Behaviour in the Charge committed unto him, for the bringing-up of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the scandalous Aspersions cast upon him for the same. Vol. III. p. 63.

[1618?].—A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles: With the taking away the Lands and Castle of Sherburn in Dorset, from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance. (Printed, 1609). Vol. IV. p. 60.

1624.—Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost; sent from Elysium, to the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of England. And, a Postscript, or a Second Part of Robert, Earl of Essex's Ghost. Vol. V. p. 234.

1626.—Sir Walter Raleigh's Ghost: Or, England's Forewarner. Discovering a Secret Consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spain. Together with his tormenting of Count de Gondomar; and his strange Affrightment, Confession, and public Recantation. Laying open many Treacheries intended for the Subversion of England. Vol. V. p. 56.

1632.—An Historical Account of the Life and Tryal of Nicholas Anthoine, burnt for Judaism, at Geneva, in the Year 1632. Vol. III. p. 213.

1635.—The old, old, very old Man: Or, the Age

and long Life of Thomas Parr, the Son of John Parr, of Winnington, in the Parish of Alberbury, in the County of Salop (or Shropshire); who was born in the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, in the Year 1483. He lived one hundred and fifty-two Years, nine Months, and odd Days; and departed this Life at Westminster, the fifteenth of November, 1635, and is now buried in the Abbey at Westminster. His Manner of Life and Conversation in so long a Pilgrimage, and his bringing up to London, about the End of September last, 1635. Whereunto is added a Postscript, shewing the many remarkable Accidents that happened in the Life of this old Man. Written by John Taylor.. Vol. VII. p. 69.

1637.—A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, on Wednesday the 14th of June, 1637, at the Censure of John Bastwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn, concerning pretended Innovations in the Church. By the most reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace, Vol. IX. p. 201.

1640.—The Accusation and Impeachment of John Lord Finch, Baron of Fordwich, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, by the House of Commons. Vol. V. p. 566.

1641.—A Relation of the true Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of Montrose, his Majesty's Lord High Commissioner, and Captain-General of his Forces in Scotland; with that of the renowned Knight, Sir Wm. Hay of Delgity. Vol. VII. p. 298.

1641.—The Earl of Strafford's Letter to the King, to pass the Bill occasioned by the Tumult of the Apprentices. Taken from the original Copy. Vol. VIII. p. 597.

1641.—The Bill of Attainder that passed against Thomas Earl of Strafford. Vol. IV. p. 527.

1641.—An Argument of Law, concerning the Bill of Attainder of High Treason of Thomas Earl of Strafford, at a Conference in a Committee of both Houses of Parliament. By Mr. St. John, his Majesty's Solicitor-General. Published by Order of the Commons House. Vol. VII. p. 83.

1641.—The Earl of Strafford characterised, in a Letter sent to a Friend in the Country. Vol. V. p. 46.

1641.—Rome for Canterbury: Or, a true Relation of the Birth and Life of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Together with the whole Manner of his Proceeding, both in the Star-Chamber, High Commission Court, and in his own House; and some Observations of him in the Tower. Dedicated to all the Arminian Tribe, or Canterburian Faction, in the Year of Grace 1641. Whereunto is annexed a Postscript in Verse. Vol. IV. p. 377.

1641.—The true Copy of a Letter sent from the Most Reverend William, Lord-Archbishop of Canterbury, to the University of Oxford, when he resigned his Office of Chancellor. Published by occasion of a base Libel and Forgery, that runs under this Title; and also the Answer of the University to the said Letter. Vol. V. p. 570.

1641.—The Accusation and Impeachment of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, by the House of Commons, in Maintenance of the Accusations whereby he standeth charged with High Treason. Vol. IV. p. 574.

1641.—A true Description, or rather a Parallel between Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, and William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. Vol. IV. p. 507.

1641.—The Bishop's Potion: or, a Dialogue between the Bishop of Canterbury and his Physician; wherein

he desireth the Doctor to have a Care of his Body, and to preserve him from being let blood in the Neck, when the Sign is in Taurus. Vol. VI. p. 278.

1644.---The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech: Or, his Funeral Sermon, preached by himself on the Scaffold on Tower-hill, on Friday the tenth of January, 1644, upon Hebrews xii. 1, 2. Also, the Prayers which he used at the same Time and Place, before his Execution. All faithfully written by John Hinde, whom the Archbishop beseeched that he would not let any Wrong be done him by any Phrase in false Copies. Licensed and entered according to Order. Vol. VIII. p. 599.

1642.---A learned Speech spoken to his Excellency the Earl of Essex, upon his Departure from Northampton to Worcester, concerning the present Expedition. By that learned and religious Divine and Minister of God's Word, Mr. Thomas Springham. Also a true Relation of the present Proceedings of his Excellency and his Army, in their March from Northampton to Worcester, to meet with the King's Majesty. Vol. IX. p. 335.

1642.---A short View of the Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Written by Sir Henry Wotton, Knight, late Provost of Eton College. Vol. VIII. p. 613.

1643.---A Synopsis, or contract View of the Life of John Armand, Cardinal of Richelieu, great Favourite and Minister of State to Louis the Thirteenth, King of France, to be engraven on his Tomb. First written in Latin, and now *verbatim* rendered English. Vol. IV. p. 389.

1646.---The Life and Death of the Illustrious Robert, Earl of Essex, and containing at large, the Wars he managed, and the Commands he had in Holland, the Palatinate, and in England: Together with some wonderful Observations of himself, and his Predecessors, and many most remarkable Passages, from his Infancy unto the Day of his Death. By Robert Codrington, Master of Arts. Vol. I. p. 216.

[1646---52?]-Memoirs of Sir John Berkley: containing an Account of his Negoriation with Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton, and other Officers of the Army for restoring King Charles the First to the Exercise of the Government of England. (Printed, 1699). Vol. IX. p. 466.

1647.---A most learned and eloquent Speech, spoken or delivered in the House of Commons at Westminster, by the most learned Lawyer, Miles Corbet, Esq. Recorder of Great Yarmouth, and Burgess of the same, on the 31st July. Taken in Short-hand by Nocky and Tom Dunn, his Clerks, and revised by John Taylor. Vol. I. p. 270.

1647.---The Arraignment and Acquittal of Sir Henry Mosely, Baronet, indicted at the King's Bench Bar for a Rape, upon the Body of Mrs. Anne Swinnerton. Taken by a Reporter there present, who heard all the Circumstances thereof, whereof this is a true Copy. Vol. III. p. 499.

1647.---The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, the honourable Founder of the publick Library in the University of Oxford. Written by himself. Vol. IV. p. 314.

1653.---The Life of that incomparable Man, Faustus Socinus Senensis, described by a Polonian Knight. Whereunto is added an excellent Discourse, which the same Author would have premised to the Works of Socinus; together with a Catalogue of those Works. Vol. VII. p. 223.

1653.---A Narration of the late Accident in the new

Exchange, on the twenty-first and twenty-second day of November, 1653, *Stylo Vet.* Written by the most noble and illustrious Lord, Don Pantaleon Sa, Brother to his Excellency of Portugal, Extraordinary Legate in England, to his much esteemed Nobility of England, and to all the beloved and famous City of London, from Newgate's Prison. Vol. III. p. 285.

1655.---Sir George Sondes his plaine Narrative to the World of all Passages upon the Death of his two Sonnes. Vol. X. p. 42.

1655.---A Mirrour of Mercy and Judgement: or an exact true Narrative of the Life and Death of Freeman Sondes, Esquier, Sonne to Sir George Sondes, of Lee's Court, in Shelwich, in Kent. Who being about the Age of 19, for murdering his elder Brother, on Tuesday the 7th of August, was arraigned and condemned at Maidstone, executed there on Tuesday the 21st of the same Moneth, 1655. Vol. X. p. 23.

1655.---The English Hermite, or Wonder of this Age. Being a Relation of the Life of Roger Crab, living near Uxbridge, taken from his own Mouth: shewing his strange, reserved, and unparalleled kind of Life, who counteth it a Sin against his Body and Soul, to eat any Sort of Flesh, Fish, or living Creature; or to drink any Wine, Ale, or Beer. He can live with three Farthings a Week. His constant Food is Roots and Herbs, as Cabbage, Turneps, Carrots, Dock Leaves, and Grass; also Bread and Bran, without Butter or Cheese. His Cloathing is Sackcloth. He left the Army, and kept a Shop at Chesham, and hath now left off that, and sold a considerable Estate to give to the Poor; shewing his Reason from the Scripture. Vol. IV. p. 478.

1656.---The grand Impostor examined: or, the Life, Trial, and Examination of James Naylor, the seduced and seducing Quaker; with the Manner of his riding into Bristol. Vol. VI. p. 425.

1659.---The Unhappy Marksman: Or, a perfect and impartial Discovery of that late barbarous and unparalleled Murder, committed by Mr. George Strangeways, formerly a Major in the King's Army, on his Brother-in-law Mr. John Tussel, an Attorney, on Friday the eleventh of February: Together with a full Discovery of the fatal Cause of those unhappy Differences, which first occasioned the Suits in Law betwixt them. Also the Behaviour of Mr. Strangeways at his Trial: the dreadful Sentence pronounced against him: his Letter to his Brother-in-law, a Member of Parliament. The Words delivered by him at his Death; and his stout but Christian-like Manner of dying. Published by a faithful Hand. Vol. IV. p. 1.

[1660?].---The last Will and Testament of Father Peters: as it was found quilted into my Lord Chancellor's Cap: with a Letter directed to his Lordship, &c. and his Prayer to the blessed Virgin of Loretto. Vol. V. p. 329.

1661.---The Speech of the late Marquis of Argyle upon the Scaffold, May 27, 1661, being a true and perfect Copy. Vol. IX. p. 110.

1661.---The Marquis of Argyle's last Will and Testament, with his Character. Vol. VIII. p. 28.

1664.---A Narrative of the Imprisonment and Usage of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp, in the County of Nottingham, Esq. now close Prisoner in the Tower of London. Written by himself on the 6th of April, 1664; having then received Intimation that he was to be sent away to another Prison; and, therefore, he thought fit to print this, for the satisfying his Relations and Friends of his Innocence. Vol. III. p. 33.

1667.---The humble Petition and Address of Edward Earl of Clarendon. (MS.) Vol. V. p. 185.

[16---].---John Reynard's Deliverance from the Captivity of the Turks, and his setting free of 266 Christians that were Galley Slaves. Vol. I. p. 187.

1670.---The Memoirs of Monsieur Du Vall; containing the History of his Life and Death. Whereunto are annexed his last Speech and Epitaph. Intended as a severe Reflexion on the too great Fondness of English Ladies towards French Footmen, which at that Time of Day was a too common Complaint. Vol. III. p. 308.

1670.---The Cloud opened: Or, the English Hero. By a loyal and impartial Pen. Vol. IV. p. 149.

[16---].---Mr. Howel's Vindication of himself from the Charge of being no Friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant. Vol. VII. p. 127.

1676.---A modest Account of the wicked Life of that grand Impostor, Lodowick Muggleton; wherein are related all the remarkable Actions he did, and all the strange Accidents that have befallen him, ever since his first coming to London, to this 25th of January, 1676. Also, a Particular of those Reasons which first drew him to these damnable Principles. With several pleasant Stories concerning him, proving his Commission to be but counterfeit, and himself a Cheat, from divers Expressions which have fallen from his own Mouth. Licensed according to Order. Vol. I. p. 610.

1677.---Strange and true News from Staffordshire; or a true Narrative concerning a young Man lying under Almighty God's just Vengeance, for imprecating God's Judgment upon himself, and pleading his Innocency, though he knew himself guilty. Written by W. Vincent, Minister of God's Word at Bednall, in the County of Stafford, aforesaid; who saw and discoursed the said Person, upon the 26th Day of April, 1677. The saddest Spectacle that ever Eyes beheld. Vol. II. p. 327.

1676.---A true and perfect Account of the Examination, Confession, Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of Joan Perry, and her two Sons, John and Richard Perry, for the supposed Murder of William Harrison, Gent.; being one of the most remarkable Occurrences, which hath happened in the Memory of Man; sent in a Letter (by Sir T. O. of Burton, in the County of Gloucester, Knight, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace) to T. S. Doctor of Physick in London. Likewise Mr. Harrison's own Account, how he was conveyed into Turkey, and there made a Slave for above two Years; and then, his Master which bought him there, dying, how he made his Escape, and what Hardship he endured; who, at last, through the Providence of God, returned to England, while he was supposed to be murdered; here having been his Man-servant arraigned, who falsely impeached his own Mother and Brother, as guilty of the Murder of his Master: they were all three, arraigned, convicted, and executed on Broadway-hills in Gloucestershire. Vol. III. p. 547.

1680.---A Letter from the Earl of Shaftesbury, this 9th of July, 1680. From Tom Tell-troth, a downright Englishman. Vol. V. p. 572.

1680.---The last Speech and dying Words of Thomas (Lord, *alias* Colonel) Pride; being touched in Conscience for his inhuman Murder of the Bears in the Bear Garden, when he was High-Sheriff of Surrey. Taken in Short hand by T. S. late Clerk to his Lordship's Brew-house, Vol. III. p. 136.

1680.---Articles of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours, against the Duchess of Portsmouth. Vol. III. p. 507.

1681.---The last Speech of Mr. Oliver Plunket, Titular Primate of Ireland, who was executed at Tyburn, on Friday, the first of this instant July, 1681. Written by his own Hand. Vol. VI. p. 188.

1682.---The last Confession, Prayers, and Meditations of Lieutenant John Stern, delivered by him on the Cart, immediately before his Execution, to Dr. Burnet; together with the last Confession of George Borosky, signed by him in the Prison, and sealed up in the Lieutenant's Packet. With which an Account is given of their Deportment both in the Prison and at the Place of Execution, which was in the Pall Mall, on the tenth of March, in the same Place in which they had murdered Thomas Thynn, Esq. the twelfth of February before, 1681--2. Written by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. and Anthony Horneck, D. D. Vol. VIII. p. 191.

1683.---The Loyal Observator: or, Historical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Roger the Fidler; *alias* the Observator. [Sir Roger L'Estrange.] Vol. VI. p. 65.

[1684?].---A brief Account of many memorable Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Shaftesbury, sometime Lord High Chancellor of England; who departed this Life the twenty first Day of December, 1683; giving an impartial Relation of his Loyalty to his Majesty in the late Times, and the great Endeavours he used to bring in the King into England, unto his just Right, in Peace and Safety; with his Majesty's grateful Acknowledgments of these his Kindnesses to him, in preferring him to several eminent Places of Honour and Trust; together with his great Patience under the Loss of the same. Also, his twice Imprisonment in the Tower, and his witty Answer to one of the Popish Lords upon his Imprisonment, his Release; and several Plots and Sham-Plots of the Papists used to take away his Life, for his Vigilancy and Care for the Protestant Religion, and their Disappointments: of his Arrival in Holland, and his kind Entertainment there, together with his Sickness, and worthy Speeches, a little before his Death. Concluded with a Prayer, worthy the Perusal of all Persons. Vol. V. p. 368.

1685.---An Account of the Manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c. By his Majesty's Command. Vol. VI. p. 321.

1685.---The Arraignment of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, before the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord High Steward of England. Also a brief Derivation of the most honourable Family of the Howards. With an Account what Families they are related to by Marriage. Transcribed out of ancient Manuscripts, never before published. Vol. VI. p. 413.

1687.---The Lord Bishop of Rochester's Letter to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Ecclesiastical Court. Vol. VII. p. 453.

1688.---The last Will of George Fox, the Quakers' great Apostle, as it was all written by his own Hand, and is now lying in the Prerogative Office, by Doctors' Commons, London; attested by three eminent Quakers, whose Names are undermentioned. With a Copy of the Administration in Latin taken out of the said Office, signed by Thomas Wellham, Deputy-Register, containing two Columns; that on the Left-hand being the Original in his false English and Spelling; the other, on the Right-hand, put into true English, the Original being unintelligible. Published to convince the World, that he who made this Will, and could not write one Line of true English (and yet pretended high skill in the learned Languages, witness his Battledoor and Primer to the two Universities; who said in his Battledoor,

'All Languages were no more to me than Dust; who was, before Languages were,') is not the Author of any one Page in all those Books, which the Quakers have impudently published under his Name. Vol. VII. p. 638.

1689.---The Lord Chancellor's Discovery and Confession, made in the Time of his Sickness in the Tower. With Allowance. Vol. IV. p. 592.

1689.---The Chancellor's Examination and Preparation for a Trial. Vol. VIII. p. 627.

1689.---A true Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mulgrave, to Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury. Vol. V. p. 246.

1692.---A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, against the Lives of several Persons, by forging an Association under their Hands. Written by the Bishop of Rochester. In two Parts. The first Part being a Relation of what passed at the three Examinations of the said Bishop by a Committee of Lords of the Privy Council. The second, being an Account of the two above-mentioned Authors of the Forgery. Vol. VI. p. 198.

1692.---The Second Part of the Relation of the late wicked Contrivance against the Lives of several Persons, by forging an Association under their Hands: Being a further Account of the said Forgery, and of the two Authors of it, Stephen Blackhead, and Robert Young, alias Youngs, alias Brown, alias Hopkins, alias Hutt, alias Green, alias Jones, alias Smith, alias etc. Written by the Bishop of Rochester. Vol. VI. p. 215.

1698.---A Letter to a Country Gentleman: Setting forth the Cause of the Decay and Ruin of Trade. To which is annexed a List of the Names of some Gentle-

men who were Members of the last Parliament, and now are (or lately were) in public Employments. Vol. VIII. p. 506.

1699.---Some Observations on the Trial of Spencer Cooper, J. Marson, E. Stevens, and W. Rogers, that were tried at Hertford, about the Murder of Sarah Stout, together with other Things, relating thereunto. Vol. VIII. p. 429.

1711.---Reasons for creating Robert Harley, Esq. a Peer of Great Britain. Vol. I. p. 1.

1712.---Providence displayed: or, a very surprising Account of one Mr. Alexander Selkirk, Master of a Merchantman, called the "Cinque Ports," who dreaming that the Ship would soon after be lost, he desired to be left on a desolate Island in the South Seas, where he lived four Years and four Months without seeing the Face of Man; the Ship being soon afterwards cast away as he dreamed: as also how he came afterwards to be miraculously preserved and redeemed from that fatal Place by two Bristol Privateers, called the "Duke and Duchess;" that took the rich Aquapulco Ship, worth one hundred ton of Gold, and brought it to England. To which is added, an Account of his Birth and Education; his Description of the Island where he was cast; how he subsisted; the several strange Things he saw; and how he used to spend his Time. With some pious Ejaculations that he used, composed during his Melancholy there, written by his own Hand, and attested by most of the eminent Merchants upon the Royal Exchange. Vol. V. p. 429.

173.---The Character of a certain great Duchess deceased, by a certain great Poet lately deceased. Vol. VIII. p. 220.

VI.

NATURAL HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY;

INCLUDING

MEDICINE, GEOGRAPHY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

1605.---A RELATION of such Things as were observed to happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, his Highness' Ambassador to the King of Spain, being sent thither to take the Oath of the said King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of Great Britain and Spain: according to the several Articles formerly concluded on, by the Constable of Castile in England, in the Month of August, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By Robert Treswell, Esq. Somerset Herald. Vol. III. p. 424.

1609.---Sir Thomas Overbury's Observations in his

Travels, upon the State of the Seventeen Provinces, as they stood *Anno Domini* 1609. Vol. VIII. p. 362.

1609.---Instructions for the increasing and planting of Mulberry Trees, and the breeding of Silke Wormes, for the making of Silke in this Kingdome. Whereunto is annexed his Majestie's Letters to the Lords Lieutenants of the several Shiers of England tending to that Purpose. Vol. II. p. 218.

1613.---A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana: describing the Climate, Situation, Fertility, Provisions, and Commodities of that Country, containing seven Provinces and other Signiories, within that Territory: To-

gether with the Manners, Customs, Behaviour, and Disposition of the People. Performed by Robert Harcourt, of Stanton Harcourt, Esq. The Patent for the Plantation of which Country his Majesty hath granted to the said Robert Harcourt, under the great Seal. Vol. VI. p. 487.

1613.—A true Declaration of the Arrival of Cornelius Haga (with others that accompanied him) Ambassador for the General States of the United Netherlands, at the great City of Constantinople. Together with the Entertainment given unto them by the Turk, when they came to his Palace; and what Privileges were, by him, granted unto the said United Provinces. And also, the Copy of certain Letters, sent unto the said States of the Netherlands, from Constantinople. Faithfully translated out of the Dutch Copy. Vol. VIII. p. 403.

1614.—True and Wonderfull. A Discourse relating a strange and monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately discovered, and yet living, to the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent Poyson: In Sussex, two Miles from Horsam, in a Woode called St. Leonard's Forest, and thirty Miles from London, this present Month of August, 1614. With the true generation of Serpents. Vol. III. p. 109.

1616.—A true and strange Discourse of the Travels of two English Pilgrims: What admirable Accidents befel them in their Journey towards Jerusalem, Gaza, Grand Cairo, Alexandria, and other Places. Also what rare Antiquities, Monuments, and notable Memoirs (according with the ancient Remembrances in the Holy Scriptures) they saw in Terra Sancta, or the Holy Land; with a perfect Description of the Old and New Jerusalem, and Situation of the Countries about them. A Discourse of no less Admiration, than well worth the regarding. Written by Henry Timberlake. Vol. I. p. 337.

1622.—A true Relation, without all Exception, of strange and admirable Accidents, which lately happened in the Kingdom of the Great Magor, or Mogul, who is the greatest Monarch of the East Indies. As also, with a true Report of the Manners of the Country; of the Commodities there found, with the like of sundry other Countries and Islands in the East Indies. Written and certified by Persons of good Import, who were Eyewitnesses of what is here reported. Vol. I. p. 258.

1638.—A View of St. Helena, an Island in the Ethiopian Ocean in America; now in Possession of the Honourable East India Company, where their Ships usually refresh in their Indian Voyages. With an Account of the admirable Voyage of Domingo Gonsales, the little Spaniard to the World in the Moon, by the Help of several Gansas or large Geese: an ingenious Fancy, written by a late learned Bishop. Vol. VIII. p. 344.

1641.—A Description of the famous Kingdom of Macaria; shewing its excellent Government, wherein the Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health, and Happiness; the King obeyed, the Nobles honoured, and all good Men respected; Vice punished, and Virtue rewarded. An Example to other Nations: In a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Traveller. Vol. I. p. 580.

1669.—A Discourse upon prodigious Abstinence; occasioned by the Twelve Months' Fasting of Martha Taylor, the famed Derbyshire Damsel. Proving that, without any Miracle, the Texture of human Bodies may be so altered, that Life may be long continued without the Supplies of Meat and Drink. With an Account of

the Heart, and how far it is interested in the Business of Fermentation. By John Reynolds, humbly offered to the Royal Society. Vol. IV. p. 43.

1670.—A Discourse, setting forth the unhappy Condition of the Practice of Physick in London, and offering some Means to put it into a better; for the Interests of Patients, no less, or rather much more, than of Physicians. By Jonathan Goddard, Doctor of Physick, &c. Vol. VIII. p. 462.

1673.—A Philosophical Essay, treating of the most probable Cause of that grand Mystery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux, or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea. Vol. V. p. 376.

1674.—A Letter concerning some Observations lately made at Bath. Written to his much honoured Friend, Sir E. G. Knight, and Baronet, M. D. in London. By Thomas Guidot, M. B. Vol. II. p. 322.

1677.—Wonderful News from Wales: or, a true Narrative of an old Woman, living near Lanselin in Denbighshire, whose Memory serves her truly and perfectly to relate what she hath seen and done one hundred and thirty years ago. Having now the full Number of her Teeth; the most of them were lost when she was threescore Years and ten. She is also remembered by some of ninety Years old, to be taller than she is by seventeen or eighteen inches; with several other circumstances of her Life, which shew her to be the Wonder of her Age. Vol. VI. p. 71.

1678.—The Quack's Academy: Or, the Dunce's Directory. A new Act to cross the old Proverb, and make a Man a Fool and a Physician both at a Time. Discovering the several Methods whereby so many ignorant Pretenders obtain Repute and Practice. Vol. II. p. 32.

1680.—A Discourse touching Tangier. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. To which is added, the Interest of Tangier: by another Hand. Vol. V. p. 552.

1680.—*Magnalia Naturæ*: or the Philosopher's Stone, lately exposed to public Sight and Sale. Being a true and exact Account of the Manner how Wencelaus Seileiros, the late famous Projection-maker, at the Emperor's Court at Vienna, came by and made away with a very great Quantity of Powder of Projection, by projecting with it before the Emperor, and a great many Witnesses, selling it, &c. for some Years past. Published at the Request of, and for the Satisfaction of several Curious, especially of Mr. Boyle. By John Joachim Becher, one of the Council of the Emperor, and a Commissioner for the Examen of this Affair. Vol. VII. p. 480.

1682.—The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, and Tobacco, in four several Sections, with a Tract of Elder, and Juniper Berries; shewing how useful they may be in our Coffee-houses: And, also the Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians and modern Travellers. Vol. I. p. 528.

1683.—A short Account of the Siege of Bantam; and its Surrender to the Rebels; who were assisted by the Dutch, and their Fleet in the East Indies. In a Letter from an English Factor to a Merchant of London. Vol. V. p. 291.

1683.—An impartial and brief Description of the Plaza, or sumptuous Market-place of Madrid, and the Bull-baiting there; together with the History of the famous and much-admired Placidus; as also a large Scheme, being the lively Representation of the Order and the Ornament of this Solemnity. By James Salgado, a Spaniard. Vol. VII. p. 237.

1684.—*Strange News from Plymouth: Or, a wonderful and tragical Relation of a Voyage from the Indies; where, by extraordinary Hardships, and extremities of the late great Frosts, several of the Seamen, and others, miserably perished; and, for want of Provision, cast Lots for their Lives, and were forced to eat one another: and how a Dutch Merchant eat Part of his own Children: and then murdered himself, because he would not kill his Wife. With the miraculous Preservation of George Carpinger, an English Seaman; and the Dutch Merchant's Wife, now ashore at Plymouth. In a Letter to Mr. D. B. of London, Merchant.* Vol. II. p. 29.

1684.—*A Diary of the Siege of Luxembourg by the French King's Forces, under the Command of the Marshal de Crequi; containing a full Account of all that passed in the Siege and Surrender of the Town.* Vol. VIII. p. 110.

1687.—*A Philosophical and Medicinal Essay on the Waters of Tunbridge. Written to a Person of Honour; by Pat. Madan, M. D.* Vol. I. p. 585.

1691.—*A late Voyage to Holland, with brief Relations of the Transactions at the Hague; also Remarks on the Manners and Customs, Nature, and Comical Humours of the People; their Religion, Government, Habitations, Way of Living, and Manner of treating Strangers, especially the English. Written by an English Gentleman, attending the Court of the King of Great Britain.* Vol. II. p. 590.

1691.—*A Description of the most glorious and most magnificent Arches erected at the Hague, for the Reception of William the Third, King of Great Britain. With all the Mottos and Latin Inscriptions, that were written upon every one of the said Arches. Translated into English from the Dutch.* Vol. V. p. 387.

1693.—*An Account of the late terrible Earthquake in Sicily, with most of its Particulars. Done from the Italian Copy printed at Rome.* Vol. VII. p. 593.

1699.—*The Honour of the Gout: Or, a rational Discourse, demonstrating that the Gout is one of the greatest Blessings, which can befall mortal Man; that, all Gentlemen who are weary of it, are their own Enemies; that those Practitioners, who offer at the Cure, are the vainest and most mischievous Cheats in Nature. By Way of Letter to an eminent Citizen, wrote in the Heat of a violent Paroxysm, and now published for the common good. By Philander Misaurus.* Vol. II. p. 42.

1700.—*An Account of St. Sebastian's, in Relation to its Situation, Fortification, Government, Customs, and Trade. By one lately come from thence.* Vol. I. p. 400.

1704.—*The Method of curing the Small-Pox, first written in the Year 1704, for the Use of the noble and honourable Family of March, by Dr. Arch. Pitcairn.* Vol. VII. p. 172.

1709.—*The Geography and History of Mons. First*

written in French, for the Service of an Imperial Officer, in the Army about Mons; and now done, a second time, in English, for the Satisfaction of our British Officers. By John Mack Gregory, LL. L. Professor of Geography and History. Vol. II. p. 196.

1709.—*The Geography and History of Tournay: first written in French for the Service of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and sent inclosed in a Letter to him, when he marched to besiege Tournay. Now done a second time, in English for the Satisfaction of our British Gentlemen and Officers. By John Mack Gregory, LL. L. Professor of Geography and History. To which is prefixed as an Epistle Dedicatory, the Author's Letter to Prince Eugene.* Vol. II. p. 230.

1712.—*A particular Description of the famous Town and Cittadel of Dunkirk, with all its Fortifications, viz. Rice-Bank, Forts, Harbour, Peere, the Bason: the Number of the Ships in the Harbour, and Cannon in each Port; as it is now in the Possession of the Queen of Great Britain. With a particular Account of the Churches, Cloisters, and Nunneries, their Worship and Ceremonies; and all Things worthy of Observation.* Vol. II. p. 329.

1726.—*An authentic Relation of the many Hardships and Sufferings of a Dutch Sailor, who was put on Shore on the uninhabited Isle of Ascension, by Order of the Commodore of a Squadron of Dutch Ships. With a remarkable Account of his Converse with Apparitions, and evil Spirits, during his Residence on the Island. And a particular Diary of his Transactions, from the fifth of May to the fourteenth of October, on which Day he perished in a miserable Condition. Taken from the original Journal found in his Tent by some Sailors, who landed from on board the Compton, Captain Morson, Commander, in January, 1725-6.* Vol. VIII. p. 295.

1734.—*The Travels of three English Gentlemen, from Venice, to Hamburgh, being the grand Tour of Germany, in the Year 1734. (MS.) Sect. I. and II.* Vol. IV. p. 365.

The same, Sect. III. Vol. IV. p. 405.

The same, Sect. IV. Vol. IV. p. 451.

The same, Sect. V. Vol. V. p. 338.

The same, concluded. Vol. VIII. p. 221.

[17—].—*A true Description and Direction of what is most worthy to be seen in all Italy; orderly set down, and in sure Manner, as that the Traveller may not oversee, or neglect any Thing that is memorable in those Countries, but may compass that Journey at an easy and reasonable Charge, and in a short Time, signifying how many Miles from one Place to another, as followeth: First, what is to be seen, principally in Venice, and from thence to Rome, Naples, Sicily, and until you come to Malta; from thence back again, another Way, to Genoa and Milan. (MS.)* Vol. V. p. 1.

VII.

LITERATURE,

INCLUDING

POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

1538.—A brefe Comedy or Enterlude of Johan Baptystes preachynge in the Wyldernesse, openynge the craftye Assaultes of the Hypocrytes, with the gloriouse Baptysme of the Lorde Jesus Christ. Compyled by Johan Bayle. Vol. I. p. 101.

1546.—Rede me and be not wrothe:

For I say no thyng but trothe.

[A Satire upon Wolsey and the Romish Clergy, by William Rey]. Vol. IX. p. 1.

1553.—An Epitaph upon the Death of King Edward. Vol. X. p. 252.

1533.—A New Ballade of the Marigolde. (By John Forrest). Vol. X. p. 253.

1554.—A Ballade specifieng partly the Maner, partly the Matter, in the most excellent Meetynge and lyke Marriage between our Sovereigne Lord, and our Sovereigne Lady the Kynges and Queenes Highnes. Pende by John Haywood. Vol. X. p. 255.

[1554?].—[A supposed Lament, by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. With a Retort upon, or Replication to the same]. Vol. X. p. 256.

1557.—A Breefe Balet, touching the traytorous takinge of Scarborow Castell. Vol. X. p. 257.

[1558].—The Epitaph upon the Death of the most excellent and our late vertuous Quene MARIE deceased. Augmented by the first Author. Vol. X. p. 259.

[1558?].—A Songe betwene the Quene's Majestie and Englande. Vol. X. p. 260.

[1558?].—A New Ballade. Vol. X. p. 262.

[1567].—A Doleful Ditty, or Sorrowful Sonet, of the Lord Darly, Nevew to the Noble and Worthy King, King Henry the Eyght; and is to be song to the Tune of 'Blacke and Yellowe.' Vol. X. p. 264.

[1572].—A Balad intituled the Dekaye of the Duke.

You see by good triall, what comes of the Duke,

Turn yet to the diall of God's holy booke.

Vol. X. p. 270.

[1578].—A New Ballade, declaryng the dangerous Shootynge of the Gun at the Court. To the Tune of 'Siche and Siche.'

Weepe, weepe, still I weepe, and shall doe till I dye,

To think upon the gun was shot, at Court so dangerouslye.

Vol. X. p. 272.

1579.—A moorning Diti upon the Deceas of the high and mighti (most nobl) Prins Henry Earl of Arundel, and right honorable Baron Mautravers and Clun, one of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth's Majestiez most honorable Privy Counsel, and of the right nobl Order of the Garter the eldest Knight: that departed in the

Lord, at his Place by Toour-hil ny London, on Thurzday, St. Matthiez Day, the latter xxiii of February. in the xxii yeer of her Highnes most prosperous Rein. 1579. Vol. X. p. 275.

1585.—The Device of a Pageant borne before Woolstone Dixi, Lord Maior of the Citie of London. An. 1585, October 29. Vol. X. p. 351.

[1586?].—A new Ballad, declaring the great Treason conspired against the young King of Scots, and how one Andrew Browne, an Englishman, which was the King's Chamberlaine, prevented the same. To the Tune of 'Milfield, or els to Greensleaves.' (By W. Elderton.) Vol. X. p. 266.

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1586.—A godly Dittie to be song for the Preservation of the Quene's most excellent Majestie's Raigne. Vol. X. p. 278.

1588.—A Banquet of Daintie Conceits: furnished with verie delicate and choyse Inventions, to delight their Mindes who take Pleasure in Musique; and there with all to sing sweete Ditties, either to the Lute, Bandora, Virginalles, or anie other Instrument. Published at the Desire of bothe honorable and worshipful Personages, who have had Copies of divers of the Ditties herein contained. Written by A. M[unday.] Servant to the Quene's most excellent Majestie. Vol. IX. p. 219.

1590, circa.—Sonnets; written by Henry Constable. (MS.) Vol. IX. p. 489.

1591.—*Descensus Astrææ*. The Device of a Pageant borne before M. William Webb, Lord Maior of the City of London, on the Day he took his Oath; being the 29 of October, 1591. Whereunto is annexed a Speech delivered by one, clad like a Sea Nymph, who presented a Pinace on the Water, bravely rigd and mand, to the Lord Maior, at the Time he tooke Barge to go to Westminster.

Done by G. Peele, Maister of Arts in Oxford. Vol. X. p. 68.

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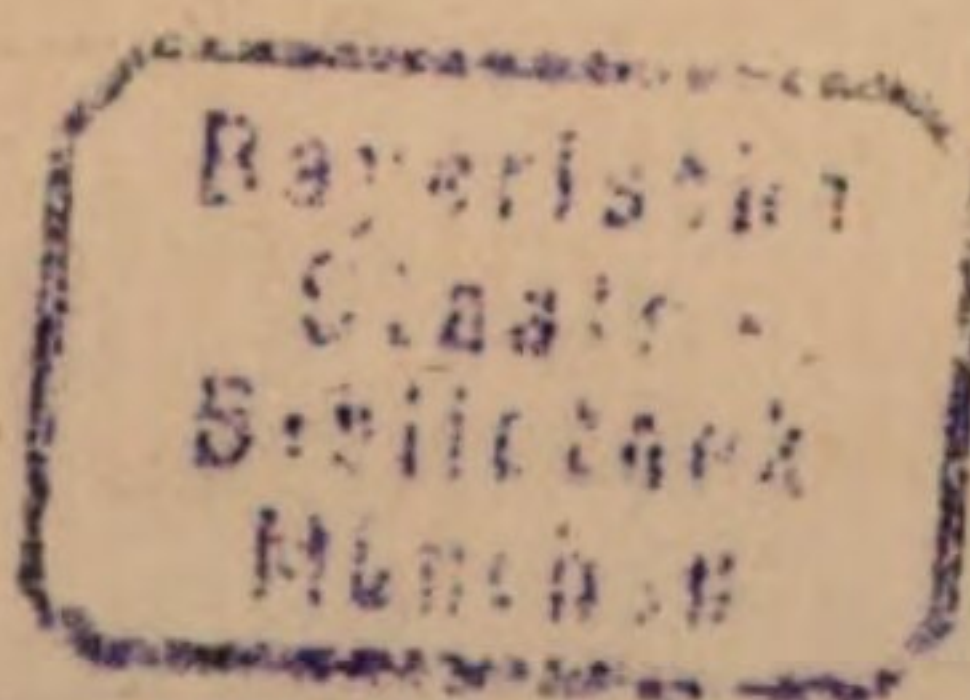
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